GUIDE TO THE SM4 GUARANI FILE

[At the time of the first European contacts in the early 16th century (ca. 1536), the Guaraní occupied vast areas of southern Brazil (parts of the modern states of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul), and neighboring territories of Uruguay, Argentina, and land lying to the east of the Paraguay River in the modern state of Paraguay. Additional settlements were also located on the islands of the lower Paraná River near Buenos Aires. The area occupied ran roughly from the latitude of 26° - 33° S. to the longitude of 48° - 52° W.

Prior to the 17th century the terms Carijo or Cario were applied to the group we now speak of as Guaraní, this latter term not coming into general use until sometime in the 1600's. Since that time the use of the term "Guaraní" has led to a great confusion in the literature because of the ambiguous usage of this nomenclature for both tribal and linguistic indentification purposes. Watson points out that the term "Guaraní" applies not only to a purely linguistic group, the "Tupi-Guaraní", but also has the original tribal or ethnic connotation of applying to all the Indians groups of similar speech found in the Spanish regions of South America. In addition, historically it was applied to the Indians of Guaraní speech who lived in the Jesuit missions, is presently used to refer to certain groups in the southern Brazilian and Paraguayan areas, and finally it is a loosely used term to refer to the modern rural population of Paraguay (Sr Watson, pp. 18-19). Generally it is agreed by most ethnographers that the ethnolinguistic unit we call "Guaraní (Caingua, Carijo or Cario)" is made up of the following ancient and modern divisions: Apapocúva, Arechane, Carima, Cayua, Cheiru, Chiripa, Guarambare, Guayana, Itatin, Ivapare, Mbyá, Oguauiva, Pan, Taicha, Tanygua, Tape, Taruma and Tobatin.

After a rather sporadic and unorganized resistence to the Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century, the Guaraní were quickly subdued and soon became docile to the demands of their conquerors. When the Jesuits established their missions in the area around 1605, they found the Indians readily adaptable to missionization, and showed great proficiency in learning the arts and crafts introduced by the missionaries. With the explusion of the Jesuits from South America in 1767 the mission Indians dwindled in number, some returning to the bush, some killed in the regional wars of 1816-1818, while still others settled in small villages near the former mission stations. In 1848, by an official proclamation of the Paraguayan government, the remaining 6,000 Guaraní were forced to assimilate themselves into the general Paraguayan population by moving into previously non-Indian village communities. The Christianized Guaraní today form the bulk of the population of Paraguay with their language, modified to some extent by Spanish, being spoken by rural and urban people alike.

All Guaraní groups speak closely related language of the Tupi-Guaraní stock. Dialectical differentiation within the Guaraní linguistic stock, has however, served as the major criterion of distinguishing sub-groups of the ethno-linguistic unit, at least in southern Brazil. Schaden, for example classifies the Guaraní of southern Brazil into three linguistically related groups, the Nandeva, Mbüá and Kayová (see 2: Schaden, this file).

Population figures are extremely difficult to find for the Guaraní and when located at all are usually rough estimates. A reasonable estimate of the Brazilian Cayuá population as of 1943 would be between 2,000 - 4,000 individuals. The entire Guaraní population of this area is probably not much more than that and is concentrated in small reservations

or villages under government supervision and protection. Schaden records some scattered demographic data on the villages he visited during his fieldwork in 1946-1954, which may be found in source 2: Schaden, pp. 15-20. Frequent migrations of the Guaraní population has been noted from early historic times up to the mid-20th century (a group of Mbüá crossed from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina and arrived at the coast of São Paulo in 1946). The early migrations were greatly heightened in the period of 1832-1850 by messianic and revivalistic movements which prophesized the coming of the end of the world and the approach of a new golden age. Three of the Guaraní sub-groups involved in these migrations were the Apapocúva, the Tanygua and the Oguauiva, who, fearing the imminent destruction of the world as announced by their shamans, sought desperately to reach the "Land-Without Evil" where there was an abundance of all good things and eternal life. This paradise was supposedly located in the east, so the migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast (1: Métraux, p. 94).

Subsistence was based on intensive agriculture by the brand-tillage method and supplemented by hunting, limited fishing and gathering. Sweet manioc and maize were the staple crops with sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (Xanthosoma sp.), carahu (Dioscorea sp.), mbucucu (a leguminosea), peanuts, bananas, papayas and watermelons also being grown. In pre-Columbian times the only domesticated animal was the Muscovy duck, but today they have dogs, chickens and many European farm animals.

The typical Guaraní village was a politically autonomous community of from four to eight large rectangular houses, some as much as 165 feet long, grouped around a square plaza and the whole completely encircled by a double or

triple stockade and an elaborate system of defensive moats. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof thatched with grass or palm leaves and was divided into separate family compartments. Some of these houses were capable of containing as many as sixty patrilineally related families. Every village was under the authority of a headman who was succeeded by his eldest son, but the actual power in the community was often exercised by the shaman. Some village chiefs extended their influence over a fairly large area. A general council of adult men and chiefs was held periodically to decide community and district affairs and to elect war chiefs. Although a Guaraní chief was usually succeeded by the oldest son, a stronger member of the family or an individual with special prestige in the community could take the office in lieu of the usual inheritance pattern. Members of the village who were dissatisfied with the headman could secede and start a new settlement with a new leader. Under Spanish influence a community chief in Paraguay had a Spanish title and carried a spedial stick as a symbol of office. Some of the villages under Spanish influence, as in Jesuit times, often had a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento and a cabo. In the aboriginal communities the village population constructed the house of the chief, tilled his fields and harvested his crops.

Child betrothal was common among the Guaraní, at least with those groups living along the Paraná River, and marriage usually took place shortly after puberty. The preferential form of marriage was between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. From inferences in Jesuitic literature it can be assumed that sororal polygny took place as well as union with a mother and her daughter. Chiefs and important shamans were the only ones able to support several wives, but it was said that some of these had from 15-30 wives. Chiefs also observed the levirate form of marriage. Residence is patrilocal and descent probably patrilineal.

Information on Guaraní kinship is rather sparse in the literature. Métraux in his excellent cultural summary makes no mention of it at all, while Schaden briefly mentions the fact that the Nandeva claim that within the structure of the family, consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bilinear (2: Schaden, p. 137). Kindreds are also mentioned by Schaden as pertaining to the Guaraní as a whole. A succinct account of the Cayuá kinship system is contained in 4: Watson, in which she says that the system is basically classificatory in nature and based on the genealogical principle in which kinship terms are extended bilaterally.

Although much of our information on the religion of the Guaraní comes from the work of Nimuendajú on the Apapocúva, there is enough generalized data available to indicate that the aboriginal Guaraní believed in a supreme creator god and a host of lesser gods and spirits. Animistic and eschatological beliefs were well developed as well as the mythology and cosmology. Shamanism was also a very important part of the religion and as noted previously, the shaman had much prestige and power in the society not only in terms of religion alone but also in the political hierarchy. Although most of his talents were used for the common good of the people, he could on occasion use them to cause illness or death by sorcery. This sorcery could be directed at individuals or entire villages.

Warfare was common among the Guaraní, especially between villages, with prisoners of war being slaughtered and eaten with the same ceremonialism (and relish) as that attributed to the Tupinamba, their neighbors. In aboriginal times Guaraní raiding parties ranged as far as the borders of the Inca Empire.

The SM4 Guaraní file consists of six sources, two translations from the Portuguese (2: Schaden and 4: Watson), one from the German (1: Hanke) and the remaining three in English. The focus of the file is on the Guaraní of southern Brazil including southern Mato Grosso, with Schaden's material concentrating on the Guaraní subgroups of Mbüá, Nandeva and Kayová, Hanke and the Watsons on the Cayuá (probably Schaden's Kayova). The locus of the Watsons' work on the Cayuá was centered in the village of Taquapir. The best general coverage of all Guaraní groups is probably to be found in Métraux's excellent summary (5: Métraux), which is based on a wide range of secondary source material including many early historical documents. Guaraní-Brazilian White acculturation is a major topic of concern to the authors whose works comprise this file, notably 1: Hanke, 2: Schaden, 3: Watson and 6: Watson. Various aspects of the acculturation process is discussed in each of these sources (e.g., in terms of material culture, economy, family, etc.). In 1: Hanke, for example, the effects of acculturation is discussed in terms of the economy and religion of the Cayuá. Hanke, a lawyer with considerable interest and field experience in Brazilian ethnography, did her fieldwork among the Cayuá around 1955, and the data she collected pertain mostly to that period. 2: Schaden, written by an ethnologist, presents excellent primary and secondary data on the Mbüá, Nandeva and Kayová of southern Brazil, with emphasis, as in Hanke, on acculturation, here in terms of material culture, economy, community and family structure, music and folklore. In this source special stress is placed on religion and the Guaraní world-view. Schaden studied the Guaraní from 1946-1962, staying at a number of Indian villages for varied periods of time, the longest being for four weeks at the village of Dourados. 3: Watson, written by an ethnologist using his own field data in conjunction with historical source materials, discusses the acculturation effects on the Cayuá of the Jesuit missionization period (1605-1767), and again in the 20th century with Indian-White Brazilian contacts. 4: Watson

is a brief article on kinship terminology and behavior of the Cayuá, with historical references to the 17th and 19th centuries. The author, an ethnologist, is the wife of James B. Watson, the author of source number 3, and accompanied him in the field. 6: Watson deals generally with economic acculturation among the Cayuá, with a critique and evaluation of some of the earlier historical sources on the Cayuá. The Watsons did their fieldwork in 1943. The file was processed in 1970-1974.]

1: Hanke--1 O-5 (ca.1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/218/

000

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

• 101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingua. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbdía (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Cainguá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

69 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck lea to another government post named Tehycuê. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain'
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
10 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Cuei Nimuendaju, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayowá subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambí, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbyá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrofaí) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, [113] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit [179] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, [182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /16/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

• 101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (1),

[114] 1. /From p. 18 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /mbya/, and the Kayowá. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the condescension Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable bands found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 147 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/10 cont./

[97] [10] Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3. /From p. 33 of the original source./ Mizoneskyi, 1914, p. 186, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as bands, they use the expression 'Ñandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the endoethnonym of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as Ñandevaikuáve (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 33 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, words and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[94]

(our people), Ñandéva ení (is likewise our people), ení Ñandéva ení (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only endoethnonym used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Mizoneskyi with the name Ayapéváve, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tuligwá and some other bands mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the value Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The ethnic call is Tuiqué ℄ "the "Little Tuiqué /Chiripá/" (5).

[126]

[114] 5. /From p. 33 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1945a.

/to cont./

[78] [79] [101] In two villages on the Paulista coast (Santa Ana Bonacal) live Guaraní who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, particularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Guaraní of the village of Acaiá near Bauru, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." I stayed with the Guaraní of Dourados, and in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacaré or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village down like *ñanandejar* /people who live in the *ñandé*, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

[114] [101]

[101] *Ñandé* /*ñanu*/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by these Guaraní known in the literature as Kaingué /Caingua/, Kainá /Cayua/, etc., and where the Guaraní call Tembekué (8)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1945a.

("*mond chiripá*") or Tuxá, Guaxó ("*mine*" or "*our friends*"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name *Apihaná*, or *Ayyaná* (*ewnyiaua Apaianá*, *Ayianá*), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (9).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Aweti /*Aueto*/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/11 cont./

• 101 [114] navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kaliseka and the Ramos. "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Aché' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form aché. 'That which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 191.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Bacicolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avañagual, "man with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santa two hordes of Mbiá live in the villages of Río Branco and Río Campinho (near Iguatú). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbiá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbiá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guairá, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Río Grande do Sul.

Kayuá is the third group, also known as Tellí and Tembekuá (9).

[114] 8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Manda Hanke confirmed to me in 1961 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayuá of Mato Grosso and the name Tembekuá is not an auto-denomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Iguatú, from where their villages (Capim, Pamonas, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of kaá y yuá) varies between Kaiuá and Kaiguá, with the intermediate forms Kaiuá and Kayuá. I use the last one (9).

[128]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948a).

[114]

/11 cont./

• 101 The Mbiá pronounce the word kai iná (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-56).

The designation Teñi (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avárxiripá, but different from the Txiripá (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapiné.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[659] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114]

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

101
167
[114]

/12 cont./

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619
114

In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101
186

Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ʃ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinã (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ulxxã." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová cures really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní cures is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Cainganga/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Nandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [1773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [1789] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafligná /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahúva /Oguaniva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Raporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
• [101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ guí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
[324] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/88/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants: they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman: sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakã (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
•101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paã. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacã." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Paã" would be Kayová -- w.o. especially in the mythology, know the word pã with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

462
415
[014]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462 [184] [178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make trumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[517]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *aldeia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over cart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INTRODUCTION

THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupi-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture.

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco:

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingué, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking
[657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and
131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on
*175 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingué proper were a Guaicurusan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingué," (Cayuá) in the region of Piracuruca, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingué." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of
161 Guaranys."[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

• 101 Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*kaᵊá*) and "man" or "men" (*aβá*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced."
4[177] The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in
[797] fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognised to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[30] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani." 101 •

Métraux,[31] and Klimek and Milke,[32] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest. 101 114 101 131 167 174*

[30] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[31] Métraux, 1928. [32] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 101 In a discussion where we must consider the various Guarani-speaking peoples of the Paraguayan area, it will help reduce the confusion of tribal and linguistic names to recall the various ways in which the term "Guarani" has been used:

1. "Guarani" has a purely *linguistic* sense in which it is still used today, often in the compound expression "Tupi-Guarani." In this sense it included at least every Guarani-speaking group of the area of the Platine provinces of Spain. Thus the Cayuá are "Guarani." Whether any important linguistic distinctions actually followed the lines of usage of the two terms, "Tupi" and "Guarani," is doubtful.

2. "Guarani" was also the original general *tribal* or ethnic term for nearly all the groups of Indians of this speech who were to be encountered in the Spanish regions of South America. Nearly all other known Indians of this linguistic family were to be found in Brazil and uniformly received the general tribal and linguistic designation, "Tupi." It may be seriously doubted whether the distinction between "Tupi" and "Guarani" reflected any fundamental, dual cultural or linguistic division nearly as much as it did the mere fact that part of the members of this linguistic family happened to live in Spanish and the rest in Portuguese colonial domains. It is certainly not implied by this that there were no differences among the various groups of Tupi-Guarani, politically, culturally, or linguistically. But the two terms in the early accounts cannot be taken as necessarily expressive of any such differences. It very frequently occurred that the Tupi-Guarani peoples took sides in the struggles between the European colonial states. Thus some of the Tupi tribes were early allies of the French on the Brazilian coasts while others were cohorts of the Portuguese. Later, of course, the struggle reduced itself to one between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in which the "Guarani" were sometimes the cohorts of the Spanish and the "Tupi" those of the Lusitanians.

3. In the mission period, as has already been mentioned, "Guarani" came to have a more restricted meaning as a tribal term. It was distinct from "Cayuá," and also from other non-reduced tribes, such as Chiriguano, who were "Guarani" only in the larger cultural sense and in the linguistic sense. Here again the distinction and the terminology were primarily European since "Cayuá" had no necessary bearing on indigenous cultural or political divisions, as far as our evidence goes, but only on the fact that these Indians were outside the European pale. "Guarani" specifically came to refer to those Indians of Guarani speech who lived in the Jesuit missions—the "missions of the Guarani." Whether the terminological lines so drawn did incidentally reflect indigenous cultural differences among these Indians is something we shall probably never know.

4. Present use is made of the term "Guarani" to refer to certain tribes in the southern Brazilian and Paraguayan area. Thus Nimuendajú speaks

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of "Apopacuva-Guarani," at the same time recognising as distinct Cayuá and other groups of related speech. It may be impossible ever to discover if these present "Guarani" groups have any significant and exclusive relation to the Guarani-speakers who were formerly missionized or otherwise reduced (meaning No. 3). Are these "Guarani," for example, the particular descendants of formerly reduced Indians while others, like the Cayuá, are not? Müller, discussing three present Guarani-speaking groups in eastern Paraguay, which he says are culturally and tribally distinguishable, the "Paí," the "Chiripá," and the "Mbya," comments that by the Paraguayans only the last are called "Caayguá" (Cayuá), while the first two proudly call themselves "Guarani."[33]

Some of the confusion which now exists as a result of the ambiguous usage of tribal and linguistic terms in reference to the indigenes of Guarani speech in southern Brazil and Paraguay may be erased in the following chapters.

THE SOCIAL SETTING

The principal occupation of the white settlers of the southern Mato Grosso region is the production of *herva mate* (*Ilex paraguayensis*). Some cattle are also raised, and there are certain other pursuits. The area is very sparsely settled by Paraguayans (some of whom speak no Spanish or Portuguese), Brazilians, and Argentines; the last-named are mostly from the provinces of Misiones or Corrientes. Non-Indians as a group are definitely set apart from Indians. Their culture, to the knowledge of the writer, has not been thoroughly studied, but some Argentine writers consider that they possess a variety of the so-called "Gaucho" culture.[34]

For the most part the non-Indian settlers eke out a meager existence either producing small quantities of *mate* or working for larger producers in one way or another. The poor grade of cattle raised throughout the region are allowed to roam at large most of the time with an occasional roundup for checking, counting, and driving to market. Most families, whatever their primary occupation, raise almost all of their own food, in slash-and-burn fields (*roças*) where agricultural methods are little, if any, different from those employed by the Cayuá.[35]

A few more fortunate individuals manage to become moderately successful cattlemen or producers or dealers in *mate* and other raw commodities, often combining this effort with a limited sort of general store or trading post arrangement (*bolicho*) on the retail side. These *bolichos* sometimes do a sufficient volume of business, for barter and cash, to constitute a sole enterprise and

[33] Müller, 1934-35, 29: 179-80.

[34] In Argentina this is considered an outgrowth of assimilation between the indigenous Indian—largely Guarani-speaking—population and the early colonial frontier settlers of these parts.

[35] The reason for similarity between white and Indian agriculture in Brazil is one of assimilation largely on the part of the whites. Cf. Watson, V. D., 1943.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrishoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[*]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[*] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrishoffer, for example, played a viola d'amor, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
65 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122

1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not
[162] know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
• [101] Brazilian settlements of Unifio and Nova Veré, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassuí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
174 the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 S844 Guarani S844
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo

Location

101 •
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and reserves of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account[1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
195

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional do Brasil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaiwá, Kaingá, Kaiguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. R., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (nach den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse bearbeitet von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

[113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections; with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandía (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandía, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

Terena
Guaraní 1717
Pilaga 1711
Cayiga 1711

1. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

> 1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 8th Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1955), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 3, No. 2, December, 1956, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Cadiueu/

> 2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guaraní unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigenes of the Guaná, Guaraní, and Mbayá-Guaikuré tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

> 3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that resided still in

[Burity]

/95 cows./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by General Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldeia: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Seca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Sawá, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Jerno Imarú; c) also Aldeia Proserito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 30 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terena families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Salsino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated these lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 500 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terena families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracajú range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terena labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.

S: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume I, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

101* [130] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Carío*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananeia to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 25°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [190]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandrie*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrúa* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinambá* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tietê River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

[361]

Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Laguna dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatín* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatín*; on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taiobe*. Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang*, or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí*, were scattered among the *Guaraní*.

101 131 175

In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatín*, were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú*, a Chaco tribe.

[648]

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingué* (*Kaa-thuwa*, *Kaingua*, *Cayuá*, *Montaraz*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

About 1800, the *Caingué* (*Coagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Igatemi River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

131 175

The *Caingué* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Cariná* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Tarumá* east of the Ybá River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayuma* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayuma* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayuma* should not be confused with the ancient

101 131 175

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101
131
[175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Caingué* (*Canigué*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbaiha*, *Ava-mbihá*, *Cayyguá*, *Apytere*, *Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Caingué*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuí-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocai River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pai'* (*Tevenhé*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Caingué* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Caingué* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemi River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahi River. The *Tañygué*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemi River. (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101
131
167
175
[162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauiva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauiva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Caingué* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemi; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupayná River (Mato Grosso); the *Yuytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catandvua Jataky*, in the same State.

101
131

The *Apapocuva*, *Tañygué*, *Oguauiva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yuytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also Cheiru in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catandwá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Cainá*
191 (*Kaygwá*).

[114] The *Ivapáré* (*Arć, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[34]

177 At present most of the *Caingwá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingwá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[541] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingwá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingwá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingwá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingwá*. On the *Caynó* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingwá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingwá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jataíy resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[8a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

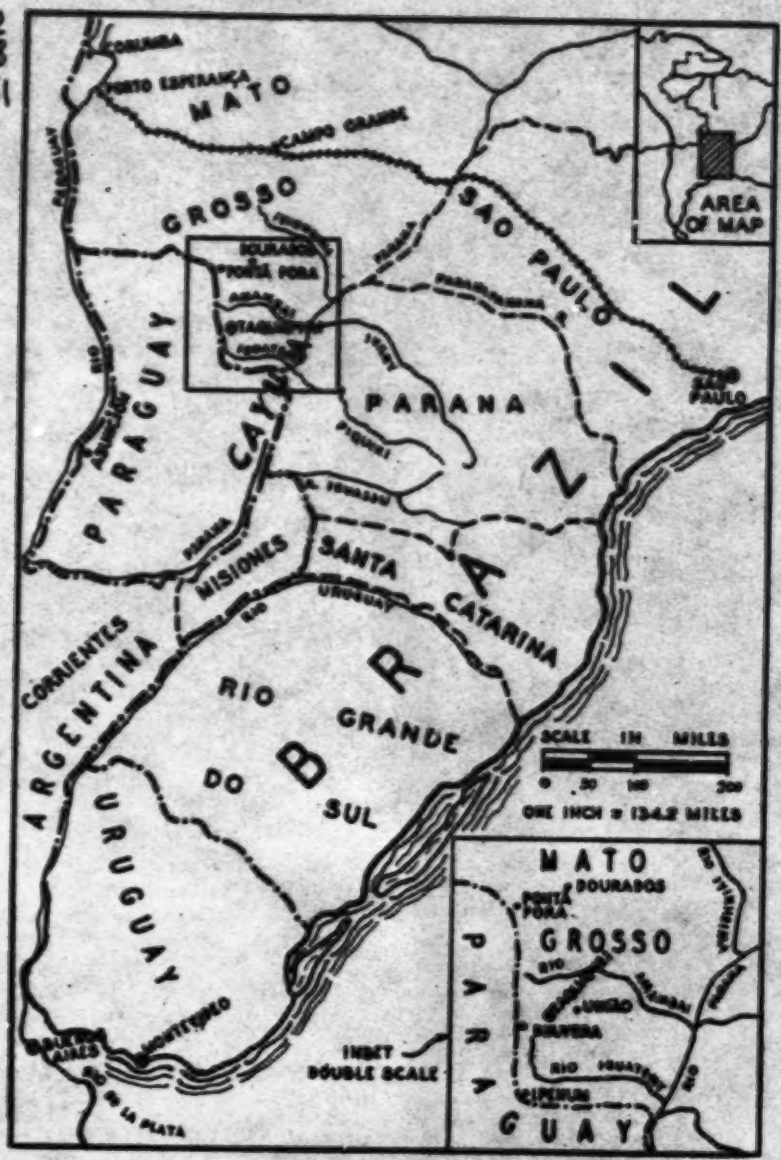
TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[8a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 102
133
361

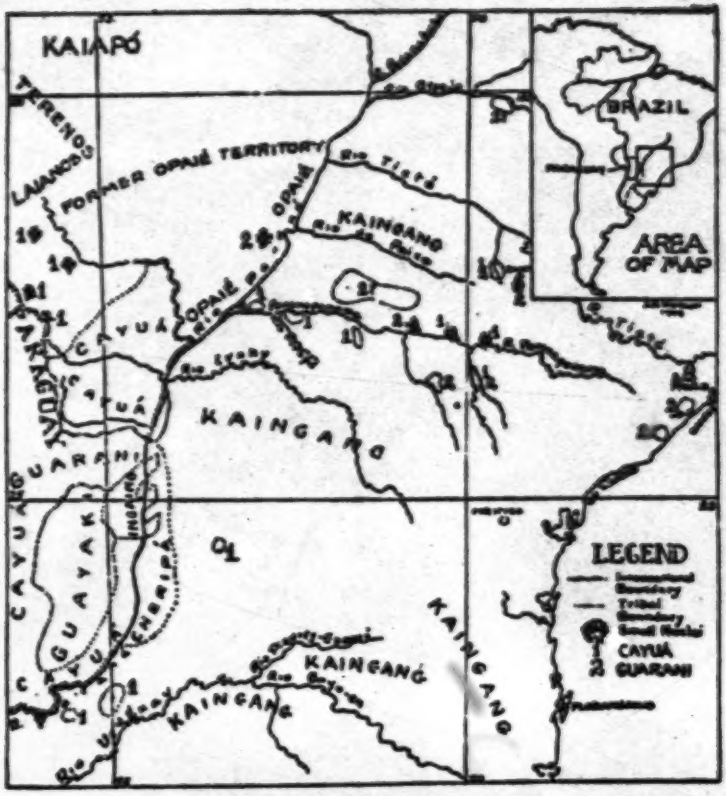


MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

[P. 8]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

.102
133



Ethnographic map of southern Brazil—About 1911
Based on map by H. von Ihering
(See footnote 7)

[p. 4]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[10] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[11] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá
[417] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquaruçú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Brisson), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *coitatá* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupí-Guarani *djaguarú*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroquets, toucans (Tupí-Guarani *tuká*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[10] The cold of the winter seemed to sunny our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[11] One of these canes, the *taquapí* (*anta de Castilho*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

[103]

104

adjaká (Mbüá) -- carrying basket
adjó (Ñandéva) -- carrying basket
aguydjé -- happiness, perfection, victory (usually conceived as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world)
akanguá (Ñandéva) -- diadem
aku -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
añã (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- devil
anguéry (Ñandéva) -- spirit or "bad" soul of a dead person
apyká (Kayová) -- ceremonial bench
atsýyguá (Ñandéva) -- "bad" soul of a living person (represents an animal character of a person)
avatí-mongaraí -- ceremonial harvesting of the first maize ("baptism of the maize")
ayvú (kuã) (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- language, also "good" part of the soul (responsible for the noblest manifestations of the individual)
caraíbas -- sorcerers
chicha -- fermented beverage
djasukávy (Kayová) -- principle of emanation
djeatsaá -- magic pendant
djiroký (Kayová) -- ceremonial dance
guyrapá í (Kayová) -- double musical bow

huitxá (Kayová) -- "chief of the kids" (Port. chefe dos guris)
kunumí-pepý (Kayová) -- initiation rites
kunumí-porahei (Kayová) -- initiation prayers
karuguá (Mbüá) -- subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
Mbaekuaá (Ñandéva) -- prayer-man
mbaraká (Mbüá) -- gourd rattle
mbarimbáu (Mbüá) -- monochord
mboguá (Mbüá) -- "bad" part of the soul
mímbu (Kayová) -- whistle-flute
mongaraí -- collective ceremonies
mutirão -- co-operative institution
mynakú (Kayová) -- carrying basket
Nandedjára -- god, spirit
nandedjáva -- celestial beings or spirits
nanderú (Ñandéva, Mbüá) -- religious chief
Ñanderukeý (Ñandéva) -- celestial being

ñandetsý -- gothes ("our mother"), also female curers
Nanderú (vutsú) (Ñandéva) -- celestial being
ñanéneẽ (gue) -- soul
ñeẽ (Mbüá, Ñandéva) -- soul, speech
ñeẽgaraí (Kayová) -- magic song
ñemondýiá -- state of the menstruating girl that requires resguardo
ñemongaraí (Kayová) -- collective ceremonial, carnival
odjépotá -- sexual enchantment
(odjéhó) akú -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment (Port. resguardo)
oka (Kayová) -- dancing ground
paí (Kayová) -- religious chief
pajés -- sorcerer
porahéi -- prayer
puxirão -- co-operative institution (expression of the solidarity of a group)
puxirõ (Kayová) -- co-operation, solidarity
puxirũ (Mbüá) -- co-operation, solidarity
resguardo (Portuguese) -- caution, defense, preventive measures

takuá (pú) -- rhythm stick for women
tavýterã -- celestial beings or spirits
tekópapá -- magic songs
tembetá -- labial ornament, lip plug
tamběó -- clothing piece
Tupá (Ñandéva) -- god of thunder
txeretã (Mbiá) -- physical part of a person ("my body")
txeñeã (Mbiá) -- spiritual part of a person ("my spirit, my tongue, my speech")
txiripá (Kayová) -- piece of male clothing
txumbé (Kayová) -- band worn around waist
yvaỹ (Ñandéva) -- sky
yvý-mará-eỹ -- mythical paradise (land without evil)
yvýñomimbyré (Ñandéva) -- mythical paradise
yvyráidjá -- protector spirit, also an officiant assisting ñanderú or paĩ
yvý opá -- the end of the world

3: Welmers E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ibid. Omitted Ibid.

NOTE ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS

ɑ, i, u, as in Italian.

e, as in English eat.

ɔ, tensed and unrounded, roughly as in English *law*; tensed and unrounded, as in English *bought*.

ɨ, high, mid, unrounded vowel.

ã, as in Portuguese *mãe*. The diacritic ◯ is regularly used to indicate nasalization.

Consonants have approximately their English values except: *R*, a voiced labial trill; *dj* or *j*, which ranges from the voiced fricative *z* of *azure* to the affricative initial of *James*; *ñ*, as in Spanish *señor*; *ŋ*, as in English *sing*; and ʔ, the glottal stop.

Where Cayuá words are like Tupian or Guaranian forms which have become a part of the Brazilian or Spanish-American vocabulary, standard spellings are used.

/48 cont./

601 Che-kywý ..... older brother, a woman speaking
Che-kywykuý ..... younger brother, a woman speaking
Che-ruhé ..... older sister, a woman speaking
Che-kyyý ..... younger sister, a woman speaking
Che-pé ..... nephew and niece, a woman speaking
Che-membý kwimbaé .. son, a woman speaking
Che-membý kuñá .... daughter, a woman speaking
Che-mé ..... husband
Che-mbaé ..... husband's sister; brother's wife, a woman speaking
Che-peú ..... daughter's husband, a woman speaking
Che-wíchá ..... son's wife; daughter's husband, a man speaking
Che-mendúa ..... husband's father; brother of the husband's father; brother of the husband's mother
Che-menuý ..... husband's mother; sister of the husband's mother; sister of the husband's father

---

.104 Final note: The phonetic value of all the letters corresponds to the Portuguese, with the exception of h, which is aspirated as in the English word have, of w, which is pronounced as in the English word water, and of y, a peculiar sound of the Tupi languages, in which it appears, for example, in the word y, water. The prefix che is the possessive of the first person singular.

1: Hanke, Wanda: Beitrag zur Kultur der Caiuás [Contribution on the culture of the Cayua]. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 81 (1956): 218-235. Braunschweig, Verlag Albert Limbach, 1956.

Yale: Nk10 Z37 81-82. HRAF MS: 27 p.; 12 plates.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schikze.

[In their religious ceremonies the Cayua Indians have retained important features of their original culture. However, under the pressure of intense contact with white Brazilians, acculturation of this group seems to advance rapidly. Protestant and Catholic missions do not seem to exercise much influence on these Indians, while considerable influence comes from the white civilian population with respect to economic conditions.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Lawyer-5
Processed in 1971-1973

2: Schaden, Egon. Aspectos Fundamentais da Cultura Guaraní /Fundamental Aspects of Guaraní Culture/. Corpo e Alma do Brasil 6. São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, April 1962.

Pp. 191; 12 plates. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-236./

Yale: CF2230.2 G72 S32 1962.

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Lars-Peter Lewinschn.

/The author discusses in this source several basic aspects of Guaraní culture, concentrating on three Guaraní subgroups: Mbüá, Ñandéva and Kayová, living in Brasil. The stress of the analysis (pointed out by author in the preface to the source) is on the acculturative processes occurring within material culture (dwellings, furnishings, clothing, diet), economic activities and non-material culture (community and family structure, music and folklore) with special examination of the religion and the world-view of Guaraní./

Field date: 1946-1962
Analyst: Dubravka Schmalzbauer

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1970

3: Watson, James Bennett. Cayuá culture change: a study in acculturation and methodology. American Anthropological Association, Memoir, 73. Monasha, 1952.

144 p.; map; 4 plates; index.

HRAF copy.

[After a discussion of the part of Guarani history for which written sources exist, the author discusses in detail the acculturative changes in Cayuá culture. He traces the causal interrelationships of these changes, and reaches the final conclusion that during the whole period of acculturation Cayuá culture manifested a relatively high degree of organization. Sharp conflicts or periods of stress apparently did not occur.

Strong acculturative influences took place during the period of missionization by the Jesuits from 1610 to 1768, and since the beginning of the 20th century when the expansion of the white Brazilian population deprived the Indians of the larger part of their territory. Today the Cayuá Indians live primarily on agriculture, instead of the hunting and fishing subsistence base of earlier times. The trade of some agricultural goods, strainers and hammocks to Whites, as well as wage labor for White agriculturists, have brought a certain amount of goods from Neo-Brazilian civilization to the Cayuá. The original extended family, which resided in one large building, has been replaced by the nuclear family which occupies a small dwelling alone.]

Field date: June-Dec. 1943
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evalutation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1971-1972

4: Watson, Virginia Drew. Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios cayuá [Notes on the kinship system of the Cayua Indians]. Sociologia, 6 (1944): 31-48. São Paulo, 1944.

Yale: Nm10 So152 6. [HRAF MS: pp. 1 23.]

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ivana Lillios.

[This short article contains lists of the kin terminology of the Cayua Indians, and describes the behavior between relatives in a rather generalized way. Considerations is given to written historical material from 17th to 19th century.]

Field work: 1943
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1974

5: Métraux, Alfred. The Guarani. U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 3, pp. 69-94. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1948.

2 plates (numbered as plates 11 and 12); bibliography.

HRAF copy.

/This source presents an excellent cultural summary of Guarani ethnography from the 16th century to modern times, as obtained in most part from written historical documents. In the opening pages of the source the author presents detailed information on Guarani tribal identifications, including the geographical locations of each subgroup mentioned. Métraux notes that in the 16th and 17th centuries the tribal group that we know as Guarani were called Carijo or Cario -- the term "guarani" not being used until the end of the 17th century -- and at that time occupied a large stretch of the Atlantic coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul. Today the Guarani who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by the Spanish chroniclers have long since disappeared and the names by which the various subgroups are known today are fairly recent in origin and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. In this source the author finds it necessary to deal with ancient and modern Guarani as if they were separate entities, and in addition to distinguish between the rural population of Paraguay who speak the Guarani language -- the modern civilized Guarani, and their primitive contemporaries who are referred to here as Caingua.

5: Métraux

Other data to be found in this source relate to the archaeology of the Guarani area, their culture history, subsistence patterns, foods and food preparation, villages and house types, dress and adornment, transportation, manufacture, social and political organization, life cycle, cannibalism, esthetic and recreational activities, religion, shamanism, mythology and messianic and revivalistic movements.

Where variations are noted between ancient and modern cultural patterns (i.e. Guarani vs. Caingua patterns), category 178 has been used to indicate this cultural variability in time.

The researcher should note that much of the data in this source on religion, shamanism and mythology, relates to the Apapocuva subgroup of the Guarani./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1970

6: Watson, James B. Historic influences and change in the economy of a Southern Mato Grosso tribe. Acta Americana 1/3 (1945): 3-25. México, D. F., Los Angeles, Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography, 1945.

Yale: C51 8 3.

[The author discusses briefly the available historical sources on the Cayua. No precise material on the period of Jesuit missions in the area exists. Only since the beginning of the 20th century do ethnographically useful data occur. The Cayua have expanded their agricultural activities due to the loss of territory in which game animals and fish occur, and due to the introduction of metal tools which make work in the fields easier. At the same time have they taken up employment as agricultural laborers with Neo-Brazilian Whites. This has led to the introduction of many industrially manufactured goods, and also to an individualization of the production and consumption pattern.]

Field date: July-November, 1943
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1971-1973

113, 143

Chiriguano SP10
Choroti SK8
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SA4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD8
Aymara SF5
Cua SH4
Yahgan SH8

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 118, pp. 107-114./

1: Hanke--1 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/218/

000

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101
197

The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingué. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113]

1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbdía (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

101
[174]

[113]

3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingúá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

697 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[241] [464]

• [113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

1: Hanke--3 O-5 (ca.1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/218/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Cainás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingué tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingué /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Cainás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are inter-
534 esting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curussú-Nheengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

532 177 124

532 524

532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

2: Schaden SM4 Guarani SM4

113

/For the bibliography to 2: Schaden, see Category 116, foreign text, pp. 185-188./

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

[113]

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

[177] [182]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 •

AMBROSETTI, JUAN

1894 Los Indios Cainguá del Alto Paraná (Misiones). *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, Vol. XV, pp. 661–744.

ANCHIETA, JOSE D', S.J.

1846 Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil. (Manuscripto offerecido ao Instituto pelo sócio correspondente o Sr. Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen), *Revista Trimensal de História e Geografia* or *Jornal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 254–262.

ANONYMOUS

1913 *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios e Localização de Trabalhadores Nacionais, constante do Relatório do Sr. Ministro da Agricultura, Indústria e Commércio relativo ao anno de 1911.* Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional.

AZARA, DON FELIX DE

1904 *Geografía Física y Política de las Provincias del Paraguay, y Misiones Guaranies.* Montevideo: Museo Nacional.

1934 *Viajes por la América Meridional.* 2 Vols. Translated from French by Francisco de las Barras de Aragon. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

BALDUS, HERBERT

1929 Ligeiras notas sobre os índios Guaranys do Littoral Paulista. *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XVI, pp. 81–96.

1936 Ligeiras notas sobre duas tribus tupis da margem paraguaya do Alto Paraná. *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XX, pp. 749–756.

1937 *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira.* Série V, Brasiliana, Vol. 101, Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

BALDUS, HERBERT, AND WILLEMS, EMILIO

1939 *Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia.* São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

CARDOSO, RAMON I.

1938 *El Guaira, historia de la antigua provincia, 1554–1676.* Buenos Aires: Jesus Menéndez.

COHEN, MORRIS R., AND NAGEL, ERNEST

1934 *An Introduction to Logic and the Scientific Method.* New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.

COOK, O. F.

1921 Milpa Agriculture, A Primitive Tropical System. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1919.* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, pp. 307–326.

1930 The Debt of Agriculture to Tropical America. Pan-American Union *Bulletin* Vol. LXIV.

COSTA, ANTONE

1934 *Introdução à Arqueologia Brasileira, Etnografia e História.* Série V, Brasiliana, Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Vol. 34. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 113

CUTLER, HUGH C.

1946 Races of Maize in South America. *Botanical Museum Leaflets*, Vol. XII, No. 8, pp. 257–291.

DOBRIZHOFFER, MARTIN

1822 *An Account of the Abipones, an equestrian people of Paraguay.* Translated from the Latin. 3 vols. London: John Murray.

DRUMMOND, CARLOS

1944 *Dos designativos de parentesco e a partícula 'tyb' do Tupi-Guarani.* Boletim XLVI da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, No. 5, São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais.

EGGAN, FRED

1938 *Anthropology 210.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, Extension Division, Home Study Department.

FIRTH, RAYMOND

1929 *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

GILLIN, JOHN

1945 Parallel cultures and the inhibitions to acculturation in a Guatemalan community. *Social Forces*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1–14.

GODOI, MANUEL FERREIRA DE

1946 *Los extinguidos Paingué de la cascada de Emas.* Boletin No. XIV, Instituto de Arqueologia, Lingüística y Folklore "Dr. Pablo Cabrera," Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad.

GRAS, N. S. B.

1930 Barter. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II. New York: Macmillan.

HERNANDEZ, P. PABLO

1913. *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesus.* 2 Vols. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

HERSKOVITS, M. J.

1938 *Acculturation.* New York: J. J. Augustin.

HOMANS, GEORGE C.

1947 A conceptual scheme for the study of social organization. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 13–26.

IHERING, HERMANN VON

1907 A antropologia do Estado de São Paulo, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. VII.

1911 Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. VIII. Map.

IZIKOWITZ, KARL GUSTAV

1935 *Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians.* Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

JAMES, PRESTON

1942 *Latin America.* New York: Odyssey Press.

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL

1931 *Marriage, Kinship, Family and Clan among the Indian Tribes of Northern Non-Andean South America.* Translated from German, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 63, pp. 85–193, by Burton B. Lifschultz. Ms. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

KLIMEK, S., AND MILKE, W.
1935 An analysis of the material culture of the Tupi peoples, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 71–91. 113 •

KOCH, TH.
1903 Zur Ethnographie der Paraguay-Gebiete und Mato Grosses, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 21–33, Wien: Alfred Holder.

KOENIGSWALD, GUSTAV VON
1908 Os Cayuás. Unpublished Portuguese translation by F. W. Sommer from the German original: Die Cayuás, *Globus*, Vol. 93, pp. 376–381. Braunschweig: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn.

KROEBER, A. L.
1935 History and science in anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 539–569.

LINTON, RALPH (ed.)
1940 *Acculturation in Seven North American Indian Tribes*. New York: D. Appleton-Century.
1945 *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

LOTHROP, S. K.
1932 Indians of the Paraná Delta, Argentina. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 77–232.

LOUKOTKA, CESTMIR
1929 Le Šeta, Un Nouveau Dialecte Tupi. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. XXI, pp. 374–398.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1930 Marriage. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. X. New York: Macmillan.
1946 *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. 2nd ed. New York: Rinehart & Company.

MACHON, DR.
1895 Les Cainguá, voyage du Dr. Machon à travers de Paraguay, Mai, juin et juillet 1891. *Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie*, Vol. VIII, pp. 215–224.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW
1945 *The Dynamics of Culture Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

MEAD, MARGARET
1937 *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

MELO E SILVA, JOSE DE
1939 *Fronteiras Guaranis*. São Paulo: Imprensa Metodista.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED
1927 Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. XIX, Paris: au Siège de la Société, pp. 1–45.
1928 *La Civilisation Matérielle des Tribus Tupi-Guarani*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
1946 Ethnography of the Chaco. *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 1.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 113

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 143. Washington: Government Printing Office.

n.d. *The Tupinambá*. Ms. Property of Dr. Fred Eggan, The University of Chicago. This ms. is apparently a final or nearly final draft of an article to appear in *The Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, (cf. Métraux, 1946).

MONTOYA, ANTONIO RUIZ DE

1876 *Arte de la Lengua Guaraní, o mas Bien Tupí*. Vienna: Faesy y Frick.

MÜLLER, F.

1934–35 Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guarani-Indianer im östlichen Waldgebiet von Paraguay. *Anthropos*, Vols. 29 & 30.

NIMUENDAJÚ (See "UNKEL")

NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND

1917 The Guarani invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: an historical Indian migration. *The Geographical Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 103–121.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.

n.d. *The nature of a theoretical natural science of society*. Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago. (Mimeographed.)

RADIN, PAUL

1942 *Indians of South America*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company.

REDFIELD, ROBERT

1941 *Folk Culture of Yucatan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

RENGGER, J. R.

1835 *Reise nach Paraguay in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger)*. Aarau: H. R. Sauerlander.

SAMPAIO, TEODORO

1890 Considerações geográphicas e económicas sobre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema, *Boletim da Commissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, No. 4. São Paulo: Leroy King Bookwalter.

SODRE, NELSON WERNECK

1941 *Oeste, Ensaio sobre a grande propriedade pastoril*. Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, 31. Rio de Janeiro: José Olýmpio Editora.

STADEN, HANS

1928 *The History of His Captivity*. Translated by Malcom Letts. London, Routledge and Sons.

STRELNIKOV, I. S.

1928 Les Kaa-iwua du Paraguay. *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale Degli Americanisti*, Vol. II, pp. 333–366.

TAUNAY, VISCONDE DE

1931 *Entre os Nossos Indios*. São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos.

TAUNAY, ALFONSO DE ESCRAGNOLLE

1924–36 *História Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas*. São Paulo: Tipografia Ideal.

TECHO, NICHOLAS, DEL, S. J.

1704 The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Paraná, Guaira, and Urvaica. And something of the Kingdom of Chili. In

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

South America, A Collection of Voyages and Travels, pp. 680–807. London: Awnsham and John Churchill. 113

UNKEL, KURT NIMUENDAJÚ

1914 *Leyenda de la Creación y Juicio Final del Mundo como Fundamento de la Religión de los Apapokuva-Guarani.* Translated by Juan Francisco Recalde from the German original: Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva-Guarani, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 46, 284–403. São Paulo: Private printing, 1944.

VOGT, P. FR., S. V. D.

1904 Die Indianer des obern Paraná. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 201–221 and 353–376.

WAGLEY, CHARLES, AND GALVAO, EDUARDO

1946 O parentesco Tupi-Guarani. *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, Nova Série, No. 6 Antropologia.

WATSON, JAMES B.

1945 Historic Influences and Change in the Economy of a Southern Mato Grosso Tribe. *Acta Americana*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 3–25.

n.d. *The Cayuá: a contemporary Guarani tribe.* Unpublished manuscript.

WATSON, VIRGINIA DREW

1944 Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios Cayuá. *Sociologia*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 31–48

1945 An example of rural Brazilian acculturation. *Acta Americana*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 152–162.

WEST, JAMES

1945 *Plainville, U S. A.* New York: Columbia University Press.

ERRATA

Figure 2, pp. 96–97, II.A.b., line two, should be "declines," not "decline." II.B.e., line two, should be "shift," not "shifts." On the extreme right-hand side of the table there should have been no line connecting II.B.d. and II.B.h., but II.B.a. should have been connected by lines to II.B.d. and to II.B.f. 000

[P. 138 is blank]

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

•[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya: /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. R., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1850-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Econômicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann. "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140.

[113].

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
I2020

C
Ca
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ca
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

8: Schmidt--7 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF
Guarani SM4

/4 cont./

175 [113] 1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

175 648 175 648 726 [728]

[Text continues on p. 10]

Guarani SM4

/5 cont./

M4 M5 167 648

It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113]

7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de limites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

114 175 167 648

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

C
Ee
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ee
Gi
[113]

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

G1
E
175
648

/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo*
[300] because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24°
[178] S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[341] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

•113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 [756] [792] [777]

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

•113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain'
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
101 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Ratiri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Ratins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Ratiri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendaju, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrovaí) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

• 114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me [123] in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I [115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, flanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbbá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

122 128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties: always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--7 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128 114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/10 cont./

197
10

Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128]

4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañygua and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

[114]

/10 cont./

178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, par-
[101] ticularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the [114] extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the [101] Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbiá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirũ, Ñaneirũ ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apũteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetũ /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/11 cont./

101
• [114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teñí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an autodenomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakiry, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá y yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaicuá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

[128]

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

• [114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Tefi (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapüté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

161 /12 cont./
162
• [114]

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in
114 the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it
186 will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá í (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

175 In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or al-
361 most totally, dispersed (15).
[62]

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./
One of my principal informants comes from
[115] there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do
[114] Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of
twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there
is a note by me among those that accompany
"Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt
Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

175 The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some
167 families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and
[361] Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change be-
cause of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste
/Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to
help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The
episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accom-
[361] panying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later
settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is
found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbiá
from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing
Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the
coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around
1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived
in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory con-
[361] tiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three
bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas
Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of
Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo;
the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco
and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra
do Itariri.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/15 cont./ At
62 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
735 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
733 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
184 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
157 one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimmendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
177 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
114 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
177 tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tõldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. --
[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato
621 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquaspiri (Reserva Cêrro Poró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nova). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1948.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestiço. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 130 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klâkuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
[283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tîkâ) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 flemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
798 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsï) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu: I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type: I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/
[262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par-
[273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the
[433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known
824 among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto.
[437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of
[177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural
[437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in-
[173] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one
[126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some
[114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

2: Schaden--58 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/48 cont./

243
824

reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatĩ mũtĩ, sometimes avatĩ karapé, sometimes avatĩ mirĩ. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatĩ pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtĩ (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtĩ (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatĩ djakairá morõtĩ or avatĩ pukú morõtĩ, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground": it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatĩ djakairá morõtĩ.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatĩ pukú, morõtĩ and pỹtĩ, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[114]
[115]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Ñandéva
Kayová

142
302
891
463
114
142
853
302
891

I. Marçal de Souza, Ñandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

/51 cont./

244 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or
262 aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient
[114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases
[171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi-
[177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for
[192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kitĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kitĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiólmũra drains off.
[192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads formeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kũí
[192] morõkí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I
[114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use
[126] of the grater.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
324 Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokã ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves: they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá: all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Ikiriri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbiá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [577] [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [324] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the flanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
883 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose village he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/83/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbiá), and
415 mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
• 114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacú." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbiá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pái with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
[014]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462
[184]
[178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the man, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[577]

2: Schaden--103 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. [171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- [114] it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," [196] but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépoxá used for the mother, [827] and only the Mbyá consider her (odjéko)aku; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the [115] Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; [184] the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that [789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions [114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
• [114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the
father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as
well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that
hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret
his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally
different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with
reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it
among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect
in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby,
but simply its magical security and the health of the child.
Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to
social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much
less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function
of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within
the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to
repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would
be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the
first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that
would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in
the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní
there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine
post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children
come from the father and female children from the mother, I
have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the
paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbiá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /so resguardar/ after
the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[826]

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the taste in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 102.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayové give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayové the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepy, or kunumí-ptéka, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, as inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the Kanderé (pai) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of sui age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayové of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepy coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avati-mangaré (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

2: Schaden--122 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/99 cont./

756 [622]

Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not cures, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great cures are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pracoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pracoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

[114]

622 756 [178]

"In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 198 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 221.

And where the religious needs demand it, the Ñandéri does not hesitate to take decisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the Ñandéri: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the capitanía. For the present-day Mbiá of eastern Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to by Pedro Miller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitán), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities.

623 178

[114] [624]

623 /100 cont./
128
114
624
courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office: the table of the Nimiri family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamin Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his /100/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among the Mundrúku of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the women, to which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with the problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

624 114 (625)

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the Nanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the Nanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambí, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[57] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[59] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /102/ decided to divide the lands of Panambí in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
156 General mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
[114] with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Iguatemi, said one that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[536] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[777] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of
[498] the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the post, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the Ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be Ñanderú or at least
[622] xyvirãgi (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the Ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast. In order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Acatibá in Manguinho or Peixoto, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, Ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are circular and open intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adapt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--152 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1952 S144 Guarani S144

/118 cont./

113 115 What is /118/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title Ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

774 [826] For the Mbiá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into tsaesú ("my body") and tsaiá (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality. In consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of tsaiá from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbiá, as Cadogan [184] [114] also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 181 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 32.

774 [824] [191] The Mbiá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called Ñañ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial essence of the personality.

/123 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
79% of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the *porahéi* is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable *porahéi*, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbyá. The Kayowá,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the *paí*.

Each *porahéi* consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, relating to the supernatural spirits. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the *porahéi* the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience paranoid states, sometimes not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
924 *porahéi*, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of showing or making indiscreet use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the committee ceremonies when he asks that the Guaraní watch him dance that he possesses or knows. As described one day an selection of so-called folkloric music apparently he made use of the Guaraní prayers because "typical" compositions, which, as it appears, were

/122 cont./

782 424 114 [123] then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Mandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacaré confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Mandetjára. If he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Mandetjára tsuijuká," said Miléto. Among the Mbiá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers showing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [114] [116] [129]

782 775 779 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the parakiti is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /126/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reflection, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incorporated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and sanctify itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñañ or ayvú, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

[126] 782 778 621

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the counterscorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of counterscorcery, as was explained to me by [115] [825] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

• [114] [115] 759 758 766 825 /130/ A singular ritual practice of counterscorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Manoel de Souza. When the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, pull, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomimes and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a set of maledictions, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Finally similiar ceremony /like cont. line/.

Tr Schaden--175 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S364 Guarani S364

/134 cont./

761 763 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 764 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbyá are concerned, [114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 765 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/[illegible]/ Burial inside the hut, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní tribes.

764 765 765 Among the Mbyá, however, the memory that they formerly had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are found in the forest, some kilometers from the villages. In fact [illegible] [illegible] there being even from a small mound of earth, lots of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrown in at the foot of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the Mbyá

/135 cont./

775 764 972 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbüé, Šanéva, and Kayové -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayové say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (18).

> 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 187). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave of the adults. Mangal, my principal and best informant, said me the Šanéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayové: the Ñañgué of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant said me that, for the Šanéva, the deceased sometimes "sacrifices" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other ways: it is because the Ñañgué is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the Ñañgué (originally only the additive part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

[115]

[774]

/138 cont./

775 not have entrance to the ay," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
972 out rest, becoming transformed into an angaiby. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duity of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pîtwo Indigen Cuat Mitsumdajé (Aratiné), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), th graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way a the Christian ones are. Not, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find: on the tomb of adults they place the pottage
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water,besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends"that belonged to the deceased, and
which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an
unlimited time. At the country of the Pîtwo Indigenes Benjamin
Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, pottages,
calabashes, shoes, bows, dies, pots and pans, and so on. Ex-
posed to the weather, these objects are gradually /[illegible]/ destroyed.
It also happens, as Capitão Jacob said me, that the better things
are "stolen" by some interested person. This suspicion, in fact,
must be great. I have not was able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "soul" (angaiby) of the dead person
[114] • can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /Pesa p. 106/ the original source./
No calabash is idle the grave, aside from
those that belongs to the dead man or woman,
contrary to what T.D. Wanen states. Idem,
p. 46.

763 Among the tribe I was within the material goods of the deceased
[illegible]
[illegible]

/191 cont./

765 177 [795] 191 [329]

religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven: thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Aracambal told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry: this is not the Indian way. All should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the fear of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious: what interests the Indian is the correctional aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Aracambal -- one could indeed see that the relatives of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there was no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Wesson states (12) --

764 [114]

12. /From p. 132 of the original source./
V. D. Wesson, 1944, p. 46.

-- that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /116/ crying out. Performance that Kayová say that they religiously bathed the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they have prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

765 176 [82]

764 175

Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní is in diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto, Aracambal). It is a case of setting out for the rising sun of the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Ismael's revelation, the journey of the dead to the land without evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[115]

/181 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of village in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung aus Prasilig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1515, p. 38 ff. passim), and about which various chronicles also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any unity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tamoinhã), the Fountain of Youth (Arasá /Arawak/ of Central America), the Permanent Sun (Kanaã /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Paynguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world by the Sun.

— Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by one of my earlier work (Schaden, 1945, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "[illegible]."

/182 cont./
in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbiá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1948, p. 34.

[184] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /185/ by Métraux[illegible], that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a misinterpretation of the Apocalypse of the John /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in history that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and unrealistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Fliscoán, 1956, p. 97.

Thus we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is commonly attributed to it.

Zi Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

973
191
• 114

The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guarani problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Mbiawa told me that he had found it among the Tsitsqdhu /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucú/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybê will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1[illegible], p. [illegible].

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 177-178.

973
191

In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Tapi, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual condition of the tribe had been abdicated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guarani representations.

/189 cont./

2. The Mbiá

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbiá. From Nimuendajú's work one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbiá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbiá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture subsoil influence has as yet been determined.

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbiá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise into genuine form of ayopéjá, that is, as spiritual and physical protection, now exists more closely than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by late Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the closer to religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

/190/ On the one hand we have the shore-mentioned Mbiá of Guaíra, in whose central life the role of the eschatology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the idea of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a spiritual state of happiness obtained as reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences of the "visionary" behavior, a state that relies less on the physical conditions of existence than on the love of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on theirs to the sea, and who look on Paradise primarily as a place of rest and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense gives to the myth springs from the motivation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain determinations.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the colônia of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a pelotão of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (município) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 20,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over uncart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from these Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are conditioned briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, reference to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgment for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual do Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil, Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgment are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these employees Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Dulcen Tolentino and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elaborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chefe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, encarregado of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, encarregado of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at Utiléo, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Tapuyapé group.

For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tucker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Gurrey efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

James E. Watson

Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[20] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular head chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani." 101

Métraux,[21] and Klimek and Milke,[22] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

101 114 101 131 167 174

[20] The territory today roughly occupied by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[21] Métraux, 1928. [22] Klimek and Milke, 1938.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[54] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[55]

175* 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupí-Guarani peoples,[56] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[57] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

174* 175* 167 648 668

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

---

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[55] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually pre-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Tagapiré, certainly no older than 30 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[56] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [57] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[108]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[108] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate
the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a cer-
tain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents
of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law.
For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband,
and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-
law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex).
For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are
classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband
and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first
descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband
are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while
for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law.
The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the
affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first
descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs
today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and
the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might
have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

• 114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any
distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family
(7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

> 11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

•[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Caingué, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaiwá, Kaingá, Kaingué, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. R., *Reise nach Paraguay, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826* (nach den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5 1

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guarani languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranis". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guarani" or "Northern Guarani". Gay (Cónego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guarani" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Caiagué (= Cayuá).

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
175 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
169 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
484 of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani
[162] territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
114 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
175 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
169 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
484 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the
174 Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the
C G Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
175 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
169 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
648 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco.
484 These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C G 175 721 726 I [726] [701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C E 114 175 721 726 I [712] C G 114 175 167 E 175 167 721 726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce [648] [567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

E
114
127
175
167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

E
175
167
[114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/333 cont./

E
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
131 (*Kaygua*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shctá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[301] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
464 in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will con-
[123] tinually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I
[115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão
122 Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.
128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D. D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--11 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teñi (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name [114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not [115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapüté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official [659] administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as 167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114]

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

/12 cont./

175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Manoeo do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

[115]

[114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbiá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1948, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with trumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambóó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambóó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambóó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body: at the height of the left hip it is tied with a silken cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The trumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends: I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katiguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 291 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 382 well weave or wove trumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of trumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of trumbé.

/48 cont./

243
824

reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mitã, sometimes avatí kacapé, sometimes avatí mirí. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtã (white), djú (yellow) or pytã (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakaiá morõtã or avatí pukú morõtã, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /48/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground": it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another: "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more: and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakaiá morõtã.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of [114] [115] Nandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí pukú, morõtã and pytã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one: it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crust of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight: the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/49 cont./

243 824 [193] too. The red maize avatí puhú ypyk, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djahairé was a Kayowá Indian who received the white saberó maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayowá. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pêno Indígena Benjamin [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó ruá nerángé, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñandoroí hayguá, let us go to bapxise the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hií a ní, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñaboubo'ú ñandá avatí rá aracorí); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/57 cont./

47% In all the *Guaraní* groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Pirajuí among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasts of the *Guaraní* into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /18/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
47% to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Ikatiri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so: those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão: food is very expensive.

47% The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three gear-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

47% The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbyá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

2: Schaden--81 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/69 cont./

828 856 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also 856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing 82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãã Ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kyréỹvadjá). Kyréỹ mombyrý ché, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony: at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbyá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them: they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of 89 contempt with which Miguel, Mbyá Ñanderú, told me: "We do 828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does 828 not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This (115)

2: Schaden--89 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh44

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbïá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbïá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Rariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my • [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter: she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová: among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably
[115] also holds for the Mbïá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an
[178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the
[829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifices: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the Ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [583] [571] [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the 584 [585] description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: [114] There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the [115] girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

2: Schaden--103 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal breeding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbiá consider her (odjéko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbhá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the [152] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhóakú, [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim).

/95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yrofsí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real impertance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúytétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúytétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

2: Schaden--152 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and treñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of treñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [176] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahẽi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Ziai of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. 754 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/129 cont./

754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by
[115] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair
[825] from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the
[115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to
754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When
755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into
766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and
825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/135 cont./

775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
972 the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small
fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová
say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
[114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an
originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the
contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning
other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave
• [115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽgué of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽgué is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire
[774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽgué (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

1: Hanke O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 5344 Guarani 5344

Contribution on the Culture of the Cayua
[Beitrag zur Kultur der Caiuás]

Wanda Hanke

Brunswick: 1956
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
Vol. 81, pp. 218-235

Translated from the German by Frieda Schiffer

Human Relations Area Files

1968

[Title page]

/218/

000

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingué. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/. São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbiá (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiowá (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiowás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apytenés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there:

101
174 /218 cont./
the Catuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Catuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Catuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

659
361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town: six kilometers from there the village of Pariaba Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Sarico and Caarito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Takyuá. At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of
[241] the Protective Service, the Catuás live in villages entirely by
[964] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianersiedler im Südosten des Mato Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Cainás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingué tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingué /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Cainás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (bouá) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely undecorated carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical: I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

293 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembecá. -- While the Tembecá attach no special
[324] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Cainás regard this as essential.

301 /219 cont./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resins: in the language of the Caiuás [198] they are called tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (?). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sundown. The man who does it must fast after midday and the [199] following forenoon: drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá: it is their 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore 793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/220 cont./

798 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
199 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
198 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
197 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little: the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve: the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tebycuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumí-Nheengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 197 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone lock-
532 197 ing at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man
124 living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other
532 ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as
524 are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out
532 of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The
276 artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

1: Hanke--7 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

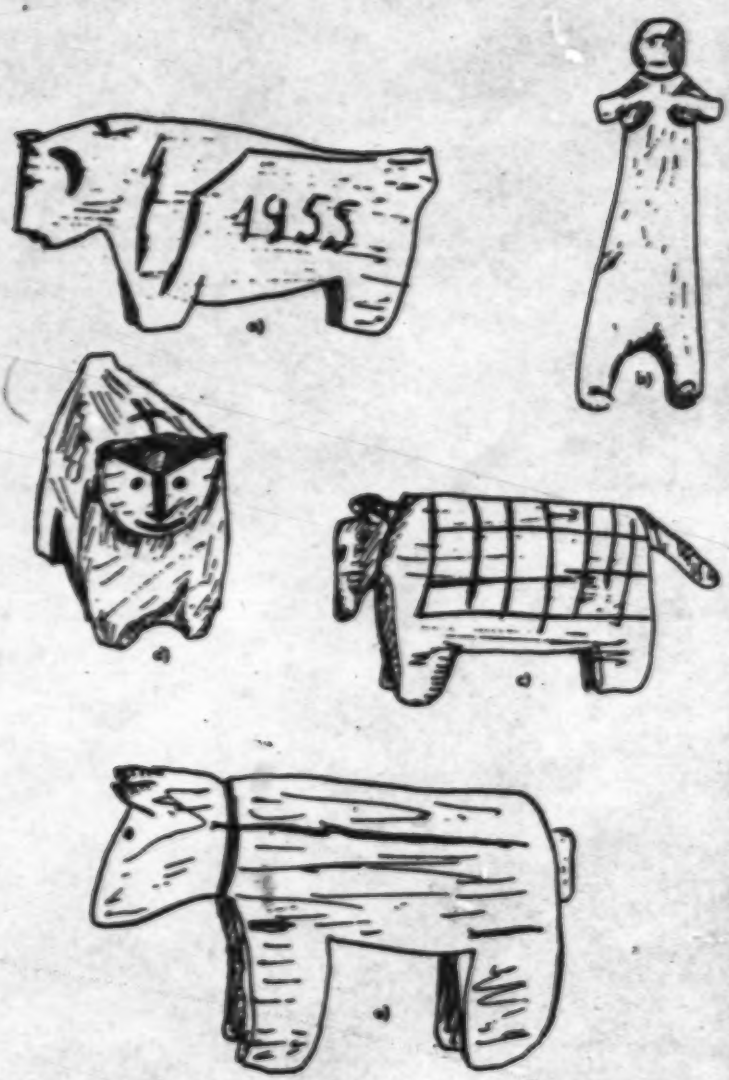
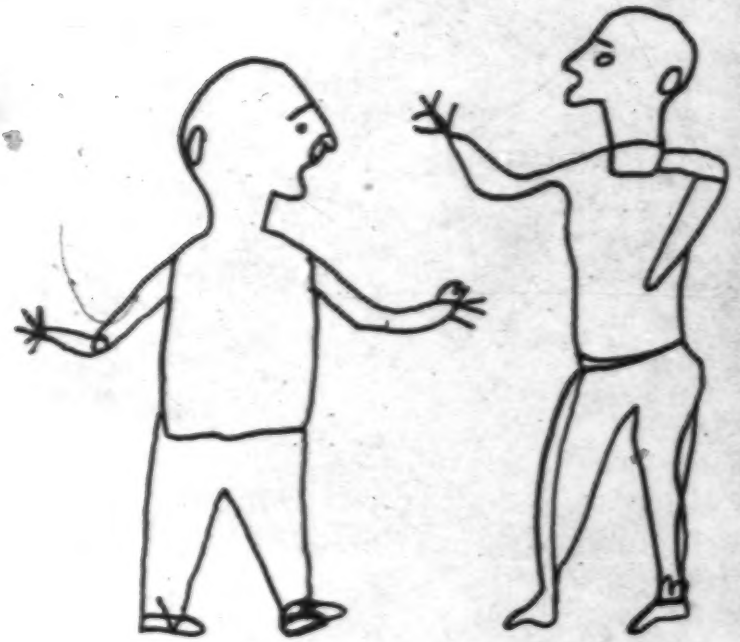


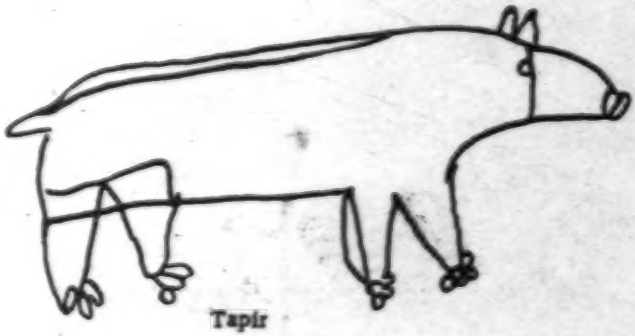
Plate I

a) Monkey from the side; b) human figure (woman); c) armadillo; d) monkey from the front; e) wild pig.

532



Man Man



Tapir

Plate II

1: Hanke--9 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

532

Man

Ostrich

Ara

Girl

Pig

Duck

Plate III

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/224 cont./

532
776

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

[177]
←

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

708 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353
708 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/225 cont./

539 [776] His wife is Nhande-Sý (Our Mother). -- In ancient times this divine couple inhabited the earth. One day, however, the god ascended to heaven, while Nhande-Sý remained behind on earth (9). -- There the earth god, Curussú Nheengatú (the

9. Cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen /Myths/," etc., pp. 317 f.

speaking cross), met her and was inflamed with love for her. He succeeded in winning the heart of the goddess. Soon afterwards, however, he left her. Now she went in search of Nhande-Rú-Vussú, but she /228/ did not know the way. She therefore asked the children in her womb. At first she received accurate information from them. As they became tired, however, they became inattentive, and finally they were mistaken and indicated the wrong way, which led to the house of the jaguar. At that time the jaguars were still human beings, hence "beginning of the jaguar" (10). The jaguar devoured the goddess and pulled

10. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., pp. 121 ff. and p. 122, who reports specifically on the origin of the animals. A comparison with the mythology of the Dêtoana, in which the animals originated as a result of the transformation of human beings, is interesting. Cf. my study, "Creencias /Beliefs/," etc. -- The Puruborá likewise speak of the "beginning of the jaguar": this jaguar, still human, is called Karurá.

the children out of her womb in order to take them to his grandmother, who had scarcely any teeth and thus needed tender meat for her diet. The old one, however, took a fancy to the two boys and did not want to kill them. So they remained with her and were reared by her like grandsons. The two children were Cuarahy, the sun, and Yasý, the moon. -- When they were only

3

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
291
516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/226 cont./

539 Quickly the boys returned home with much fruit, the guavirá, and reported where they had found it. The whole family of the jaguar now set out with large carrying baskets in order to gather fruit. They all had to cross a river. The boys had built a bridge with their arrows. The wife of the jaguar, who was pregnant, went at the head of the procession. The jaguars followed her, and the grandparents of the /227/ jaguars came last. When they were all on the bridge, it collapsed; the jaguars fell into the river and were drowned (11). Only the wife

11. In connection with all this, cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen," etc., pp. 319 ff.

was able to save herself by a long leap onto land. At this moment, however, she became an animal-jaguar and later gave birth to two sons, who came into the world as animals. -- Never again were there jaguars who were human beings.

The grandparents likewise saved themselves by quickly retreating from the bridge they had just stepped onto. -- Cuarahy spoke to the jaguar-grandmother without making himself visible. She was so startled that she turned into a large wolf. -- The boys now took the jaguar-grandfather, the last jaguar-human, and turned him into a paca (a rodent). As such they killed him amid solemn ceremonies and put him into the /Fig. 6 appears here/ cooking pot. Since then paca may not be roasted, only boiled. They prayed over the cooking pot and blessed the meat so that it would become a food agreeable to human beings.

After these events the brothers set out to look for the spirit of the mother murdered by the jaguars. The spirit lived in the house of the falcon. -- The boys came to many rivers and reached the seacoast. A crocodile appeared there, and it served the boys as a riding animal; they mounted it, in order that it might carry them across the sea. The crocodile obeyed, to be sure, but before it reached the other seacoast it turned back. This performance was repeated, despite the violent remonstrances of the children. The latter finally jumped into the sea near

/227 cont./

793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sÿ. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

1: Henke--17 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Marití.

778 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the
826 cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their
[778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý.
539 She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things).
829 Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also
191 called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

1: Hanke--19 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Détoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 534 [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tebycuá. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 574 576 [192] man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/331 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairé in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe reté moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe yeguaka moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí warópyta moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí warikambý moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí wapétya moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí warópyta moñyro, ñe ryhaý.
Hangatú, ñe ryhaý, ñe curumí kuñuabá moñyro, ñe ryhaý."

/[illegible]/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that Ia
539 ryhaŷ is used instead of Nhanderyhaŷ. Although Nhanderyhaŷ
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahŷ, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; ryhaŷ is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhandeŷ-ryhaŷ means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song Ia = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderyhaŷ, to the elder brother of the Catuãs, and asks for purity of the body
[796] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahŷ, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[798] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
796 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation: It runs
539
533

/232 cont./

[176]
539
533

"Hodri yahá, hodri yahá, ie resí.
Nhanderykeŷ mbarahá ĩe resí,
Nhanderykeŷ ha dáyrukŷ ĩe resí,
Nhanderykeŷ yeguaka ĩe resí,
Nhanderykeŷ kuakuahá ĩe resí,
Nhanderykeŷ tamberá ĩe resí."

Translation

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeŷ has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[176] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[178] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/[illegible] cont./
[796] [837] [535] dials. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather dials. The men form a

[842] [891] [526] [591] [596]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

[993] [996] Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[178] [184] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/232 cont./

[193] urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:

[533] /234/

[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridzui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke

[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adaptation and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage

[177] then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[193] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies

[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykuý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-

179 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their

[114] Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the
threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous ad-
vance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding
colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to
the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian
Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the
free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best
adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how
to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial
transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a
practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own
interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among
the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly
well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and
avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional
unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little
town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[799] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing
of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the
Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic
and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the
Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is
omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

1: Hanke SM4 Guarani

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ETHNOLOGIE

Organ der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde

Band 81

BRAUNSCHWEIG
VERLAG ALBERT LIMBACH
1956

[Title Page]

[D-218]

Beitrag zur Kultur der Caiuás

Von
Wanda Hanke

Mit 3 Tafeln und 11 Abbildungen

I. Rasse und Wohnsitz.
II. Materielle Kultur.
III. Kunst und Musik.
IV. Religiöse Vorstellungen, Mythen und Fabeln.
V. Noch heute übliche Zeremonien.
VI. Einfluß der Umwelt.

I. Rasse und Wohnsitz

Die Caiuás-Indianer gehören zur Völkerfamilie der Tupi-Guarani und sprechen das Guarani, das auch von den Indianern in Ostparaguay gesprochen wird. Im engeren Sinne bilden sie eine jener Gruppen, die man unter dem Namen Cainguá zusammenfaßt. — Egon Schaden hat in seinem jüngsten Buche[1]) die Guarani in Brasilien in drei dialektische Gruppen geteilt: die Ñandéva, die Mbüa[2]), die Kaiová[3]). Ohne auf die beiden anderen einzugehen, möchte ich bemerken, daß die Kaiovás oder Caiuás den gleichen Dialekt sprechen wie die Tembecuá oder Apyterés in den Wäldern Nordostparaguays. Sie haben auch sonst viel mit dieser Gruppe gemeinsam, die jedoch heute noch wenig berührt ist von europäischer Kultur und in ihren Wäldern nach alter Weise lebt[3]). — Es ist ehemals vielleicht ein Teil der Tembecuá nach Brasilien ausgewandert und hat sich dort niedergelassen; daraus mögen die Çaiuás[4]) hervorgegangen sein. Viele von ihnen erzählen von Verwandten in Paraguay und unternehmen gelegentliche Besuche dahin. Bei manchen ist ihr Portugiesisch mit spanischen Brocken vermischt. Ich glaube daher, nicht fehlzugehen, wenn ich in den Caiuás eingewanderte Indianer sehe, die in engster Beziehung zu den paraguayischen Tembecuá stehen. —

Ihre heutigen Wohnsitze befinden sich zum größten Teil im Munizip Dourados im südlichen Mato Grosso. Das Zentrum des Munizips ist das Städtchen Dourados, das in den letzten Jahren beträchtlich gewachsen ist.

Vier Kilometer vom Städtchen entfernt liegt der Posten des Indianerschutzdienstes „Francisco Horta"; sechs Kilometer davon das Dorf *Farinha Seca*, wo der Häuptling João wohnt. Es folgen weitere Dörfer: *Boróro* und *Cerrito*, welche dicht beieinander sind, und das weiter entfernte Panambi mit 400 Seelen. — Eine Tagesreise mit dem Lastauto führt nach einem anderen Regierungsposten, namens Tehycué. In diesen Punkten und in einigen anderen, alle im Gebiet der Posten des Schutzdienstes, leben die Caiuás in Dörfern ganz unter sich und haben ihre eigenen Pflanzungen. — Außerhalb dieser Dörfer finden sich vereinzelte Indianer, die bei Gutsherren arbeiten oder ein unstetes Leben führen. Auch einige Familien haben sich isoliert, wie ich andernorts berichtet habe[5]).

---

1) Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani. São Paulo. 1955.
2) Schreibweise von Schaden.
3) Vgl. meine Arbeit über die Tembecuá. Revista de Indias. In Druckvorbereitung. Universität Madrid.
4) Caiuás ist wohl eine Korruption des Namens Cainguá, der Waldvolk bedeutet. (Caa-Wald, guá = Volk.)
5) Vgl. Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Mato Grosso. (Manuskript.)

II. Materielle Kultur

Die in ihrer Stammesorganisation verbliebenen Caiuás haben mehr von ihrer materiellen Kultur bewahrt als die verstreut wohnenden.

Ich gebe hier einen kurzen Überblick dieser Kultur im Vergleich zur materiellen Kultur der Cainguá-Stämme in Paraguay[6]: Die Bogen und Pfeile der Caiuás sind etwas kürzer und feiner. In ihren Körben gibt es einige Unterschiede. Es fehlen die für Paraguay-Indianer charakteristischen Tragkörbe (boná), die kunstvoll verziert sind mit eingeflochtenen Mustern. Sie werden ersetzt durch einfache, völlig schmucklose Tragkörbe, denen die Hinterwand fehlt, die nur markiert ist durch gekreuzte Gürtel aus der Schale einer Lianenwurzel. Im allgemeinen sind die Korbwaren einfach und grob. — Interessant sind die Signalpfeifen; sie werden aus Holz geschnitzt, bald rund, bald oval oder konisch; einmal sah ich eine Doppelpfeife, die zwei nebeneinandergestellten Eierbechern glich.

Von großer Bedeutung sind noch heute die Gegenstände, die bei Zeremonien gebraucht werden. Dazu gehört der Poncho des Zauberpriesters, besetzt mit kleinen Federbüscheln und Federflaum des Tukans (Pfefferfresser), unten in Fransen auslaufend. Der Poncho ist aus Baumwolle gewebt. Meist werden über ihm, auf der Brust gekreuzt, Baumwollgürtel mit Federbehängen oder vielfache Samenketten getragen. Das Haupt ist mit einem Federdiadem geschmückt, hauptsächlich aus Tukanfedern bestehend, von dem hinten lange Schnüre voll Federbüschel herabhängen. Bisweilen finden sich Jaguarkrallen mitbefestigt. Um die Handgelenke trägt der Priester Federarmbänder und in der durchbohrten Unterlippe den Lippenpflock aus Harz, genannt *Tembetá*. — Während die Tembecuá keinen besonderen Wert darauf legen, daß der Lippenpflock aus Harz sei, ist dies den Caiuás wesentlich.

Die Herstellung dieses Lippenpflocks ist genau vorgeschrieben und gilt bei den Alten als eine Art religiöser Handlung. Zwei verschiedene Bäume liefern das geeignete Harz; sie heißen in der Sprache der Caiuás: *Tembetá* und *Caiuí*. Das Harz des ersteren wird weitaus höher geschätzt.

Die Gewinnung und Herstellung geschieht auf folgende Weise: Man schält die Rinde eines geeigneten Stammes ab und ritzt in die geschälte Stelle ein Dreieck, an dessen unterer Spitze man ein hohles Bambusröhrchen befestigt. Das Ganze überdeckt man mit einem großen Blatt. Das Bambusröhrchen bleibt drei bis vier Wochen liegen, bis es sich mit dem langsam tropfenden Harz gefüllt hat. Dann nimmt man es weg und zieht das bereits hart gewordene Harz heraus, das nun die gewünschte Form des Lippenpflockes hat. Dieser wird in der Sonne gut getrocknet und mit Amambai-Blättern[7]) geglättet. — Das Dreieck darf aber nur am Spätnachmittag kurz vor Sonnenuntergang eingeschnitten werden. Der Mann, der dies tut, muß ab Mittag und den kommenden Vormittag fasten, auch das Trinken, selbst klaren Wassers, ist verboten. Während des Schneidens und des Befestigens des Bambus wird gebetet.

Die Caiuás legen großen Wert auf ihre Tembetá; es ist ihre Stammesmarke. „Das Tembetá ist für uns dasselbe wie die Fahne für die Weißen", sagte mir ein älterer Mann.

Die Frau des Zauberpriesters schmückt sich ebenfalls mit einer Brustbinde, die Federbüschel trägt; ferner mit Ketten aus Samen. Ehemals war der Schnabel des Tukan ein beliebter Frauenschmuck. — Die Tukane sind heute selten geworden infolge des Abholzens der Wälder und der vordringenden Besiedlung. Da man für ein Diadem vier Tukane braucht, werden kaum noch neue angefertigt, und nur die Priester tragen sie bei festlichen Anlässen. Ihre Herstellung über der Bogensehne ist den jungen Leuten nicht mehr bekannt. —

[6]) Vgl. Das años entre los indios Cainguá. In Druckvorbereitung. Universität Madrid.
[7]) Farnkraut.

In letzter Zeit tauchten Brustbinden auf, die an Stelle von Federbüscheln Seidenquasten zeigten.

Bei den meisten Familien wird heute noch das Kreuz festgehalten, ein altes Symbol, auf das ich später zu sprechen komme.

Der Hausrat zeigt neben Kürbisflaschen schon viele moderne Töpfe, Teller, Gläser und Blechdosen.

Einige Frauen verstehen noch das Weben der Ponchos und der Hängematten aus Baumwolle, letztere bisweilen aus Pflanzenfasern. Aber auch hier wird bereits Fabrikware gekauft.

III. Kunst und Musik

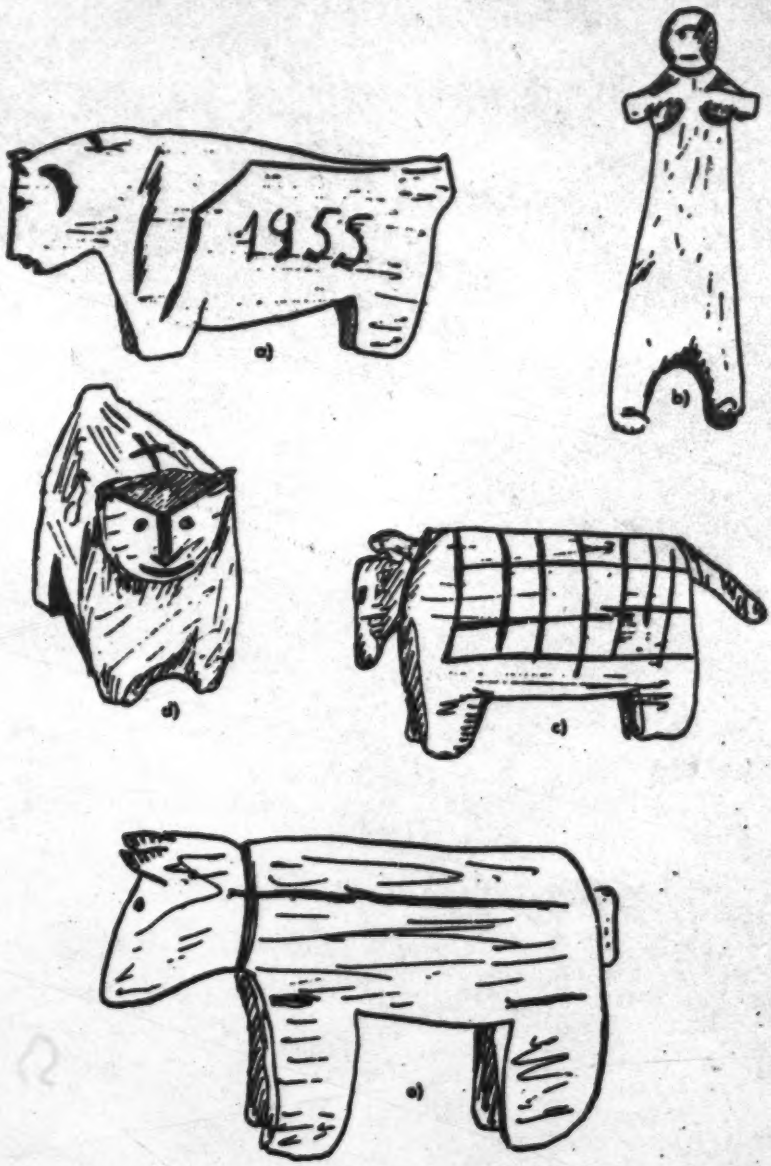
Man kann die Caiuás wohl als kunstreiche Indianer bezeichnen. Ehemals haben sie in Kürbisflaschen allerlei Muster eingebrannt und haben Figuren aus Holz geschnitzt oder aus Wachs geformt. Jetzt vernachlässigen sie diese Beschäftigungen; denn das Leben ist härter geworden, und sie müssen produzieren und ihre Produkte verkaufen, um zu Geld zu gelangen, das ihre am Rande der Zivilisation neuerwachsenen Bedürfnisse deckt. Aber sie zeichnen, schnitzen und formen gerne, wenn sie dafür bezahlt werden. Ich ließ viele von ihnen zeichnen und bringe auf den Tafeln II und III die besten Zeichnungen, während die Tafel I Abbildungen von Holzschnitzereien zeigt. — In Farinha Seca und den umliegenden Dörfern stand Claudio als Künstler an der Spitze. Von ihm stammen auf Tafel I die Tiere a) und d), die Affen darstellen sollen. Da Claudio seinen Namen und Ziffern schreiben kann, so gravierte er die Jahreszahl 1955 auf die Seite des Affen a). Die Darstellungen der beiden Figuren ähneln in Wahrheit recht wenig einem Affen; es fehlt der Schwanz, und die Gliedmaßen sind viel zu kurz, der Körper zu plump. Tafel II zeigt ausschließlich Zeichnungen von Claudio. Von ihm stammt auch die Holzfigur Abb. 1, die etwa dreifach so groß ist als auf der Fotografie. Eine zweite Figur, sechs Jahre später von Claudio geschnitzt, zeigt den gleichen Ausdruck und ist der ersten in allem sehr ähnlich, nur etwas gröber. — Ciriaco schnitzte die Figuren b), c) und e) und zeichnete die oberen Figuren auf Tafel III. Alexandro erklärte, nicht schnitzen zu können; von ihm stammt die untere Reihe von Zeichnungen auf Tafel III. Sowohl Ciriaco wie Alexandro sind völlige Analphabeten.

Weit mehr geschnitzt wurde in dem entlegenen Tehycué. Dort lebte ein alter Mann, der zu schwerer Arbeit nicht mehr taugte und seine Tage mit Schnitzen und Korbflechten verbrachte. Von ihm stammt die Holzfigur Abb. 2. Er verband mit seinen Schnitzereien meist religiöse Ideen und führte sie daher mit Sorgfalt und Interesse aus, schmückte sie auch mit den Attributen, die dem betreffenden Idol zukamen.

So stellt die Abb. 2 den Gott Curussú-Nheengatú dar, von dem später die Rede sein soll. Sie trägt also die Federkrone, einen Federgürtel und eine Halskette aus kleinen Hohlknöchelchen und hat ein eingebranntes Kreuz auf der Brust. Dieses Götterbild mit seinem Schmuck legt von der Kunstfertigkeit des Darstellers klares Zeugnis ab. Es war um so wertvoller, weil es spontan entstand und ich es nur mit Mühe und viel Überredungskunst erwerben konnte.

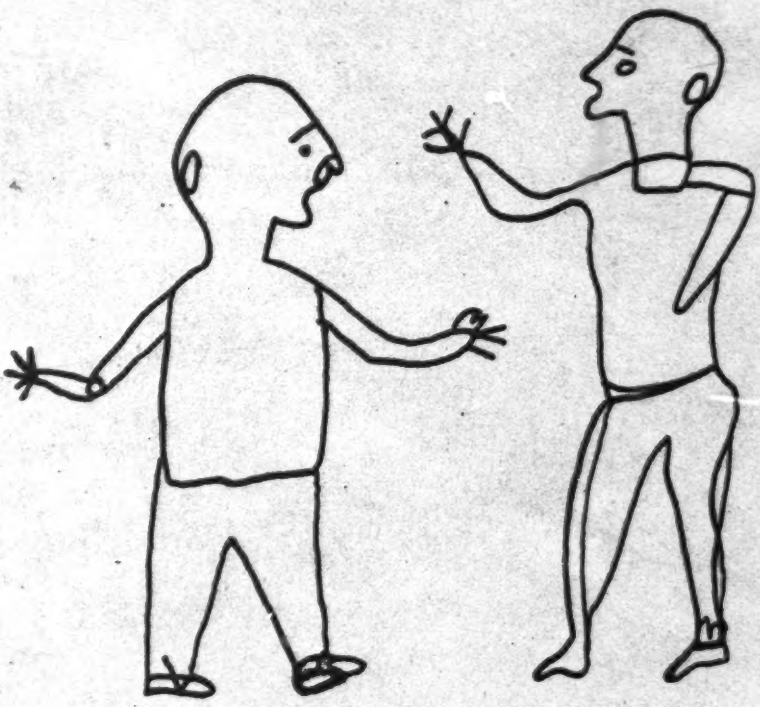
Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang auf den Artikel von Holtje*) hinweisen, der über eine Zeichnung von Caiuás berichtet und mit Recht darauf hinweist, wie unsere Kultur auch die künstlerische Darstellung beeinflußt, und zwar im Sinne der Vergröberung. Ein solches Beispiel habe ich erlebt. Wer die Abb. 2 betrachtet und eine andere Figur des gleichen Gottes, von einem in Cerrito wohnenden jüngeren Mann, der merkt den Unterschied. Die Figur von Cerrito zeigt nur einen schlecht geschnitzten Kopf auf einem säulen-

*) Vgl. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch, S. 50 u. S. 61. São Paulo. 1953/54. Hans Staden-Institut.

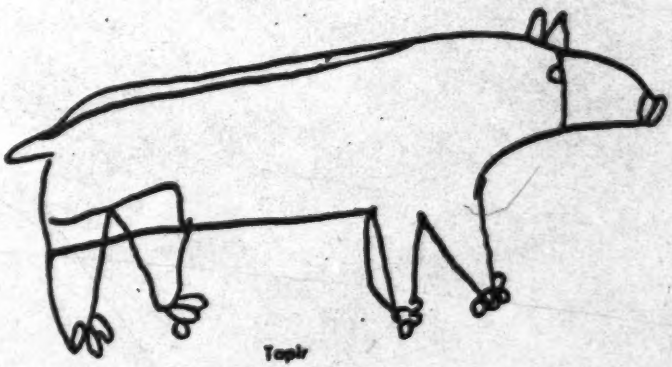


Tafel I

a) Affe von der Seite; b) menschliche Figur (Frau); c) Gürteltier; d) Affe von vorn; e) Wildschwein.

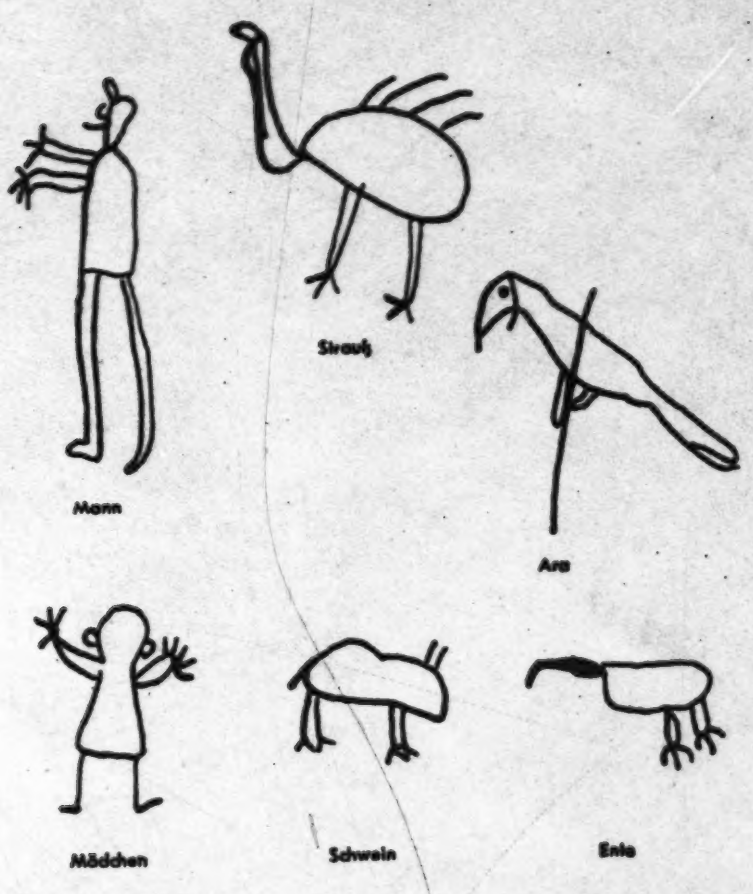


Mann Mann



Tapir

Tafel II.



Tafel III.

artigen Rumpf ohne Arme und Beine und ohne jede Gravierung. Dem Kopf ist eine Federkrone lose aufgesetzt, anderer Schmuck fehlt. — Tierfiguren und Puppen, wie auf Tafel I abgebildet, wurden und werden manchmal noch als Kinderspielzeug verfertigt. Größere Kinder formen selbst Tierfiguren aus Wachs, die den gleichen Stil der Schnitzereien zeigen. — Die kunstvoll geformten Tonpfeifen zum Rauchen, wie sie die Cainguá in Paraguay haben, sieht man bei den Caiuás nicht. Ihre Pfeifen sind meist nur aus Holz und in der Form den europäischen nachgeahmt.

Auch die Musik und die Musikinstrumente der Caiuás sprechen von dem Übergang der alten zur neuen Kultur. Ein nicht mehr in Gebrauch befindliches Instrument alten Stils ist der *Guarapal*, ein Analogon zum *Gualambáu* der entlegenen Cainguá-Gruppen in Paraguay. Auch der *Guarapal* ist ein Saiteninstrument mit einer Saite. Er besteht aus zwei kleinen ineinanderhängenden Bogen. Der eine hat eine Saite aus Kokosfasern, der andere eine aus einem

ganz feinen Bambusstreifen. Um zu spielen, legt man die Lippen an den Faserbogen, den man mit der linken Hand hält, während die rechte den anderen Bogen ergreift und auf dem Faserbogen spielt.

Andere alte Instrumente, die man heute noch verwendet, sind die Bambusflöte und die Kürbisrassel; hie und da sieht man noch die Signalpfeife. Diese und die Rassel gelten als geheiligte Instrumente. Noch heute wird jede Zeremonie mit Rasselmusik begleitet. Diese Rasseln sind meist mit Quasten aus Baumwolle oder mit Federbüscheln versehen; ehemals waren sie sehr prunkvoll. — Die Rassel ist das Instrument des Mannes, das der Frau ist der

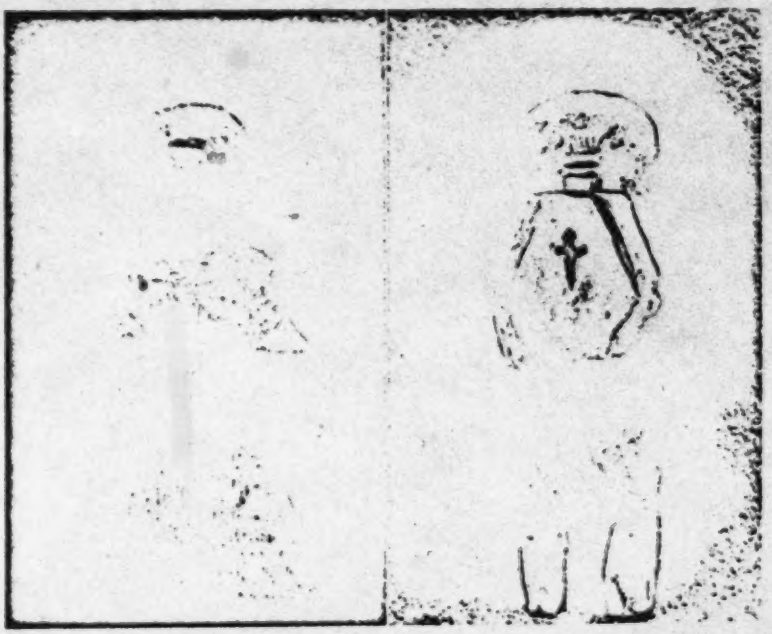


Abb. 1 Holzfigur von Claudio geschnitzt; sie scheint die Darstellung eines Gottes zu sein, wurde aber von dem katholisch getauften Claudio als „santo" (Heiliger) bezeichnet.

Abb. 2 Holzfigur mit Federschmuck, den Gott Curussú-Nheengatú darstellend.

Tacumbú, ein dicker, hohler Bambus von etwa ein Meter Länge, mit dem der Boden gestampft wird, was einen eigenartigen dumpfen Ton gibt. — Der Tanz bei religiösen und feierlichen Begrüßungszeremonien wird von Rasselmusik und der des Tacumbú begleitet. —

Gegenwärtig haben schon viele junge Leute Gitarren und Geigen von den Weißen gekauft, auch die Ziehharmonika hat Eingang bei den Indianern gefunden und sogar das Grammophon. Bei meinem letzten Besuch im Vorjahre sprach Claudio davon, sich ein Radio anzuschaffen. Die Rassel beginnt bei der jungen Generation in Ungnade zu fallen, und mit dem Dahinscheiden der Alten werden wohl allmählich auch die alten Instrumente verschwinden.

Wie fast alle Indianer sind die Caiuás musikalisch. Ihre alten Texte aber werden nicht gesungen, sondern in eigenartig betonter Weise rezitiert.

IV. Religiöse Vorstellungen, Mythen und Fabeln

Häufig hört man die Vermutung, daß die Caiuás Erinnerungen an eine frühere Katechisation aufweisen, vielleicht in den Zeiten der Jesuiten. Dieser Verdacht gründet sich darauf, daß das Kreuz bei den Caiuás eine Rolle spielt. Es ist fast auf jedem Dorfplatz aufgepflanzt und oft vor den größeren Häusern.

In vielen Hütten sieht man einen „Altar", das ist ein Gestell, in dem mehrere Kreuze und geschmückte Pfeile stecken und das mit prächtigen Kürbisrasseln, Federdiademen, Brustbinden und Armbändern behängt ist, während auf und vor dem Gestell Pfeifen und geschnitzte Figuren liegen. Alle diese Dinge sind heilig; der Indianer nennt sie „Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (Dinge unseres Herrn). Kindern hängt man ein kleines Kreuz um den Hals, um sie vor Unheil

Abb. 3. Ein Caiuás-Indianer mit dem geschmückten Kreuz, der Kürbisrassel und einem großen Tembetá. Auf dem Haupte ein Diadem. Sonst ist er modern gekleidet.

Abb. 4. Zwei Männer und ein Knabe schwingen die Kürbisrassel zu einfacher Begrüßung.

zu bewahren. Auch viele Erwachsene tragen es. — Dies alles scheint mit dem Christentum zusammenzuhängen. Es ist aber nicht der Fall.

Das Kreuz ist ein uraltes Symbol in der Religion der Caiuás. Der Indianer Claudio erzählte mir in Gegenwart seines greisen Onkels und zweier anderer hochbetagter Indianer, die seinen Bericht ergänzten, folgendes über den Ursprung der Dinge und den Anfang alles Gewordenen:

Der oberste Gott des Universums ist *Nhande-Rú-Vussú* (Unser großer Vater), den die Menschen auch *Nhande-Yára* (Unser Herr) nennen. Seine Gattin ist *Nhande-Sý* (Unsere Mutter). — In uralten Zeiten bewohnte dieses Götterpaar die Erde. Eines Tages jedoch stieg der Gott zum Himmel empor, während Nhande-Sý noch auf Erden zurückblieb [9]). — Da begegnete ihr der Erdgott *Curussú Nheengatú* (das sprechende Kreuz) und entbrannte in Liebe zu ihr. Es gelang ihm, das Herz der Göttin zu gewinnen. Bald nachher aber verließ er sie. Nun ging sie auf die Suche nach Nhande-Rú-Vussú, aber sie

[9]) Vgl. Nimuendajú. „Sagen" etc. S. 317f.

wußte die Wege nicht. Deshalb fragte sie die Kinder in ihrem Leibe. Anfangs bekam sie von ihnen richtigen Bescheid. Als sie aber ermüdeten, wurden sie unaufmerksam, und zuletzt irrten sie sich und wiesen den falschen Weg, der zum Hause des Jaguars führt. Damals waren die Jaguare noch Menschen, also „Anfang des Jaguars" [10]). Der Jaguar fraß die Göttin und zog die Kinder aus ihrem Leib, um sie seiner Großmutter zu bringen, die kaum noch Zähne hatte und also zarten Fleisches zu ihrer Ernährung bedurfte. Die Alte jedoch fand Wohlgefallen an den beiden Knaben und wollte sie nicht töten. So blieben sie bei ihr und wurden von ihr aufgezogen wie Enkel. Die beiden Kinder waren *Cuarahy*, die Sonne, und *Yasý*, der Mond. — Im Alter von wenigen Tagen konnten sie schon gehen und verstanden es, Pfeile und Bogen anzufertigen.

Abb. 5. Das Indianerdorf Boróro, das zwischen alter und neuer Zeit steht. Im Hintergrund links der alte Zauberpriester mit seinem Schmuck; der dritte Mann rechts von ihm ist der Unterhäuptling Ireneo, der fromm evangelisch ist. Nur bei der Frau des Priesters sieht man noch alten Schmuck, sonst sind alle modern gekleidet.

Dann gingen sie jagen. Immer brachten sie viel zartes Fleisch für die Alte nach Hause.

Einmal wollte Cuarahy das Waldhuhn, *Jacú* genannt, erlegen. Aber er schoß dreimal fehl. Und nun begann das Waldhuhn zu reden; denn es ist *Guyrá Nheengatú*, der sprechende Vogel. Er erzählte dem Knaben die Geschichte seiner Mutter und riet ihm, die Jaguare zu töten.

Rasch kehrten die Knaben nach Hause zurück mit vielen Früchten, den *Guavirá*, und berichteten, wo sie diese gefunden. Die ganze Familie des Jaguars zog nun mit großen Tragkörben aus, um Früchte zu sammeln. Sie mußten alle einen Fluß überqueren. Die Knaben hatten eine Brücke aus ihren Pfeilen gebaut. An der Spitze des Zuges ging die Frau des Jaguars, die schwanger war. Ihr folgten die Jaguare, und zuletzt kamen die Großeltern der

[10]) Vgl. Schaden: „Fragmentos" etc. S. 112ff. und S. 122, der genau über den Ursprung der Tiere berichtet. Interessant ist ein Vergleich mit der Mythologie der Dêtoana, in welcher die Tiere durch Verwandlung von Menschen entstanden sind. Vgl. meine Arbeit „Crencias" etc. — Die Purubórá sprechen ebenfalls vom „Anfang des Jaguars"; dieser noch menschliche Jaguar hieß Karuré.

Jaguare. Als sich alle auf der Brücke befanden, brach diese ein; die Jaguare stürzten in den Fluß und ertranken [11]). Nur die Frau konnte sich durch einen langen Sprung ans Land retten. In diesem Moment aber wurde sie zum Tier-Jaguar und gebar später zwei Söhne, die schon als Tiere zur Welt kamen. — Niemals wieder gab es Jaguare, die Menschen waren.

Die Großeltern retteten sich ebenfalls, indem sie rasch von der eben betretenen Brücke zurückwichen. — Cuarahy sprach zur Jaguar-Großmutter, ohne sich sichtbar zu machen. Diese erschrak so, daß sie sich in einen großen Wolf verwandelte. — Die Knaben nahmen nun den Jaguar-Großvater, den letzten Jaguar-Menschen, und machten ihn zum Paca (ein Nagetier). Als solches töteten sie ihn unter feierlichen Zeremonien und legten ihn in den

Abb. 6. Die beiden obersten Zauberpriester der Caiuás-Indianer. Beide tragen den Poncho mit Fransen und Federbüscheln, die auf dem rechten Poncho deutlich zu sehen sind; links überdecken sie die gewaltigen Samenketten. Vom linken Diadem hängen lange Schnüre mit Federbüscheln herab. Man sieht auch die Armbänder und Lippenpflöcke.

Kochtopf. Seither darf man Paca nicht braten, nur kochen. Über dem Kochtopf beteten sie und segneten das Fleisch, auf daß es eine den Menschen bekömmliche Speise werde.

Nach diesen Ereignissen zogen die Brüder aus, um den Geist der durch die Jaguare ermordeten Mutter zu suchen. Der Geist wohnte im Hause des Falken. — Die Knaben kamen an viele Flüsse und gelangten bis zur Küste des Meeres. Dort erschien ein Krokodil, welches den Kindern als Reittier diente; sie setzten sich darauf, damit es sie über das Meer bringe. Das Krokodil gehorchte zwar, aber ehe es die andere Meeresküste erreichte, drehte es um. Solches Verhalten wiederholte sich trotz der heftigen Vorwürfe der Kinder. Diese sprangen zuletzt ins Meer in der Nähe der entgegengesetzten Küste und schwammen an Land, wo sie João Grande, der Storch, freundlich empfing.

Er fischte eben und versteckte die Brüder in seinem Korb unter den gefangenen Fischen. Als das Krokodil angeschwommen kam, um nach den

[11]) Vgl. zu alledem Nimuendajú: „Sagen" etc. S. 319 ff.

Kindern zu fragen, leugnete João Grande, sie gesehen zu haben. Bald nachher trug er sie in sein Haus und bewirtete sie mit den schmackhaftesten Speisen. Die Kinder wollten nicht lange verweilen und setzten die Reise fort. — Sie kamen zum Hause der Eule und fragten nach Nhande-Sý. Die Eule, bekannt als lügenhaft, sagte, sie wisse nichts; im Hause des Falken aber wohne die Mutter nicht. Kaum hatte sie diese Lüge ausgesprochen, wurde sie zur Tier-Eule; vorher nämlich war sie Mensch gewesen, und zwar „Anfang der Eule" [12]).

In viele Häuser traten die Knaben ein, um nach der Mutter zu forschen, und alle Leute, die dort wohnten, verwandelten sich in Tiere, so daß die Erde mit Tieren aller Art bevölkert wurde.

Endlich kamen sie zum Hause des Falken und richteten das Wort an ihn. Da aber antwortete erfreut der Geist der Mutter, der dort wohnte. Alle drei beschlossen nun, zum Himmel emporzusteigen.

Abb. 7. Zauberpriester mit seiner Frau. Er hat den Poncho, Brustbinden mit Federbüscheln und ein ebenso verziertes Diadem; Armband und Lippenpflock vervollständigen seinen Ornat. Die Frau hat eine Brustbinde mit Federn und Ketten aus Samen.

Unterwegs blieb Yasý zurück; denn er hatte ein Mädchen gefunden, welches er heiratete. — Die Mutter sandte Cuarahý, den Bruder zu holen. Cuarahý merkte, daß es sich um ein schlechtes Mädchen handelte, befreite seinen Bruder von diesen Banden und führte ihn mit sich fort bis zum Tor des Himmels, wo Nhande-Sý bereits ihre Söhne erwartete.

Die drei begehrten Einlaß in den Himmel, aber Nhande-Rú-Vussú verweigerte ihn, weil die Knaben nicht von ihm waren. Er geriet in heftigen Zorn und schalt mit Mutter und Kindern. Aber diese hörten nicht auf zu bitten. Gott empfand schließlich Mitleid mit seiner Gattin und ließ sie in den Himmel ein, nicht aber die Knaben. —

Cuarahý und Yasý kehrten zur Erde zurück. Dabei trafen sie ihren Vater Curussú-Nheengatú. Er schuf einen neuen Himmel für seine Söhne, wo diese wohnen können in alle Ewigkeit. —

[12]) Vgl. Schaden: „Fragmentos" etc. S. 111.

Cuarahý wurde fortan Nhanderykeý genannt. Curussú-Nheengatú machte ein Kreuz und legte Ringe um dieses herum. Jeden Tag legte er einen neuen Ring dazu, bis die Erde fertig war. — Bei dieser Arbeit half ihm seine Frau *Ivotý* (Blume), welche diesen Namen trug, weil sie ihre Kinder mit Nektar säugte, anstatt mit Milch; denn ihre Brüste waren Blumen, nicht wie die Brüste anderer Frauen. Sie heißt auch *Mariti*.

Der menschliche Körper mit ausgebreiteten Armen ist das Abbild des Kreuzes. —

Die Caiuás stellen sich Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú und Nhanderykeý mit Federdiadem und Federgürtel geschmückt vor, in der Hand die Kürbisrassel und in der Unterlippe den Lippenpflock. Curussú-Nheengatú hat außerdem noch ein Kreuz auf der Brust. — Deshalb sind diese Gegenstände heilig und werden „Dinge unseres Herrn" genannt. — — —

Abb. 8. Begrüßungszeremonie bei Ankunft eines Ehrengastes: die Männer mit der Kürbisrassel tanzen vor dem Kreuz im Boden und rezitieren die Begrüßungsformeln; ganz rechts eine Frau mit dem Tacumbú.

Nhande-Rú-Vussú hat eine Tochter, die man Tupa-Sý nennt. Sie wurde von Mbaé-Yara (Herr der Dinge) geraubt und geheiratet. Der Ehe entsprangen viele Kinder. Mbaé-Yara, auch Mbaé-Rú (Vater der Dinge) genannt, ist der Schöpfer der Nationen. Er hat sie auf folgende Weise geschaffen: Einen seiner Söhne schlug er so heftig, daß sich ihm die Zunge verrenkte und er anfing, portugiesisch zu sprechen; er wurde der Ahnherr der Brasilianer. Hierauf schlug Mbaé-Yara seinen zweiten Sohn ebenso, und dieser begann, spanisch zu reden und wurde somit der Ahnherr der Argentinier und aller Völker, die spanisch sprechen. Auf die gleiche Weise behandelte er alle seine Söhne, und so entstanden die verschiedenen Sprachen und die verschiedenen Nationen. Nur mit dem jüngsten Sohn verhielt es sich anders: Trotz grausamer Schläge verrenkte sich seine Zunge nicht, und so wurde er der Ahnherr der Paraguayer, deren Sprache Guarani ist. Auch der Mbaé-Yara ist göttlich; aber all sein Schmuck ist aus Eisen. —

Der Geist des Bösen ist Anhá. Einmal veranstaltete er ein Tanzfest und lud Cuarahý und Yasý dazu ein. Die Brüder erschienen, obwohl Cuarahý sehr mißtrauisch war. Er warnte Yasý und verbot ihm zu tanzen. Doch dieser gehorchte nicht. Während er tanzte, wurde er plötzlich von Anhá erfaßt und in den schrecklichen Abgrund Anharepý geworfen. Cuarahý wurde rasend vor Zorn und tötete die Mehrzahl der Anhá. Die Überlebenden beugten sich ihm und wurden zahm. — Mit Hilfe der Termiten, die noch Menschen waren, also „Anfang der Termiten", fand Cuarahý die Glieder und den zerschmetterten Körper von Yasý. Er trug alle Teile aus dem Abgrund empor und setzte den Körper wieder zusammen. Da erwachte Yasý zu neuem Leben, und die Brüder kehrten zum Himmel zurück. — Die bösen Seelen aber der getöteten Anhá

Abb. 9. Moderne Begrüßung eines Gastes, wobei der Hausherr mit seiner Frau dem Gaste entgegentritt und den portugiesischen Gruß gebraucht. Ein Rest alter Überlieferung zeigt sich in dem geschmückten Kreuz und der Kürbisrassel, die er in der Hand hält.

wanderten ruhelos durch die Welt bis in die neueste Zeit. Jetzt aber — so sagen die Caiuás — gingen sie ein in eine Erfindung der Weißen: ins Radio.

Nhande-Rú-Vussú öffnet die Himmelspforten für die guten und gerechten Seelen; die anderen müssen draußen bleiben und kehren zur Erde zurück, wo sie umherirren, bis ein Anhá sich ihrer bemächtigt und sie nach Anharepý bringt.

Sehr interessant ist einerseits der Vergleich des Mythenmaterials der Caiuás, das Schaden in einem anderen Dorf und von anderen Leuten gesammelt hat, mit dem mir von Claudio und den Alten aus Farinha Seca und Cerrito Berichteten und andererseits ein Vergleich der Mythologie der Caiuás mit jener der Apapocuva-Guarani, welches uns Nimnendajú überliefert hat. — Man könnte natürlich noch andere Vergleiche ziehen, z. B. mit der Mythologie der Tembecuá, aber auch mit Mythologien, die außerhalb jeder guaranitischen Kultur liegen, wie die der Dêtoana und Puruborá.

V. Noch heute übliche Zeremonien

Von den alten Zeremonien haben sich noch einige Reste erhalten, besonders in Panambi und Tehycuá. So findet noch die feierliche Begrüßung von hohen Gästen statt, bei welcher die Männer mit Kürbisrasseln vor dem Kreuze tanzen, ohne sich dabei vom Fleck zu rühren, und die Frauen die Erde mit ihren Tacumbú stampfen. Dazu werden die Begrüßungsformeln rezitiert, der Anzahl und Bedeutung der Gäste angepaßt. —

Neben dieser offiziellen Begrüßung hat sich noch die einfache Bewillkommnung bewahrt, wobei die Männer und Knaben des Hauses, das den Gast empfängt, die Kürbisrassel schwingen. — Bereits unter modernem Einfluß ist die Begrüßung, welche der Hausherr zusammen mit seiner Frau dem Gast

Abb. 10. Die Versammlung und das Fest des Yecaité vor dem Hause des Häuptlings. Im Vordergrunde die beiden Gestelle mit dem Kreuz und der Kalebasse, darum der Halbkreis der Männer, singend und die Kürbisrasseln schwingend. Einer von ihnen hält ein Kreuz in der Hand.

bereitet. Er hält dabei ein geschmücktes Kreuz und die Kürbisrassel in der Hand, aber ohne von ihr Gebrauch zu machen. Den Gruß entnimmt er der portugiesischen Sprache.

Von den religiösen Zeremonien haben sich nur wenige erhalten. Zu Ehren von Nhanderykeý wird noch sein Lied gesungen, meist vor dem Kreuz, begleitet von der Musik der Rassel und des Tacumbú. Das Lied lautet im Originaltext:

»Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe retê moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý.«

Dazu ist zunächst zu bemerken, daß ñe rykeÿ anstatt Nhanderykeÿ steht. Obwohl Nhanderykeÿ der Name des obersten Guarahÿ gemeinten Gottes ist, so darf dessen Bedeutung nicht übersehen werden: nhande heißt wir, unser, rykeÿ ist der ältere Bruder, also bedeutet nhande-rykeÿ = unser älterer Bruder. Daß in dem Liede ñe = ich, mein tritt an Stelle von unser ist daher zu verstehen. Ich will nun die Übersetzung des Liedes bringen:

»Ich wünsche, mein älterer Bruder, daß mein Körper rein sei, mein älterer Bruder;
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß mein Kopf rein sei, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß mein Diadem rein sei, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß mein Kreuz rein sei, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß meine Brust rein sei, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß die Arme meines Kreuzes rein seien, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß der Fuß meines Kreuzes rein sei, m. ä. Br.,
Ich wünsche, m. ä. Br., daß mein Bauchgürtel rein sei, m. ä. Br.«

Dieser Gesang, eine Art Anrufung, richtet sich an Nhanderykeÿ, an den älteren Bruder der Caiuás, und bittet um Reinheit des Leibes und der Schmuckstücke. Reinigende Kraft wird dem Gott zugeschrieben. Wenn man dabei in Auge behält, daß dieser Gott identisch ist mit Cuarahÿ, der Sonne, so begreift man den tieferen Sinn jener Anrufung. Der Sonne wird meist reinigende und heilende Kraft zuerkannt. In diesem Gesang offenbaren sich demnach Reste eines alten Sonnenkultes, der früher wohl allgemein verbreitet und klarer ausgeprägt war. — Es gibt noch ein zweites Lied, das noch deutlicher für diese Auffassung spricht; es lautet:

»Hoëri yahá, hoëri yahá, ñe resá.
Nhanderykeÿ mbaraká ñe resá,
Nhanderykeÿ ha dÿyroky ñe resá,
Nhanderykeÿ yeguaka ñe resá,
Nhanderykeÿ kunkuahá ñe resá,
Nhanderykeÿ tembetá ñe resá.«

Übersetzung:

»Laßt uns gehen, laßt uns gehen, er hat mich gesehen.
Unser älterer Bruder, mit der Rassel hat er mich gesehen,
Unser älterer Bruder hat mich tanzen gesehen,
Unser älterer Bruder, mit dem Diadem hat er mich gesehen,
Unser älterer Bruder, mit dem Bauchgürtel hat er mich gesehen,
Unser älterer Bruder, mit dem Lippenpflock hat er mich gesehen.«

Hier kommt zum Ausdruck, daß Nhanderykeÿ den ihm Verehrung zollenden Caiuás gesehen hat mit Rassel, Diadem, Bauchgürtel und Lippenpflock, wie es die Sitte verlangt, tanzend zu Ehren des Gottes. Natürlich ist auch hier der Sonnengott gemeint, der alles sieht und zu dessen Ehre sich die Menschen schmücken und tanzen. —

Etwas anders verläuft das Fest des Yacairá, dessen ursprüngliche Bedeutung als Gott der Nacht, der Finsternis und des Todes die Caiuás wohl zum Teil vergessen haben. Sie schreiben ihm das Wetter und die Fruchtbarkeit zu. Eine bestimmte Maisart, *Saporó* genannt, ist ihm geweiht. Seine Verehrung

geschieht heutzutage im Zusammenhang mit einer Versammlung, die der Häuptling einberuft. Dabei verbindet er mit der religiösen Feier noch andere Zwecke. Es erscheinen die Bewohner aller Dörfer vor dem Hause des obersten Häuptlings. Die Priester sind angetan mit den Zeichen ihrer Würde, die anderen Männer tragen Kreuze und Kürbisrasseln, die Frauen ihr Tacumbú. Vor dem Hause werden zwei Gestelle errichtet: An eines lehnt sich ein großes geschmücktes Kreuz, und einige Rasseln werden daneben gelegt. Auf dem anderen Gestell ruht eine prächtige Kalabasse, ausgelegt mit feinstem Baumwollgewebe und behängt mit Fransen. In ihr ist eine zweite, kleinere Kalabasse, umgeben von Bändern und Federscheibchen. In dieser befinden sich Maiskörner des Saporó. Über der großen Schale liegt ein Deckel, aus

Abb. 11. Die Frauenreihe mit dem Tacumbú tanzt und stampft den Boden mit ihrem Instrument. Dies geschieht sowohl bei religiösen Feiern wie bei Begrüßungszeremonien.

Federscheibchen zusammengesetzt. Die Männer bilden einen Halbkreis um die Gestelle und singen zur Musik der Rasseln. Dann tritt der Häuptling mit seinem Anliegen hervor und spricht dabei auch von alten und neuen Sitten.

Hierauf beginnt der Priester sein Amt. Seine Anhänger legen ein weißes Tuch auf den Boden, auf welches er den Inhalt der Kürbisschale schüttet. Er spricht nun von Yacairá, der den Mais Saporó wachsen läßt.

Bei der letzten derartigen Versammlung, der ich beiwohnte, sprach er von einer großen Dürre, die eintreten werde als Strafe des Yacairá, weil die Caiuás vom Althergebrachten abfallen und sich neuen Sitten und neuen Religionen zuwenden. Auch straft er die Menschen für das Abholzen der Wälder. Noch zehn Jahre würde der Mais Saporó gedeihen, dann aber nicht mehr. — Der zweite Priester und einige alte Männer redeten im gleichen Sinne, mahnten zur Rückkehr zu Yacairá und den alten Göttern. Sie rezitierten dann den Sang zu Ehren Yacairás. Der Text ist folgender:

» Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá. «

Er besagt in steter Wiederholung, wie üblich, nur dies: „Gehen wir, um zu sehen die Maispflanze des Yacairá." Es werden dann die Tulle der Maispflanze aufgezählt.

Die erwähnte Versammlung schloß, indem der Häuptling nochmals das Wort ergriff und auf die neuen Zeiten hinwies, auf die Notwendigkeit der Anpassung und des Schulunterrichtes für die Jugend. — Unter Gesang zogen sich dann die Versammelten zurück und gingen wieder in ihre Dörfer.

Solange die alten Zauberpriester leben, werden die geschilderten Zeremonien wohl noch gefeiert werden. Dann aber ist mit ihrem Verschwinden zu rechnen, und die Gesänge von Nhanderykeý und Yacairá und vieles andere werden der Vergessenheit anheimfallen.

VI. Einfluß der Umwelt

Darüber hat Schaden in seinem neuesten Buche eingehend berichtet. Er untersucht die Reaktionen der verschiedenen Guarani-Stämme Brasiliens auf den Kontakt mit den Weißen und ihre Akkulturationsmöglichkeiten. Der Religion wendet er im 8. Kapitel ein besonderes Augenmerk zu und stellt fest, daß die Stammesreligion in der Hauptsache bestehen bleibt. Zwar lassen sich viele Indianer taufen und nennen sich Christen, aber ihr Christentum ist nur äußerlich. Hier ergeht sich Schaden in interessanten psychologischen Betrachtungen. Er kommt zu dem Schluß, daß die eigene Kultur der Guarani-Stämme Brasiliens in ihrem Lebensnerv getroffen ist und daß somit alle diese Stämme höchstens noch einige Jahrzehnte bestehen können.

Um besonders von den Caiuás zu sprechen, glaube ich an ein längeres Bestehen dieses Stammes. Ob er allerdings in Brasilien bleiben wird, erscheint vielleicht fraglich. Ich habe bei meinem letzten Besuch eine starke Tendenz zur Auswanderung — oder Rückwanderung? — nach Paraguay wahrgenommen. Die Ursache davon ist gerade die Bedrohung des Stammeslebens und der alten Sitten durch das ständige Vordringen der Weißen. Die Indianer wissen, daß die umliegenden Kolonisten ihren begehrlichen Blick auf das Land werfen, das den Caiuás zusteht, und sie trauen dem Bestande des Indianerschutzdienstes nicht. So werden Stimmen laut, die nach den freien Wäldern Paraguays weisen. Gerade die Indianer, die sich am besten der weißen Kultur angepaßt haben, es verstehen, ihre Produkte gut zu verkaufen, und im Geldverkehr nicht mehr unbeholfen sind, haben von den Weißen auch praktisch denken gelernt und kümmern sich um die Verteidigung ihrer eigenen Interessen.

Nur noch bei den Alten findet man die — für den Indianer typische — Einstellung auf das Jenseits; nur bei ihnen gibt es die edle Gastfreundschaft, die sich bei den Guarani in Paraguay noch erhalten hat. Die jungen Leute sind auf irdisches Wohlergehen und auf Gelderwerb eingestellt, egoistisch und geizig geworden, wie sie solches ja bei ihren weißen Nachbarn sehen. — Bei den Caiuás spricht noch der ungünstige Umstand mit, daß ihr Gebiet nahe bei dem Städtchen Dourados liegt und daß rinsherum Kolonisten leben. Das ständige schlechte Beispiel, besonders in bezug auf Alkoholgenuß und Unmoral aller Art, verdirbt den Indianer, und die Einflüsse der beiden Missionen,

1: Hanke SM4 Guarani

der katholischen und der evangelischen, sind nicht stark genug, um allgemein wirksam entgegentreten zu können. In letzter Zeit hat sich unter dem Einfluß der Kommunistischen Partei eine Gruppe unter den Caiuás gebildet, die beide Missionen bewußt ablehnt, sich aber auch von ihren eigenen alten Göttern entfernt.

Bibliographie

Buggenhagen, E. A. von: Estudo sobre a culture Guarani. »Estado de São Paulo« de 20 de novembro de 1955.

Hanke, Wanda: Creencias y supersticiones en la Amazonia. Im Druck. Universität Madrid. Revista de Indias.

— Dos años entre los indios Caingué. In Vorbereitung zum Druck. Universität Madrid. Revista de Indias.

— Notas sobre los Tembecuá. In Vorbereitung zum Druck. Universität Madrid. Revista de Indias.

— Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Mato Grosso. Manuskript.

Hoeltje, Georg: Eine Indianerzeichnung. Beiträge zur Brasilkunde. Staden-Jahrbuch. Bd. 1. 1953. Hans-Staden-Institut. São Paulo.

Nimuendajú, Kurt: Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarani. Z. f. E. Bd. 46, S. 284 ff. Berlin 1914.

Schaden, Egon: Aspectos fundamentais da culture Guarani. São Paulo 1955.

— Fragmentos da mitologia Kayuá. Revista do Museu Paulista. Nova Serie Vol. I. São Paulo 1947.

— Vorbemerkung zu Hoeltje. Staden-Jahrbuch. Bd. 1. São Paulo 1953.

2: Schaden E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani S144

Fundamental Aspects of Guarani Culture
[Aspectos Fundamentais da Cultura Guarani]

Egon Schaden

São Paulo: 1962
"Corpo e Alma do Brasil" Collection, VI, second edition
Difusão Européia do Livro

Translated from the Portuguese by Lars-Peter Lewinsohn

Human Relations Area Files
1969

[Title page]

2: Schaden--1 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

Preface

121 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study
128 of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material aspects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to explore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Conquest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objective of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpretentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by presenting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture, the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civilization. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material presented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration, among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

/5 cont./

121 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the com-
128 parison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases. This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete, or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal observations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors, ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected, whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for comprehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but rather an anthropological study based on the material collected on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being the temptation that arose at every step to discuss up to what point and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken, it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances, had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for, if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion of a few details not very significant at first sight for an understanding of the central problem of the work seemed justified to the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated. Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

2: Schaden--3 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/6 cont./

121
128 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choices: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

2: Schaden--4 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain'
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
101 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Ratins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbüá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrofyã) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--5 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me
[123] in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I
[115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, flanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txerúangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão
122 Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.
128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, [113] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit [177] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, [182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for [128] [114] the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/10 cont./

197 10 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañygua and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

[114]

/10 cont./

178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, par-
[101] ticularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the
[114] extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the
[101] Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbüá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirü, Ñaneirü ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apüteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetü /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/11 cont./

101
[114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teñí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1961 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an autodenomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakirý, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá y yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaioná and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

[128]

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Telli (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokíva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination; I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapité.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

101 /12 cont./
167
[114]

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in
114 the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it
186 will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá í (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

175 In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or al-
36 most totally, dispersed (15).
[162]

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./
[115] One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do
[114] Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

175 The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some
167 families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and
[361] Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later
[361] settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1948, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory con-
[361] tiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Ranana, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes:

[648] Tafligná, Apapokúva, and Ogauhuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-

[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact

621 162 166 and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en-

[768] tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Jaquiá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his

[755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-

[464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--17 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village: they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

2: Schaden--18 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbiá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbiá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato
62 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Peró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Iacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igustemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Igustemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into situations of quite varied cultural contac[illegible]nd finally, in the
[166] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní
[177] hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modem urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

2: Schaden--22 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbiá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com- 182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to [177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

Zt Schaden--23 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

[433] 621 182 563 177 78

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbiá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

[437] [735]

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular [177] aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

Z: Schaden--25 F-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/21 cont./

121
184
[177]

the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in these and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbiá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type.

/The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
761 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[764] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[804] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbïá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pÿtã, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva; the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I obtained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that [144] the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbïá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin [551] color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians themselves are conscious of this; in the Mbïá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Mĩ-ã," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

2: Schaden--28 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my ob- [143] servations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [179] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago: I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of [173] thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá: I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the flanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-styles: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is [301] [192] [554] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and [147] [482] [164] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ũ djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tũpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

2: Schaden--31 F-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/29 cont./

854 In part the not very rational methods of raising the children
855 are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the oc-
165 casion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open,
[164] exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia.
[535] During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of
day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no
attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all
night: only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural
patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very
rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious
diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest pre-
[828] occupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me
that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born
to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads
may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of
cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The
Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients,"
a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way,
also exists in other native populations: they remember an old man
who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morn-
ing, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní
of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat
[147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for
a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for
example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent
[146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical
[733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by
[751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because
of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having
many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of
preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in
large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage
made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté
with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally,
by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high
[182] degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the flanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbbá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

2: Schaden--35 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large
[192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kuú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families,
178 it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/34 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
179 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the regions the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
[596] ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

2: Schaden--37 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35 cont./

342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
[596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/: but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
345 in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/38 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

2: Schaden--39 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbïá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbïá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiririka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbïá, who call it tendá); if
by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá: that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with trumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to [115] me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a saliant cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 The trumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes 294 very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 200 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katiguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove trumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of trumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of trumbé.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the khãkuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tũkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguẽ. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
798 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paí Vitaliano,
178 who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest
778 in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old paí dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of Jesuit times?

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytĩ or puitĩ of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovetxá ragué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but [illegible]
[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
[192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipái (tupái), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsï) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu: I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type: I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

2: Schaden--48 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45 cont./

241 433 177 182 648 the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 439 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 182 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/45 cont./

178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 156 433 The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny [476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

2: Schaden--50 E-4,5 (1946-1956) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 96.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for 177 182 241 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 [171] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

2: Schaden--52 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of taboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the taboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the taboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in taboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of taboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/48 cont./

243 824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mñĩ, sometimes avatí karapé, sometimes avatí mirĩ. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtĩ (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtã (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakairá morõtĩ or avatí pukú morõtĩ, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground"; it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakairá morõtĩ.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At [114] the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of [115] Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí pukú, morõtĩ and pỹtã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Ñandéva
Kayová

142
302
291
463
114
142
853
302
291

I. Marçal de Souza, Ñandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

2: Schaden--55 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbüa
Ñandéva

482
415
291
142
184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbüá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.

[173] Djakaíá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 12 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim

[115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle

[192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguê, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 flandé avatí flahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí djýguĕ); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĕvira angá or djahá djaporahĕi kĕvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
771 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
[177] rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí [192] kãtã (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kãtã is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuẽra drains off. [192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads formeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kií morõtí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food: it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pĩrỹ gũí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pĩrỹ ñamõĩ" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of snuff, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
[324] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguĩ; furthermore, kỹ ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Debrinhoffer already mentions
[415] that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbïá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbïá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbïá almost everybody smokes, including very
[84] young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "tzedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíl or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, [178] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of [302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited time. [184] The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of [221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

2: Schaden--62 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbiá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiqara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
172 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbiá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 [184] [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of paní with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a paní in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbiá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private propery. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [132] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbiá; all advance on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blanket, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbiá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirá, peráta; pirápirá, paper money; among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no 436 829 177 454 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbiá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txirigufno /Chiriguano/, 423 171 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapey, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsi: litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it: at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão: there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already

476 171 revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin: for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõonoõ̃ta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./
This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I [114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, [84] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 476 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have [654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, [182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so: those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão: food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the 621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbiá and Ñandeva) [84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it [273] to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist: they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is [182] not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/59 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, fo their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by a order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operatedonly "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work wa done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done i two puxirões: the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirão. The planting was being done before ne clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indans explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not oly for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their ow alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, inconflict with the development of rational tillage.

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbbá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbbá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 273 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbbá). "but they do not slaughter /81/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call pytyvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytyvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not seriously affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

/61 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolas as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
181 /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /83/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

2: Schaden--74 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Nhandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the originaswere, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Pag 66 is blank./

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
419
342

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--76 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová
Ñandéva

342

VIII. Kayová-Guaraní great-house of traditional type, village of Panambi, Mato Grosso.

342
415

IX. Ñandéva-Guaraní house in Jacareí, Mato Grosso, with dance area and chicha tub.

2: Schaden--77 E-4, 5 (1946-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit
157 of independence. To the extent that his physical development
[858] and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical
[856] means. Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is
[857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /88/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Pricologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many puschasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminately.

[524]

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 197 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual 155 will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative 157 process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In [828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbiá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbiá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/69 cont./

828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
856 pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãã ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kyrẽ'vadjá). Kyrẽ' mombyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony: at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them: they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá Ñanderú, told me: "We do
828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
[115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[97] Word/, who worked among the Mbhá and other Paraguayan
Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

86 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the Ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string: the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita: since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made [171] with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause [171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station: they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[179] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Kandeví Bastão used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Kandeví." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[329] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage named with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--. Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
691 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

Schaden--87 E-6.5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated cases, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbïá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (tsirïï kuïï vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbïá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [693] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbïá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbïá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

2: Schaden--88 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/75 cont./

582 171 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5).

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582

582 121 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

582

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 593 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 581 304 The acculturative situation of the different communities that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the flanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name flemongaraí (!). The flanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the flanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, 837 [586] both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

/78 cont./

887 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after re-
sisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, per-
haps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situa-
tion is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female,
usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clear-
ing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in
which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mis-
treat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch
as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of
someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass
the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between
spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic
incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently
decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman,
it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family.
And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no
longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the
elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the
great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise,
there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly
since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among
the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family,
on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal
authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambi), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[651] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[691] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality: the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "tribe" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbiá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayuvá system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ son-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his son-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Pai
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the son-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Pai Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

857 From as early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
structure of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[111] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
858 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[858] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[592] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce: with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
883 be made up, for example --: nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] change outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose village he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away: the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Pasambú, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father: in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayowá and Ñandéva the authority of the father-in-law is imperative: they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the father. To explain the relationship, a Kayowá Indian woman told me: "Eíra, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayowá the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayowá of Benjamin Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayowá -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With this there is a more marked economic autonomy

/99/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the village is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the men; planting, to the women. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the women who plant; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the women; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up manioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjahá (Mbyá), and
415 myrahá (Kayová) (8) --

462
415
101
114

8. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1954-1955) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjahá," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "yvyrá." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbyá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pá with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
[0
114]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor: among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462

[184]

[178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Mançal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make trumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[917]

2: Schaden--101 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/85/

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121
571
829
182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783
828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbiá also speak of karaguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbiá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbïá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbïá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born: he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestiso midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãrĩ or bamboo (takuára): using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative": the Mbïá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal bedding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbüá consider her (odjeko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[189] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/88 cont./

846 178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound [184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 178 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list 846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the [184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

2: Schaden--106 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbïá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbïá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá; that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[609] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[178] Mbïa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.
[184]

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.
881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[171] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóakú, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day
881 of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl
301 makes -- for her father, brother, or another
[184] person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each
881 one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-
301 kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva,
184 who already have almost completely abandoned
192 it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmÎguá and tetýmÎkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians.
881 But they also indicate the magical end of
301 avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the
829 arms and legs, the tetýmÎguá therefore being
75 considered indispensable on long walks.

/91 cont./

881
301

considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184]
[237]
[192]
[751]

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have
[824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go
[171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Bra-
[352] zilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[364] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeiljú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[181] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," E-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Ezanal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbïá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karugná or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses: then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbïá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbïá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstru-
ation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

Schaden--113 E-4,5 (1945-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 /88 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatuá, mbarahá. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[608] the Mbiá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence.
178 Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy,
881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not
825 to be the victim of odjépuré and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani-
[868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbiá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not
884 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general.
[184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-
[178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn
[824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the Ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhebé,
[752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytaúbá).
[278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously
[115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of
[868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of

881 Pablo Vera of Tryfuí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Miguelino
867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series
867 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education").
[115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/96 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 182.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepí, or kunumí-ytóta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the Ñanderú (pai) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[756] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[304] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between
[561] 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the average. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring vil-
[628] lages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepí coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avati-mangaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/94 cont./

[88] The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May,
[782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because
[829] they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the Rezadeiro chooses and teaches the kaiwá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. Chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently
[712] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kaiwá pawáhi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (ñáñáñáñá) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the Rezadeiro orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the Rezadeiro lets them go. It is the Rezadeiro who should know." The boy that does not se resguarda /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in
[662] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy
[752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding manihoca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 94 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially manihoca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Cunda Leite Cardoso.)

[309]
[762]
[752]

[789] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A
[852] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should main-
[824] tain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would
[852] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman,
[309] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kanumí-pepí is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[115]

[192] [386] [324] The first refers to the kanumpí, the black dye of ryápuní (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the ryvyáipá, that is, an officiant assisting the kandará or paí.

881 782 [192] [386] [324] The second prayer refers to the ryvyakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The ryvyáipá also has the office of piercer -- the kandará only gives orders -- he is seated on the ayrká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another ayrká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or hoitsá, then in turn the others (called the ivaipá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of ayrká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same ayrká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another ryvyáipá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [324] [314]

5. /Form p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-j (also called ribarý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/PT cont./

the winter. In September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the *tembetá*, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of *taboca* (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the seeds case for about two days. One or two days after that, when the seeds has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the *tembetá* is smoothed with Ilex-de-mato /polidor-from-the-forest/ (*mate-é*), a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fixed with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same seeds is put on the upper part.

PT 982

the fourth is related to the *ayvú*; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found. In order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881 784 [94] [75] [62] [64]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the cribs made of these being initiated reminds one of the *couvade*. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the *Kanoé* who dances the *kanoé-pari*, as well as the *ayvúkja* who help him, are bound by the *ñaguarda* until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hair is ruined." The sexual *ñaguarda* mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tabian period.

/91 cont./

[881 875] Capitão Alberto of the Kayové village of Amambai said
[882 874] me that the *tembetá* is necessary "in order to arrange for a
woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "adulterous" for the jaguar.
[881 156] Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayové. The man who does not have a labial
orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of
the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," *ñoñ-mongaraí*. According to the information of Ismael de Souza,
such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the
non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend
the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 91-93
in the original source./

/95/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

[622 621] Nowhere has contemporaneous General society managed to
constitute an organization of some type: in the tribal culture, the
idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional persons, the political chieftaincy
of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest
or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au-
[596 623] thority of the chief of the gens-family. The chiefs of gens-
families, gathered in council, form a sort of informal senate, of
consultive and deliberative function, without there laboring in it,
among the present-day General of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, or
[648]

624
621
[645]

/90 text./

been formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief, leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622
756
787
192

The name Sumaré (1)

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 110-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination pajé, with which the Kayuvá also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Sumaré, is etymologically linked to xamã. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, xamã is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 102); Sabiá is the civilizer hero of the Parintintín of Amazonia (Nimuendaju, 1946). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio "xamã, a name for the French among the Tupís of Brazil. The Guaranís of Paraguay called the Spanish -- xaxá. The two words xamã and xaxá are contracted forms of xamã-ira, which expresses -- the one expert, the military one, the one who lives for every. From xamã-ira comes xamã, xaxá, xaxá, xaxá. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they blessed them, because of their superiority, to their own

/99 cont./

622
756
192

sorcerer, called pajé or caraíba, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of nhaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of perahdi by nhoiahdi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupí tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Puggenhagen. 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Kuarahí, solar divinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbiá. The latter also called the spiritual leader Ñanderúvuçú ("our chief"), a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the Ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of ryvaíaja.

[624]

[184]

/99 cont./

756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the Ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may 623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the Ñanderú the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbyá of eastern [114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [624] by Father Miller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

2r Schaden--123 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

623 /100 cont./
73
114
624
courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office: the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Nandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

2: Schaden--124 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its Ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the Ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the Ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet

624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[556] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flandarú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flandarú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group: he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco: it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] yvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

2: Schaden--130 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/107/

Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Conception of the World

27
121

1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the sociocultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts; it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique"; the religious attitude and life,

2: Schaden--131 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77 /108 cont./
121 on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77 Why is there always a close relationship between the re-
121 ligious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions --
577 good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual: they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

2: Schaden--132 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

2: Schaden--133 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his 797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2). 177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echoe 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Miller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (values of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
187 nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

/110 cont./

[114] personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms — obviously on the common doctrinal foundation — his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "intermediate" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to Leon Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbiá of Paraguay, there is a sensible rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs dwelt be [117] [121] perceptible in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

[114] [124] [121] 2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul.

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it — that is, his primitive Psychology — constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

[114] [142] On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being [111] [111] [111]

/111 cont./
many other regions of the globe (5).

5. /Press p. 140 of the original source./ "... In many primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the women only perform the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Jesenage, 1935). And thus many examples.

992 According to Pujolá from Australia, nowadays many Australian already
179 admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
33 belief is that they are sent by Bunjil-yarrunji and Bunjil-yarl,"
671 but there is also always recognized — he tells us — the need
for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary
simply because Bunjil-yarl wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
992 child is sent by the gods. The father conceives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
because the wirikabi (soul) had already been looking for the
671 woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too,
may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a
boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he
comes from Bunjil-yarrunji and Bunjil-yarl to the father. The
male child is a child of the father, the female /111/ one is of
992 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
994 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to custom
even when a daughter is born to him (6).

611 6. /Press p. 140 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Postnesses (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual executions, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Agual Informes, 1888 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1884, p. 82) in turn refers to the antiantropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

642
159
787

Pojéjé's sisters-in-law had died. Later the other two also died. Pojéjé became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone says: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Pojéjé's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avéhandjé (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Pojéjé opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Pojéjé took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this!' Then I dull was them!" And the tank her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

/112 cont./

542 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Chalchi Kondor and Mondoro Kondor. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the Kondorí said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'show' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Pojéjé, as he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Pojéjé's wife, called Tahuápuré, has four. On the occasion of my visits, Pojéjé's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avikanéjé. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

[775]

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report saying first that the children are sent by
542 Kondorí and Kondoryhoé, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dreams; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Pojéjé's explanations: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /112/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, pawahét, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
[illegible] Fernando Tapeti, religious chief of the Mondéwa village of
[illegible] Jacaré, is summarized as follows: Mondoyáwa ("Our Lord") can
[illegible] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
(656) It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, Ñeé ("speech"), is
(622) conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
(633) spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

Ta Schneider—140 2-4.5 (1948-1964) 1402 Hist General Hist

/119 cont./

without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various Gnosis (religious decree) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the Bardo, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tuchi (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the Bardo, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Bardo's theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775
774
S42
171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the General culture with those of other ethnic populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the General doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name.

/119 cont./

775
774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. —Such a paradoxical name lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Métraux, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like *Poyétjú*, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the Kandeyú Fernando Taperi of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the Kandeyú Bastilo of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbyá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more: when one goes up, another one comes down." It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the fe-
[776] male children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbyá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbyá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýtetĩ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétĩ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétĩ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneĩ (guĩ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
799 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/115 cont./

774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his antisocial inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead
822 of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñanã Ã, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuã-porãvé) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvãy), located above the yvýãomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, ayvýguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñandérú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuã) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okãã Ã vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

2: Schaden--145 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language: sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/116 cont./

774 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake;
828 violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar
825 (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and
828 which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come
[775] already at birth," according to the words of the Ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the [775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non- [753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- The ayvú and the ayvúporãvê send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

[756] [624] 774 828

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pỹtũmbyté

704 775 828 [825] 775

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [826]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; [755] Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive 828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per- 179 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit": bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

The relations that the divine part of the soul of the de-
[176] ceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[187] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--151 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

794
795
828

With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuã(porã'vé) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguéry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77
184
182
828

In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952.

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title Nanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go 775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

2: Schaden--154 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. Accord-
[537] ing to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; petein areko txepyáre, petein areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñãgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the
[184] Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýtetã, celestial
[774] beings or spirits ("Ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýtetã, one of them called
775 veándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuã of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvýtãmandehã,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kaãinguéry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
The ayvúkuã of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
[776] an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
[828] tial region called yrukitýtétã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguéry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguéry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
[192] disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahéi, or prayer. The
[533] porahéi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahéi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahéi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahéi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbiá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahéi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the porahéi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahéi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared: he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/122 cont./

782 them played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] use them on the radio" (12).

12. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the ethnographer much more difficult among the faithful Mandéva, where it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Mandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Mandedjára tredjuká," said Hiléte. Among the Mbiá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115]
[114]
[116]
[829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the poxabdi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like
an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer,
the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is
noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away"
a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it
is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is in-
carnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be re-
membered that "soul" is translated Ñeñ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/139 cont./

782 778 621 measure, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious sentiment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Acachí, on the religious behavior of the fellow villagers. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit. If, in the group, there is a one person or another who, resorting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "rationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies performed in the village. The *yerabiñ* is also identified, at least among the Kayowá, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. 782 778 [176] [187] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the *yerabiñ*, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 781 The individual *yerabiñ*, as the Ñandéva and Mbyá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The *Ñandarú* Fernando of Jacaré maintained to me that [176] *Ñandarú* reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of *Kuarahy* (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. These prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerer are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly [184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for [424] the Mbyá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, [554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva [184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /134/ *mbaraká*, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the *takuá*.

/[illegible] cont./

752 The Ñandeví is distinguished from the other principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[911]

14. /Page p. 101 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní Ñandeví and the yurí of the Tupinambáes. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[642] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Ñanansi --, the Ñandeví should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by Ñandeví Miguel, who brought a group of Mbiá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Barirí, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the yurí (name of the prayer in the Mbiá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñandeví Tsumbí, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Maçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the ohá (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
756 of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
183 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytéva ñesyrõ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru pytéva rysyi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

2: Schaden--162 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
776 protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
787 It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as
424 substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I
[184] never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753
[703] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic re- 753 sources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. 764 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp. 754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, [533] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general. [782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxỹ for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohẽ vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

2: Schaden--167 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

796
585
142
534
291

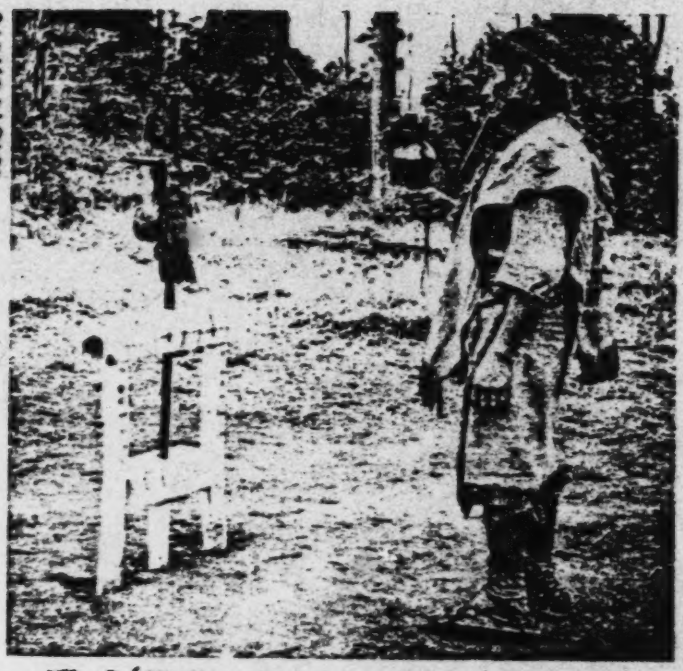
X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

764

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

2: Schaden--168 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778



XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

2: Schaden--169 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962. SM4 Guarani SM4

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery."

[115] [825] The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] [115] 754 755 766 825 /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(199) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
[155] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any for-
eign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to
health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If
in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic,
the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he
discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the
quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., with-
out there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-
intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the
unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the
manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked
with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either
by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate
medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient him-
self, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses
and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explana-
tion. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die,
treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to
die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Nanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there
[177] [797] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal
[763] experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofieĝupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication.
[184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large
[787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or
[776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of etemal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

2: Schaden--176 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grave they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/135 cont./

775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
372 the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
[114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave
[115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽguẽ of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽguẽ is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire
[774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽguẽ (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

/136 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendaju (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/137 cont./

768 continue to be the property of his mbogua, which is the reason
775 that nobody can inherit them. The mbogua would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Troyski confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
177 innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
[171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
[775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
[171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the crow" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [182]

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[773]

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771
177

There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771
177
178
184

It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Lébhá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771
177
178

/139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

[177]

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moátendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araríba I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly;
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestiço children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are seen modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple
[184] gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[182] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [437] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvuxú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

2: Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjê, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aflll). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of aflll. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
[182] has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aflll, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little steps being taken by its adepts as an

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer: he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
[184] monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[123] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piêta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators:
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] [775] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

2: Schaden--192 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyrá'djá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517
533
797
177
534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184]
534
723
796
177
[533]
534
171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

/153 cont./
534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 [322] [824] The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] [789] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

2: Schaden--196 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rikuã ſ, with a string of pindó ryvſ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ſ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ſ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ſ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
533 miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
177 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
182 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poãpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and,
177 when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in
167 part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that
182 the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components
[829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-paráđjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

2: Schaden--200 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825 787 793 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

2: Schaden--201 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [176]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ); it [184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim [177] Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is
776 obvious that the primitive native representation has been trans-
177 formed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to
121 collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

/159 cont./

538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Ikariri few Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbiá recently arrived from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piéta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ßomíaré, kutxára ßomíaré, rorítoridjú rorí týimß; ararakßre nde yguáryrú rirê. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétÿguá mirí djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretß mombyrý; ndavýái. Avaká porß repotí ndaúßeire; djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away; I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. SSdjú, txeirß í, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú káí, ityryrú káí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight; it is my error: urupê /a kind of tree/ urupê, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ováí; oró ú ßuß takuarý-porß. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djatereí katú raé, txeryvý, pará ováí, djaá djirodjý, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjy, tũpã ray; djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

[172] [128]

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

[171]

2: Schaden--205 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

771 existence of analogous ideas in other cultures
772 of South American tribes, in particular of the
171 Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Prestillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and
772 still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has
771 this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future.
[114] -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

/161 cont./

771 772 "religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

[177] [797]

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

[668] [171]

771 772 181 In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[787] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then also accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/162 cont./

773
797
177
[184]

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4),

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

/163 cont./

773
171
114

The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybẽ will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

773
171

In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyoí, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

770 The fundamental conception from which the belief in Para-
771 dise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness,
772 perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due atten-
tion to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of
view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply
771 magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speak-
772 ing is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider
[776] Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykeý, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Arariba they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbüá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

772
271
[128]

It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

[62]
[177]

539
772

For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

/166 cont./

539
772

He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

539
772
186

One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/167 cont./

772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there; in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóú oký ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance; one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying; but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief--prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro
771 Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of
167 the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous
173 generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý
772 would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morn-
771 ing they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,
173

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[77] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [16]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjê, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy minĩ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguerekó (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less de-
772 sirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living
186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.

771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 167 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- 181 ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at [184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyxáídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/173 cont./

77 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or
182 less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the
829 impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism, there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colo-
177 nists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the
182 Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast
182 and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies,
829 designed to obtain ayvú, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

2: Schaden--224 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, agwydé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /178/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[578] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
[756] reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
183 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[197] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-seccaer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Ratins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclinized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [529] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

177
177
178
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/

Conclusion

177
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

/179 cont./

177 182 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities; after the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to detribalization.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[229] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[135] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disinvolution and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
935 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvéo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including mention of

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
797 (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandejára rombiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbhá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [784] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[78] It is in consequence of nucleganation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For therealization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disintegration stemming from that, there is no ground for a community spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon down their native ancestry.

/183 cont./

The frustration of the Guaraní in the effort to be looked at and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration.

/Page 184 is blank; pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

2: Schaden--235 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/189/

Index

000 Preface 1

Note for the second edition 5

Chapter I
The Guaraní tribe and its representatives in Brazilian territory 6

Chapter II
Physical aspect 26

Chapter III
Some elements of the material culture and their transformations
1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings 34
2. Clothing 40

Chapter IV
Principal subsistence activities and economic organization 47

Chapter V
Individual and family 77
1. Childhood and the formation of the personality 77
2. Marriage 88
3. Economic relations in the family group 95

/190/

Chapter VI
States of crisis in Guaraní life 101

Chapter VII
The chieftaincy of the community 119

2: Schaden--236 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/190 cont./

Chapter VIII

000 Fundamental elements of the religion and of the conception of the world 130

1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity 130
2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul 136
3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one 155
4. Ideas about sicknesses and death 163
5. The direction of the religious acculturation 181

Chapter IX

Observations about the music and the folklore 194

Chapter X

The myth of Paradise in Guaraní culture and life 204

1. The Ñandéva 213
2. The Mbiá 218
3. The Kayová 221

Conclusion 228

Bibliography /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 185-188/.

adjaká (Mbüá) -- carrying basket
adjó (Ñandéva) -- carrying basket
aguydjé -- happiness, perfection, victory (usually conceived as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world)
akanguá (Ñandéva) -- diadem
aku -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
aflí (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- devil
anguéry (Ñandéva) -- spirit or "bad" soul of a dead person
apyká (Kayová) -- ceremonial bench
atsýyguá (Ñandéva) -- "bad" soul of a living person (represents an animal character of a person)
avatí-mongaraí -- ceremonial harvesting of the first maize ("baptism of the maize")
ayvú (kué) (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- language, also "good" part of the soul (responsible for the noblest manifestations of the individual)
caraíbas -- sorcerers
chicha -- fermented beverage
djasukávy (Kayová) -- principle of emanation
djeatsaá -- magic pendant
djiroký (Kayová) -- ceremonial dance
guyrapá í (Kayová) -- double musical bow

huitxá (Kayová) -- "chief of the kids" (Port. chefe dos guris)
kunumí-pepý (Kayová) -- initiation rites
kunumí-porahei (Kayová) -- initiation prayers
karuguá (Mbüá) -- subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
Mbaekuaá (Ñandéva) -- prayer-man
mbarakí (Mbüá) -- gourd rattle
mbarimbáu (Mbüá) -- monochord
mboguá (Mbüá) -- "bad" part of the soul
mimbu (Kayová) -- whistle-flute
mongaraí -- collective ceremonies
mutirão -- co-operative institution
mynakí (Kayová) -- carrying basket
Nandedjára -- god, spirit
nandedjáva -- celestial beings or spirits
nanderú (Ñandéva, Mbüá) -- religious chief
Ñanderuhey (Ñandéva) -- celestial being

ñandetrý -- gothes ("our mother"), also female curers
Nanderú (vutsú) (Ñandéva) -- celestial being
ñan�(gue) -- soul
ñeč (Mbïá, Ñandéva) -- soul, speech
ñeĕgaraí (Kayová) -- magic song
ñemondýiá -- state of the menstruating girl that requires resguardo
ñemongaraí (Kayová) -- collective ceremonial, carnival
odjépotá -- sexual enchantment
(odjéko) akú -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment (Port. resguardo)
oka (Kayová) -- dancing ground
paí (Kayová) -- religious chief
pajés -- sorcerer
pevahĕi -- prayer
puirão -- co-operative institution (expression of the solidarity of a group)
puxirĕ (Kayová) -- co-operation, solidarity
puxirĕ (Mbïá) -- co-operation, solidarity
resguardo (Portuguese) -- caution, defense, preventive measures

takuá (pú) -- rhythm stick for women
tavýterã -- celestial beings or spirits
tekópapá -- magic songs
tembetá -- labial ornament, lip plug
tambéó -- clothing piece
Tupá (Ñandéva) -- god of thunder
txeretẽ (Mbüá) -- physical part of a person ("my body")
txeñeẽ (Mbüá) -- spiritual part of a person ("my spirit, my tongue, my speech")
txiripá (Kayová) -- piece of male clothing
txumbé (Kayová) -- band worn around waist
yvaý (Ñandéva) -- sky
yvý-marã-eỹ -- mythical paradise (land without evil)
yvýñomimbyré (Ñandéva) -- mythical paradise
yvyráidjá -- protector spirit, also an officiant assisting ñanderú or paí
yvý opá -- the end of the world

2: Schaden SM4 Guarani SM4

113

/For the bibliography to 2: Schaden, see Category 116, foreign text, pp. 185-188./

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

461
464

/For general information on the <u>puxirão</u> or collective labor organization, see category 476./

773

/Information on the myth of paradise (Land Without Evil) in Guarani culture and life will be found in category 772./

/For religious or shamanistic functions of the Paĩ or Ñanderú in the community, see also category 756./

/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

/For information on the role of the Paí or Ñanderú in the political structure of the community, see also category 622./

2: Schaden SM4 Guarani

ASPECTOS FUNDAMENTAIS DA CULTURA GUARANI

[P.1]

CORPO E ALMA DO BRASIL

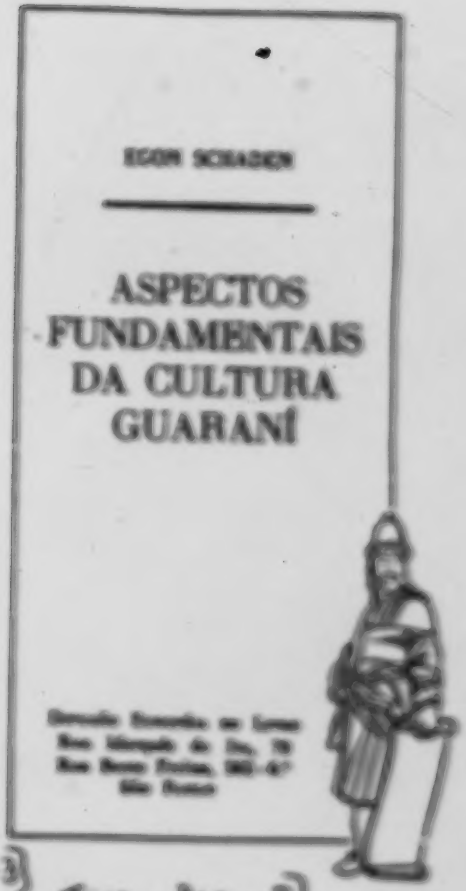
Direção do
Prof. Fernando Henrique Cardoso

VI

Abril de 1962

[p2]

[Title Page A]



[1-3] [Title Page B]

D4)

Direitos reservados
Editora Energia de Livro
São Paulo

PREFÁCIO

O objetivo do presente trabalho é o estudo antropológico da cultura e da aculturação dos Índios Guarani hoje existentes no Brasil. Compete acentuar, de início, que não há intenção nesses capítulos e pretendo de revisar de modo pormenorizado a cultura tribal em seus múltiplos aspectos materiais e não-materiais. Para tanto, seria preciso não somente explorar, com atitude crítica, a imensa e rápidíssima bibliografia sôbre os antigos e modernos Guarani, acumulada desde os tempos da Conquista, como ainda, observando, de perto e por tempo suficiente, as variações e modalidades da cultura dêsses Índios em todos os subgrupos atuais da tribo (dentro e fora do território nacional), ter em mira uma elaboração monográfica dos dados levantados. Por necessária que se afigure contribuição dessa ordem, não é o que se tenciona fazer aqui. O objetivo dessas páginas, em certo sentido mais modesto e desprendido, em outras palavras, mesmo, é o de expor, através da apresentação e discussão de alguns aspectos fundamentais da cultura, a maneira pela qual se desenvolvem os processos aculturativos no choque entre a configuração cultural Guarani e diversas formas de vida tomadas ou de algum modo ligadas à civilização ocidental. Pareceu-me haver nesta perspectiva, além do interêsse etnográfico do material apresentado, contribuição mais propriamente antropológica, de compreensão dinâmica e funcional dos processos culturais. Os aspectos escolhidos para a análise são apresentados dentro de um enquadramento geral mais amplo, no qual, a meu ver, não se devia prescindir, entre outras coisas, de um capítulo introdutório sôbre o problema da classificação dos subgrupos da tribo e de outro sôbre os caracteres físicos dos Guarani.

Não obstante se haver que seria inoportunado, a comparação com outras culturas, principalmente de tribos da família Tupi-Guarani, foi igualmente posta à margem, sôbre em alguns poucos casos excepcionais. E' que, em vez de aproximar análise pluridimensional, completa ou consistente da cultura, me pareceu preferível ater-me a um campo mais restrito. Por essa razão, achei de bom alvitre apoiar-me principalmente em observações pessoais, pressupondo no leitor o co-

nhecimento do material bibliográfico existente, pelo menos as fontes mais acessíveis. Pela natureza do trabalho, não haveria grande vantagem na transcrição, reprodução ou resumo do que se lê nos estudos de Nimuendajú e de outros autores, antigos e modernos, que escreveram sôbre as muitas tribos Tupí-Guaraní. Por outro lado, as fontes não poderiam ser ignoradas, sempre que nelas se encontrassem elementos indispensáveis à compreensão do problema capital aqui focalizado: o da aculturação e concomitante desetnialização dos Guaraní da atualidade em contacto com grupos e culturas estranhos.

Como não desejo apresentar aqui trabalho de erudição, mas um estudo antropológico de parte do material colhido em minhas viagens, achei necessário resistir por enquanto à tentação, que surgia a cada passo, de discutir até que ponto e em que sentido as minhas observações sôbre êste ou aquêle problema concordavam ou não com as de outros autores. Não fizer a posição assumida, fácil teria sido completar e enriquecer uma série de passagens do texto, que, por falta das circunstâncias, não podem deixar de ser fragmentárias. Renunciei ao expediente, pois se o ensaio lucraria em um sentido, talvez perdesse em outro: sacrificar-se-ia o objetivo primordial a uma tentativa de elaboração monográfica. De outro lado, a inclusão de uns tantos pormenores à primeira vista menos significativos para o entendimento dos problemas centrais do trabalho parecia justificar-se na medida em que não sobrecarregasse o texto e proporcionasse em seu conjunto o indispensável enquadramento etnográfico das questões formuladas. Aqueles que desejem resumar o ensaio encontrarão talvez aí elementos concretos para o exame de outros aspectos dos fenômenos de conservação e mudança, de homogeneização intragrupal, de diferenciação e outros semelhantes.

Na medida do possível, a exposição se orienta no sentido de sempre permitir ao leitor o confronto dos caracteres que imprimem unidade à cultura tribal Guaraní com as manifestações particulares e a especialização dessa cultura no sistema próprio de cada um dos subgrupos ou dos vários núcleos existentes em território brasileiro.

O princípio metodológico dêste ensaio se caracteriza em resumo no sentido duma descrição integrativa com vistas ao conhecimento do "ethos" tribal, apoiado por uma visão funcionalista dos processos aculturativos. Para não ser basicamente arbitrária, a escolha dos aspectos discutidos não poderia ser feita senão após um estudo global da cultura. A rigor, porém, uma seleção diferente deveria, em última análise, revelar as mesmas linhas do dinamismo cultural Guaraní. Isto quer dizer que o conceito de aspectos funda-

mentais aqui empregado não se refere necessàriamente a elementos ou valores nucleares, nem a esferas de minuciosa elaboração cultural, mas a padrões e fenômenos cujo exame em seu conjunto parece evidenciar talvez melhor do que outros o caráter genuíno e próprio do sistema em apreço. Mas é preciso confessar também que na escolha contribuiu poderoso fator circunstancial: a maior ou menor consistência do material colhido em campo.

Na elaboração, o esfôrço dispendido visa, de certo modo, a conciliar a atitude funcionalista com a caracterização tipológica ou, pelo menos, ideográfica da configuração cultural. Para não se alongar desnecessàriamente o texto, não se procuram tornar explícitas umas tantas conclusões de ordem geral que neste sentido o antropólogo depreende com facilidade da própria apresentação dos elementos observados. E' nosso que a maneira pela qual se expõem os dados — quando não se trata de simples reportagem ou "empirismo antropológico" — não sòmente pressupõe uma posição teórica, mas é teoria. E tal só tem em vista quando se pretende que num trabalho de ciência os fatos "falem por si". Na medida em que se consiga apresentá-los de modo que o conjunto venha a ter um sentido dentro de determinadas premissas científicas e em que êste sentido se evidencie pela própria descrição objetiva, parece possível reduzir a um mínimo a discussão de teorias, a não ser que esta seja a intenção do trabalho.

* * *

Baseia-se êste estudo em pesquisas realizadas entre índios de idioma Guarani de diferentes partes do Brasil. Iniciados em junho de 1946, os trabalhos se prolongaram, com numerosas e longas interrupções, até às vésperas da publicação. Fiz diversas visitas a três aldeias indígenas do litoral paulista: Rio Branco, Bananal e Itariri; além disso, tive repetidos contactos com índios dessas aldeias nas cidades de São Vicente e São Paulo. Não estive na atual aldeia do Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), mas conheci os seus moradores, quando ainda viviam no Itariri. Trabalhei também no Posto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, antigo Araribá, nas proximidades da cidade de Bauru, e colhi algum material entre os Guarani da Palmeirinha (Baixo-Iguaçu, no oeste paranaense), como também entre os da Laranjinha na região de Xapecó, no "lar-vezi" de Santa Catarina. Convivi com índios da tribo, especialmente do subgrupo Kayová, em diversos núcleos do sul mato-grossense: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri e Jacarei, êste último de famílias do subgrupo Ñandéva. Não me foi possível conhecer algumas outras aldeias igualmente importantes,

como, por exemplo, a de Guarita, no Rio Grande do Sul. — Em princípios do corrente ano, visitei, acompanhado pelo sr. León Cadogan, os Mbiá-Guarani de Paso Yovai (Yroÿsã), no leste paraguaio.

A vantagem decorrente do número bastante grande de núcleos visitados e da freqüência dos contactos em múltiplas situações é contrabalançada, infelizmente, pela pouca duração da minha estada nos vários aldeamentos. O mais longo período de trabalho ininterrupto em uma determinada povoação foi a permanência de quatro semanas entre os Índios de Dourados, em julho de 1950.

As viagens se tornaram possíveis graças a auxílios concedidos pela Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, pela Reitoria da mesma Universidade e pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. A todos, os meus sinceros agradecimentos.

Quero agradecer também, e muito cordialmente, aos meus numerosos amigos Índios, que, às vêzes com grande sacrifício pessoal, me auxiliaram na realização das pesquisas. Sem a boa vontade que sempre demonstraram, as páginas dêste livro não teriam sido escritas. Impossível mencioná-los a todos aqui. Lembro apenas alguns nomes: Manoel de Souza, Pai José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Pai Chiquinho, Pai Vitaliano, Ituderá Bastião, Capitão Maneco (ou Pojdjá, que é tsuriangá, meu pai adotivo) e Capitão Francisco. Devo muitíssimo a todos êles.

E, ao concluir, os meus melhores agradecimentos ao exmo. sr. Prof. Dr. Eurípedes Simões de Paula, D.D. Diretor da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, que me ajudou a vencer a vidas as dificuldades; sempre pronto a socorrer, fêz o que estava a seu alcance para que êste trabalho fôsse publicado da melhor forma possível.

São Paulo, 8 de julho de 1954.

NOTA À SEGUNDA EDIÇÃO

A benevolência com que êste trabalho, originalmente publicado como Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, foi recebido pela crítica animou-me a aceitar a proposta de reeditá-lo na coleção "Corpo e Alma do Brasil". Relendo-o, achei que não convinha mudá-lo, de vez que nêle se retratam aspectos de uma determinada situação histórica da cultura tribal em interação com a de populações vizinhas. Fiz sòmente algumas correções de pouca importância. Umas tantas questões particulares, aqui abordadas apenas de passagem, deverão ser discutidas, oportunamente, em ensaios especiais.

São Paulo, 23 de outubro de 1960.

CAPÍTULO I

A TRIBO GUARANÍ E SEUS REPRESENTANTES EM TERRITÓRIO BRASILEIRO

A maioria das populações indígenas encontradas pelos desbravadores quinhentistas em terras da bacia platina falava dialetos do idioma Guaraní [1], estreitamente afim ao linguajar das chamadas tribos Tupí, que dominavam quase todo o litoral brasileiro e grandes extensões do interior. À unidade lingüística daquelas tribos meridionais corresponde relativa unidade cultural. Todavia, a existência de diferentes denominações para os subgrupos regionais e, talvez, a grande mobilidade espacial, produzindo notável dispersão, são os principais fatôres responsáveis pela opinião, bastante comum, de que se trata de outras tantas tribos distintas.

Se é provável ter havido em outras épocas diferenciação cultural entre os vários bandos de fala Guaraní, não há dúvida, por outro lado, de que nos últimos quatro séculos se apagaram, em grande parte, as diferenças originais. Tanto as reduções jesuíticas, disseminadas por tôda a bacia do Prata, como os efeitos da colonização ibérica em geral, desintegraram as primitivas configurações comunitárias, levando a reagrupamentos diferentes, que não podiam deixar de conduzir a elevado grau de nivelamento e homogeneização culturais.

Entre os Guaraní contemporâneos a consciência de unidade tribal não chegou a prevalecer. Cada um dos subgrupos procura acentuar e exagerar as diferenças existentes, a ponto de se criticarem e ridicularizarem uns aos outros. A diversidade dos dialetos, das crenças e práticas religiosas, de constituição psíquica e mesmo da aparência física servem de motivo para cada bando afirmar a todo momento a sua pretensa superioridade sôbre os demais. E' verdade que, à medida que se processa a desintegração cultural em conseqüência do convívio com gente "civilizada", as discordâncias tendem a dar lugar à consciência do "índio" em face do "brasileiro" ("português") ou do "paraguaio". Assim, sôbre a base da inegável

similitude étnica e da situação comum de ambivalência em face do homem branco, chegam a desenvolver-se por vêzes certos padrões de solidariedade e cooperação, sobretudo em se tratando de pequenos bandos reduzidos a pequenas áreas de terra.

Os Guaraní do Brasil Meridional podem ser divididos em três grandes grupos: os Ñandéva (aos quais pertencem os Apapokúva, que se tornaram famosos pelo trabalho de Curt Nimuendajú [2]), os Mbüá e os Kayová. Êstes últimos são os únicos que hoje em dia não usam, em face de estranhos, a autodenominação Guaraní. Quanto às designações correntes para as inúmeras hordas encontradas na bibliografia, a confusão é tal que tôda tentativa de estabelecer ordem é condenada, desde logo, a resultados insatisfatórios.

Em que pêse a ligeiras variações entre as numerosas aldeias, a divisão em três subgrupos se justifica por diferenças sobretudo lingüísticas, mas também por peculiaridades na cultura material e não-material. A essas particularidades far-se-á referência, sempre que oportuno, no decorrer dêste estudo. A existência de três dialetos Guaraní em território brasileiro pode ser verificada com a maior facilidade. Não há dúvida de que fora do Brasil existem outros.

Ñandéva (os que somos nós, os que são dos nossos [2]) é autodenominação de todos os Guaraní. Gostam de usar expressões como *ñandevaekuére* [4] (nossa gente), *ñandéva eté* (é mesmo nossa gente), *izé ñandéva eté* (eu sou mesmo Guaraní, *um dos nossos*) e outras semelhantes. Mas é a *única* autodenominação usada pelas comunidades que falam o dialeto registado por Nimuendajú com o nome Apapokúva e que parece ter sido falado também pelos Tañyguá e algumas outras hordas mencionadas por aquêle autor. Proponho, por isso, que se reserve o nome Ñandéva para essa subdivisão. Pelos Mbüá é apelidada de Txiripá í, "os Txiripàzinhos" [3].

Em duas aldeias do litoral paulista (Itariri e Bananal) vivem Ñandéva que nos aspectos mais visíveis de sua cultura, especialmente na esfera material, se adaptaram de modo considerável aos padrões observáveis entre a população daquela região costeira. Todavia, o antropólogo não tem dificuldade de notar, logo no primeiro dia, a persistência de grande parte dos antigos valores tribais. O mesmo vale para os Ñandéva da aldeia do Araribá, perto de Bauru, onde em princípios dêste século Nimuendajú partilhou durante anos a vida de seus "irmãos de tribo". Estive com os Ñandéva de Dourados e, no extremo sul de Mato Grosso, a poucos quilômetros da fronteira paraguaia, os visitei na aldeia de Jacareí ou Pôrto Lindo, que, segundo as indicações de Nimuendajú, deve corresponder aproximadamente ao ponto de partida das migrações Apapokúva. E'

certo que os índios daquela povoação também se vestem à maneira dos sertanejos, mas no mais não sofreram influências muito incisivas da parte dos atuais vizinhos de origem portuguêsa e espanhola.

Mbüá ("gente") é a autodenominação mais usada pelos Guaraní conhecidos na bibliografia como Kainguá, Kaiuá etc. e a que os Ñandéva chamam Tambéopé [6] ("chiripá largo") ou Txeirũ, Ñancirũ ("meus" ou "nossos amigos"). Não raro, encontra-se também para êstes índios a denominação Apüteré, ou seja, Apyteré (corrutelas: Apuiteré, Apiteré), que êles próprios, no entanto, repelem como depreciativo [7]. Entre os paraguaios são conhecidos pelo apelido de Baticolas, em atenção ao chiripá que usam entre as pernas. Também se ouve em outros subgrupos o apôdo Avähuguai, "homens de cauda", dado pelo mesmo motivo.

Ao sul de Santos vivem duas hordas de Mbüá nas aldeias de Rio Branco e Rio Comprido (perto de Itariri). Vieram do Paraguai meridional nos últimos três decênios. No oeste dos estados brasileiros de Santa Catarina e Paraná encontra-se por sua vez uma série de hordas Mbüá. Estive com êstes índios no pôsto de Xapecó e na aldeia da Palmeirinha. Finalmente, contam-se ainda numerosos Mbüá na região florestal do leste paraguaio, especialmente no território de Guaíra, mas também na parte setentrional da Argentina e no Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová é o terceiro grupo, também conhecido como Teüi e Tembekuá [8]. A pronúncia do nome (corrutela talvez de *kái ỹ yguá*) oscila entre Kaiuá e Kadjová, com as formas intermediárias Kaiouá e Kayová. Uso esta última [9]. Os Mbüá pronunciam a palavra *kai iud* [10]. A designação Teüi (Teýi) é empregada por êles próprios para todos os índios, qualquer que seja a tribo, com o significado de "naturais da terra". Observa Nimuendajú que para os Apapokúva o nome Teýi é depreciativo. Não o é para os Kayová, que o empregam até para a população celeste de sua religião. Tembekuá não é autodenominação; ouvi-a principalmente entre os Ñandéva da fronteira paraguaia, que com ela designavam os Kayová.

Parece que à subdivisão dos Kayová pertencem os Txiripá das margens do Paraná, provàvelmente idênticos aos Avátxiripá, mas diferentes dos Txiripá I (Ñandéva). Todavia não tive oportunidade de verificar a hipótese. Um chefe de aldeia Kayová, Alberto, me disse ser o nome Txiripá apelido dado pelos paraguaios a um subgrupo chamado Kuarapüté.

Hoje os Kayová parecem estar confinados a uma série de aldeias do Sul de Mato Grosso (como Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai e outras) e de regiões contíguas do Paraguai.

A maioria dêles vive, sob a administração oficial do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, em reservas mais ou menos extensas, dedicando-se à caça e à lavoura, e trabalhando todos os anos durante alguns meses nos grandes ervais daquela zona.

Não há notícia de que os Kayová tenham chegado, em suas migrações, até a costa do Atlântico [11].

De qualquer forma, os Guaraní constituem uma unidade apenas no sentido de "tribo-nação", e não como "tribo-estado", segundo a terminologia de Malinowski [12]. Conforme a situação em que se encontre um subgrupo, considera ou não os representantes de um dos outros como indivíduos de igual estirpe [13].

Todavia, a hostilidade entre os diversos subgrupos da tribo raramente chega a assumir feição de luta aberta. Com referência aos Kaingáng é a outras tribos estranhas, a atitude é ou de mêdo ou de ridicularização. Era em geral com vivo interêsse que se comentavam gravuras e fotografias de livros antropológicos que eu lhes mostrasse. Com freqüência ouvi para quaisquer índios de tribo desconhecida o nome "Tupinambá".

Para os brasileiros de origem lusa, ou "gente de fora", há várias denominações, em geral depreciativas; neutro é o nome *yvýpóre*, que ouvi entre Ñandéva do litoral paulista. Êstes também chamam aos negros de "comida de onça", baseados naturalmente na crença, bastante difundida no Brasil, de que as onças têm especial predileção pelas pessoas de pele preta [14].

*
* *

A história dos Guaraní em território paulista é bastante conhecida, graças aos trabalhos de Nimuendajú e de outros investigadores. Sabe-se que entre êles não há remanescentes dos antigos Tupí da costa, desaparecidos já no período colonial. Ligam-se às correntes migratórias, provenientes do oeste, que se vêm sucedendo desde o primeiro quartel do século passado. O motivo das jornadas é o *yvý opá*, o fim do mundo, profetizado pelos médicos-feiticeiros. Nimuendajú indica, entre os grupos que chegaram ao litoral, a horda dos Tañiguá (1820), a dos Oguahuíva (1820), a dos Apapokúva (1870) e, ainda, um grupo relativamente recente, vindo em 1912. Há mais de um século, fundou-se um grande aldeamento em Itaporanga, perto de Itararé, em terras que parecem ter sido doadas pelo Barão de Antonina. Em 1910 viviam aí uns 500 Guaraní, que depois se dispersaram todos ou quase todos [15]. As causas da dispersão foram

de vária natureza. Algumas famílias se estabeleceram nos aldeamentos do Itariri e do Bananal (em 1927 contaram a Baldus que fizeram a mudança por motivo de espoliação), outras foram à região da Noroeste, a convite de um missionário, Padre Sabino, para o auxiliarem na pacificação dos Kaingáng do Rio Feio. E' notório o episódio da morte do Padre Claro Monteiro, que estava acompanhado de alguns dêsses Guaraní. O bando foi depois aldeado no Araribá, onde hoje se encontra o Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú.

As migrações mais recentes foram as de algumas levas de Mbüá do leste paraguaio e nordeste argentino que, atravessando o Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina e o Paraná, chegaram ao litoral de São Paulo. Tenho notícias de três grupos, um vindo por volta de 1924, outro vindo em 1934 e um terceiro, que chegou em 1946, igualmente vindo do Paraguai meridional, de território contíguo à província argentina de Misiones. Dêstes três bandos, os primeiros dois já estiveram no Espírito Santo, em Minas Gerais e no Araribá, vivendo agora parte na aldeia do Rio Branco e alguns poucos remanescentes no Estado do Espírito Santo; o terceiro, depois de conviver algum tempo com os companheiros do Rio Branco e com os do Itariri, retirou-se para o Rio Comprido, na Serra do Itariri.

Não se pode afirmar que esteja encerrado definitivamente o ciclo das migrações Guaraní em direção do litoral. Ainda em meados de 1947, encontrei no oeste catarinense, na região de Xapecó, várias famílias Mbüá, que manifestavam a intenção de vir até o litoral, a fim de se reunirem a seus parentes e amigos. Haviam realizado parte da viagem e estavam à espera da ordem divina para levá-la a cabo.

Disseminados em pequenos núcleos numa extensa área, os Guaraní hoje existentes em território nacional se caracterizam pela multiplicidade de situações de contacto interétnico, oferecendo ao antropólogo a possibilidade de estudar os fenômenos aculturativos em ampla escala de variação. Êste fato foi quase determinante com relação ao rumo a ser dado à pesquisa. Esta haveria de comportar, é claro, o levantamento geral da cultura da tribo, mas focalizaria de preferência aspectos similares e diferentes da aculturação nos vários núcleos em função da variabilidade das condições. A par disso, cumpriria atender a outras conseqüências dos contactos interétnicos, em especial aos problemas de miscigenação e às atitudes ambivalentes dos índios em face da população e da cultura "nacionais", de um lado, e ao entrosamento ecológico e econômico com populações vizinhas e às respectivas formas de cooperação e competição, do outro. Assim se compreenderiam de maneira mais dinâmica as mudanças provocadas na

alimentação, nas técnicas, na organização social, na religião e assim por diante.

Esbocemos rapidamente as características das aldeias visitadas.

Bananal, ao sul de Itanhaém, perto do Rio Prêto, a 14 km para a esquerda da via férrea Santos-Juquiá, mais ou menos na altura do km 77. Em sua quase totalidade, os moradores são do subgrupo Nandéva. Parece tratar-se de uma horda que por volta de 1885 se dirigiu a êsse território, vinda do Iguatemi, na região fronteiriça entre o sul de Mato Grosso e o Paraguai. Durante cêrca de um ano, mais ou menos em 1925, viveram também no aldeamento as famílias Mbüá vindas da região de Misiones e que mais tarde fundaram o núcleo do Rio Branco.

O aldeamento do Bananal é um dos mais antigos dentre os que atualmente existem no litoral do Estado de São Paulo.

E' provável que hoje se encontrem, entre os índios do Bananal, descendentes de pelo menos três hordas Guaraní: Tañiguá, Apapokúva e Oguahuíva. Em 1949, o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios restabeleceu o pôsto indígena que outrora existiu no Bananal.

Nos últimos anos, a aldeia, que dispõe de um patrimônio de 240 alqueires, mostrou muitos sinais de dissolução. Numerosos fatôres contribuíram para isso, entre êles a tendência para a grande mobilidade espacial, conjugada com fenômenos de desorganização social decorrentes do contacto e do cruzamento com elementos da população praiana. Em junho de 1946 contei no Bananal 57 moradores (entre índios, caboclos casados com índias e mestiços), formando dez fogos ao todo. Em novembro do mesmo ano existiam aí nove fogos, pelos quais se distribuíam apenas 27 indivíduos: 16 índios, 2 caboclos e 9 mestiços. Temporàriamente, parte dos moradores se fixa em São Vicente ou em outro ponto próximo de algum centro litorâneo. Em 1948, quase tôda a aldeia morou durante vários meses no km 10 da via férrea Santos-Juquiá. Os índios haviam abandonado os seus lares por causa de um acidente em que um membro da comunidade perdera a vida. Saem também às vêzes para uma temporada de "tratamento de saúde", i. é, para consultarem algum curandeiro de fama. Não raro, os homens se ausentam por semanas a fio para trabalharem em alguma fazenda da região de Itanhaém.

Tudo revela um estado de destribalização crescente. Parece ser já relativamente considerável o número de índias casadas com caiçaras, e vivendo fora da comunidade. As uniões mistas com caboclos e caiçaras no seio da comunidade tendem a aumentar; os

mutirões com caboclos e as festas freqüentadas por êstes estão na ordem do dia, fazendo que a aculturação se processe ràpidamente no sentido da cultura rural da região. Na economia, a lavoura predomina sôbre a caça, havendo atividades supletivas, como a exploração de palmitos para o comércio. Socialmente o grupo não é coeso, o que se reflete na freqüência de desentendimentos e brigas, às alusões ao "espírito de porco" e às contínuas acusações de magia negra no seio da comunidade.

Itariri, na Serra dos Itatins, entre Peruíbe e Juquiá, na altura do km 105 da via férrea Santos-Juquiá. Ao que parece, é aldeia antiga, fundada igualmente no século passado. Vivem lá umas 8 a 10 famílias Ñandéva, em situação cultural comparável à das que moram no Bananal. Entretanto, não encontrei aí uniões mistas entre índios e caboclos. Havia no grupo apenas um indivíduo de origem racial diferente; natural do Paraná, dizia-se mestiço de pai caboclo e mãe Guaraní. Durante algum tempo viveu na aldeia um grupo de famílias Mbüá vindas do Paraguai em 1946 sob a direção de *ñanderú* Miguel; mais tarde foram estabelecer-se junto ao Rio Comprido, igualmente na Serra dos Itatins. Entre êstes Mbüá a religião tribal sofreu pouca ou nenhuma influência cristã em época posterior às missões jesuíticas.

Rio Branco, nas proximidades da Praia Grande, ao sul de Santos, a uns 13 km do mar, no vale do Rio Branco, isto é, atrás da Serra de Jacupiranga. Fundada há cêrca de trinta anos. Quando a conheci em 1946, a população presente era de 55 indivíduos, sendo 17 homens, 15 mulheres e 23 crianças. Todos êles pertenciam ao subgrupo Mbüá, com exceção de um velho casal Ñandéva e de uma mulher mestiça, vindos de outra aldeia. Não havia nenhum caboclo na aldeia. Os moradores se distribuíam por doze casas, cada uma abrigando geralmente uma família elementar, mas às vêzes formando grupos de duas ou três, e reunindo assim os elementos constitutivos de famílias-grandes. Hoje o número de índios da aldeia é bem mais reduzido. Cultivam os índios do Rio Branco forte consciência grupal em oposição aos "portuguêses" e não admitem casamentos mistos com êstes. Gostam de fazer expedições comerciais para vilas e cidades do litoral e mesmo para a capital do Estado. Na Praia Grande e nesses centros de população têm contacto freqüente com o "grande mundo", com turistas e viajantes, o que os torna pedinchões e interesseiros, além de extraordinàriamente alcoólatras. Poucos são os que trabalham em fazendas próximas da aldeia.

Em comparação, por exemplo, com a aldeia do Bananal, onde mulheres e crianças são afáveis, conversando com qualquer estranho,

nota-se que no Rio Branco as mulheres, retraídas e desconfiadas, mal sabem dizer duas frases em português.

Araribá, atual Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, junto ao Rio Batalha, a pouco mais de 30 km da cidade de Bauru. Vivem neste núcleo índios Guaraní (em sua quase totalidade Ñandéva) há vários decênios submetidos a tentativas de educação para o trabalho regular e para a eficiência econômica. Os resultados são tidos como insatisfatórios em comparação com os que, no mesmo pôsto, se alcançaram com índios Terêno. Por ocasião de minha primeira visita (fevereiro de 1947) contavam-se no pôsto 78 Guaraní, além de alguns mestiços. Não são raros os contactos com a população caboela da região.

Palmeirinha, no oeste paranaense, na margem do Rio Iguaçu, a cêrca de sete léguas da sede do Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, habitado por índios Kaingáng. Os índios da aldeia da Palmeirinha, vindos do território de Misiones e da área contígua do leste do Paraguai, são todos do subgrupo Mbüá e em parte parentes dos moradores da aldeia do Rio Branco. Quando os visitei, o censo indicava 144 pessoas, entre homens e mulheres, 72 de cada sexo. Devido à dispersão das moradas, não me foi possível verificar a contagem.

Limeira, no Xapecó, oeste de Santa Catarina. Igualmente índios Mbüá, vindos do território de Misiones, em parte parentes muito próximos de alguns do Rio Branco e de outros da Palmeirinha. A aldeia — tôldo, como aí se diz —, formada de umas 15 casas, fica entre os rios Xapecó e Xapecòzinho, perto da confluência. Não tive oportunidade de ir até a aldeia, de difícil acesso, mas convivi durante alguns dias com parte do grupo no P. I. Xapecó (de índios Kaingáng), onde os homens às vêzes trabalham na lavoura como diaristas.

Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), a cêrca de uma légua da cidade do mesmo nome, sul de Mato Grosso. Por ocasião da minha primeira visita estavam registados no pôsto 548 índios, entre os quais alguns mestiços. Eram Guaraní, — dos subgrupos Kayová (355 indivíduos, sendo 173 do sexo masculino e 182 do feminino) e Ñandéva (42 indivíduos, sendo 22 do sexo masculino e 20 do feminino) — e Terêno (151 indivíduos, sendo 77 do sexo masculino e 74 do feminino). Desde essa época a população tem diminuído consideràvelmente, sobretudo em conseqüência da tuberculose pulmonar e de outras doenças. Os Ñandéva abandonaram pràticamente a religião tribal, não realizando mais cerimônia de espécie alguma; também entre os Kayová a influência do Cristianis-

mo vai tomando incremento através de catequese desenvolvida pela missão protestante fundada nas imediações do pôsto especialmente para prestar assistência aos índios e convertê-los ao Cristianismo. — Trabalhei no pôsto nos anos de 1949, 1950 e 1951.

Panambi, a algumas léguas do Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta (exclusivamente de índios Kayová, umas 250 pessoas em 1949). Há poucos anos a aldeia conservava em larga escala os velhos padrões culturais da tribo, mas hoje está em vias de dissolução em conseqüência do avanço cada vez mais rápido da Colônia Federal de Dourados, cuja diretoria mandou lotear quase integralmente as terras dos índios, a fim de distribuí-las a colonos vindos de fora. Trabalhei no Panambi em 1949 e em 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), sul de Mato Grosso, Município de Ponta Porã. Não pude trabalhar neste pôsto, onde colhi apenas algumas observações em rápida visita em 1949, época em que a população contava entre 200 e 300 Kayová e alguns poucos Ñandéva. Êstes haviam vindo de Dourados e aquêles, em grande parte, de Benjamim Constant ou Amambai. — O pôsto está organizado para a produção de erva-mate.

Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), a uma légua da cidade do mesmo nome (ex-União), no sul de Mato Grosso. Por ocasião da minha primeira visita estavam registados no pôsto 470 índios Guaraní, todos do subgrupo Kayová. Alguns Ñandéva que se haviam instalado na aldeia foram expulsos pelo capitão Kayová. Durante alguns meses do ano, quase todos os índios do Amambai, como de outros núcleos menores da região, se empregam como ervateiros, sendo muito procurados pelos patrões. Trabalhei no pôsto em 1949 e 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perõ), núcleo Kayová sob a jurisdição do Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, junto à fronteira paraguaia, a duas léguas da vila de Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Vivem aí uns 200 Guaraní, quase todos do subgrupo Kayová. Fiz à comunidade uma visita em junho de 1949. E' o núcleo em que trabalhou o casal Watson em 1943.

Jacarei ou *Pôrto Lindo*, reserva sob a jurisdição do Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. A aldeia, situada no extremo sul de Mato Grosso, entre o Rio Iguatemi e a Serra de Maracaju, se estende até a meia légua da fronteira paraguaia. A grande maioria dos habitantes é Ñandéva, cuja cultura não demonstra ter sofrido profundas transformações pelo contacto com moradores de outra origem étnica. Em parte são provenientes de núcleos próximos de além-

fronteira; alguns dizem mesmo ter nascido na Vila Iguatemi, no Paraguai, e um ou outro parece já não ser índio puro, mas mestiço de crioulos. Quando estive entre êles, em junho de 1949, contei cêrca de 120 pessoas.

*
* *

Resumindo, pode-se dizer que a tribo Guaraní, que em séculos passados dominou em grandes extensões dos Estados meridionais do Brasil e em territórios limítrofes do Uruguai, da República Argentina e do Paraguai, está hoje reduzida a poucos milhares de indivíduos, que, em sua maioria, exceção feita dos que vivem no Paraguai oriental e no território argentino de Misiones, já não ocupam áreas extensas e concretas, mas estão confinados a pequenas reservas ou aldeias sob proteção ou mesmo administração oficial. De outro lado, é notório que a cultura Guaraní e o seu substrato biológico estão profusamente representados na atual população mestiça, mormente do Paraguai, tendo aí dado origem a uma cultura híbrida ibero-indígena *sui generis*, merecedora de cuidadosa análise antropológica sobretudo por causa de sua multiplicidade de aspectos, variando entre formas quase-tribais e rurais, de um lado, e culturas urbanas de acentuado caráter civilizatório do outro.

Mas também aquêles grupos remanescentes da antiga "nação Guaraní", que na composição étnica e na forma de vida se conservaram índios, estão longe de apresentar homogeneidade cultural em todos os aspectos. Já em virtude de diferenciações anteriores à chegada do europeu, a cultura Guaraní, pelo isolamento dos diferentes subgrupos da tribo, possuía apenas relativa uniformidade no tocante à língua, à religião, à tradição mítica e a outros setores da cultura. A diferenciação se foi acentuando muito nos tempos coloniais, quando parte das populações foi submetida, durante mais de um século, à tutela jesuítica, retornando, algum tempo após a expulsão dos missionários, a suas primitivas condições de existência. Depois, pela progressiva ocupação do antigo território Guaraní por elementos de origem portuguêsa ou espanhola, empenhados em atividades de economia sobretudo extrativa, mas também produtora, os índios da tribo entraram em situações de contacto cultural bastante variadas. E finalmente, nos últimos 130 anos, os movimentos migratórios de uma série de hordas Guaraní em direção ao litoral brasileiro vieram aumentar ainda o número das modalidades de experiência cultural, levando mesmo alguns grupos da tribo a contactos mais ou menos freqüentes com a moderna civilização urbana.

Parece que, em virtude dos fatos apontados, os Guaraní da atualidade constituem um dos exemplos mais instrutivos para o estudo das conseqüências de situações de contacto entre populações aborígines americanas e culturas de tipo ocidental. Nenhuma tribo ameríndia parece ter sido submetida, nestes quatro séculos, às influências de tão variadas situações interculturais.

Quem quer que procure conhecer em suas próprias aldeias os índios Guaraní da atualidade, não deixa de perceber desde logo que certos domínios de sua cultura se apresentam inteiramente abertos a influências estranhas, ao passo que em outros é extraordinàriamente forte o apêgo aos padrões tradicionais. E' bem complexo o conjunto dos fatôres responsáveis por essa forma de reação aos contactos interétnicos, não podendo ser compreendida senão com referência ao problema teórico central da aculturação, concernente à reinterpretação dos novos elementos em têrmos do "ethos" tribal, ou seja, a acomodação do conflito, sôbre a base de experiências anteriores, entre as soluções e os valores tradicionais, de um lado, e as inovações que se tornam necessárias ou desejáveis, do outro.

Em sua composição numérica, as aldeias Guaraní da atualidade variam, como vimos, entre uns 40 e algumas centenas de indivíduos. Em conseqüência da extraordinária mobilidade espacial, o tamanho dos núcleos está sujeito a constantes modificações. Os grupos menores são os que se encontram junto ao litoral em contacto com populações rurais e urbanas, enquanto as aldeias mais numerosas estão situadas mais para o interior, em diferentes pontos da extensa bacia do Paraná. As aldeias grandes, com duzentas ou mais almas, subdividem-se, porém, normalmente em diversos grupos locais, cada um dos quais constituído por uma parentela que tem como núcleo a família-grande de uma personalidade de prestígio, geralmente um chefe religioso (*Ñanderú*, entre os Ñandéva e *Mbüá pai*, entre os Kayová). Sòmente em determinadas circunstâncias, como em importantes festas religiosas, a horda ou aldeia tôda aparece realmente como unidade.

No tocante ao grau de coesão social das diferentes comunidades, a sua diminuição está, por assim dizer, na razão direta do tempo em que o grupo vive em relações constantes com populações estranhas. Dentre as causas sobressaem, em primeiro lugar, o maior número de casamentos interétnicos e, em segundo, condições desfavoráveis para a realização das cerimônias religiosas, que constituem talvez, como veremos, uma das fôrças que mais cimentam a solidariedade grupal dos Guaraní.

O exemplo mais frisante de tal situação é a aldeia do Bananal, na costa do Estado de São Paulo. Os índios dessa aldeia vivem há várias gerações em associação estreita com habitantes rurais de origem luso-brasileira. A prolongada convivência levou a relações vicinais estreitas, que aparecem, por exemplo, na troca de serviços econômicos (sobretudo em mutirões) e na freqüência com que os caboclos participam das festas realizadas na aldeia índia. A economia se aproxima da dos caboclos, especialmente na importância quase exclusiva do cultivo do solo em detrimento da caça. Pela aceitação de indivíduos estranhos na comunidade como cônjuges das mulheres índias rompeu-se a primitiva homogeneidade étnica, o que dificulta a realização das cerimônias religiosas, das quais, exige a tradição, devem participar todos os membros do grupo, sem exceção. Os ádvenas não sòmente ignoram os elementos constitutivos e o significado das cerimônias, como também as acham ridículas; por isso a sua realização se tornou cada vez mais rara, até pràticamente extinguir-se. O principal fator de coesão comunitária, a comunhão dos ideais religiosos, perdeu, assim, a sua atividade, o que se reflete nos constantes desentendimentos e inimizades no seio do grupo.

Bem diversa é, por exemplo, a situação na aldeia do Rio Branco, localizada igualmente no litoral paulista, mas constituída exclusivamente de índios Mbüá. Em sua proximidade quase não há populações caboclas com as quais se pudessem ter estabelecido relações constantes. De outro lado, parte da população está quase sempre fora da aldeia, em cidades ou vilas próximas, numa espécie de *tournée* comercial, vendendo artefatos e pedindo esmolas. A forma de contactos interétnicos a que está sujeita difere, pois, essencialmente da que os Nandéva do Bananal vêm experimentando há gerações. Não há, na comunidade, elementos que sejam considerados corpos estranhos.

Assim, de aldeia em aldeia, a experiência aculturativa dos índios Guarani assume formas específicas de acôrdo com a variação dos fatôres, o que dá ao pesquisador a possibilidade de investigar o que seria hã de constante e comum, e quais as manifestações devidas à contingência de situações particulares. Em suma: os Guarani talvez representem entre os índios atuais o exemplo mais apropriado para se estudar a variedade de reações aculturativas e anti ou contra-aculturativas de uma determinada configuração de origem, bem como a importância dos fatôres que interferem no processo.

* * *

Apesar de tudo, porém, a tentativa de estudar a cultura Guaraní como unidade talvez pareça ousada. Com igual direito poder-se-ia falar em três, quatro ou mais culturas Guaraní. As populações que falam algum dialeto Guaraní distinguem-se uma das outras, como já foi assinalado, em muitos aspectos da vida econômica, da organização social, do sistema religioso e dos demais setores da cultura. Mas, acima dessas diferenças indiscutíveis, há um fundo comum de elementos idênticos ou semelhantes, em virtude do qual todos os bandos se apresentam como unidade em oposição a outras tribos, inclusive da família Tupí-Guaraní. De vez que a linha divisória entre culturas e subculturas não decorre necessàriamente de critérios objetivos bem definidos, aplicáveis com rigor, por assim dizer, matemático, as classificações das tribos tendem a variar de autor para autor, segundo a posição teórica e os conhecimentos de cada um. Além disso, a escolha de determinados problemas para a pesquisa de campo e ulterior discussão científica não raro faz aparecerem como essenciais as diferenças que de outros pontos de vista talvez pudessem ser desprezadas, levando, inversamente, a descurar de semelhanças que em perspectiva diferente se revelariam ser de importância capital.

Ora, o esforço de estudar a cultura, ou melhor, determinados aspectos particulares da organização social e do sistema religioso de alguns grupos de fala Guaraní em sua reação a situações de contacto com populações de ascendência ibérica, leva à convicção de que as semelhanças no sistema religioso e na organização social, especialmente quanto ao cunho que imprimem à marcha aculturativa, superam o alcance que possam ter as diferenças naquelas e em outras esferas culturais. E' pelo menos neste sentido que a diversidade assume importância secundária, determinando simples fácies ou variantes de uma configuração única. Não obstante, é claro, que se procure compreender o que há de específico em cada uma dessas subculturas; isto, porém, se vai tornando cada vez mais difícil, porquanto as migrações vieram apagar em parte as diferenças originais. Em alguns núcleos, o convívio de famílias Nandéva, Mbiá e Kaiowá levou a tão intenso processo de homogeneização (como, por exemplo, na aldeia do Araribá) que nesses grupos hoje se torna impossível distinguir com o necessário rigor as linhas divisórias entre uma subcultura e outra. Por outro lado, é surpreendente o elevado grau de diferenciação secundária que se processou nas várias aldeias e que deixa patente que os mesmos valores e as mesmas tendências básicas de uma cultura podem encontrar expressão ou concretização em padrões e instituições à primeira vista inteiramente díspares. Pessoa-

me preferível, por tudo isso, estudar o conglomerado como um todo, procurando ver, antes do mais, o que êste tem de comum e característico em alguns de seus aspectos básicos e em suas reações aos contactos com culturas diversas, especialmente de tipo rural.

NOTAS

1. A grafia das denominações tribais obedece às normas da convenção assinada no Rio de Janeiro em 14 de novembro de 1953, por ocasião da 1a. Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia, reunida no Museu Nacional. O texto da convenção foi publicado na *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. II, n.º 2, São Paulo, dezembro de 1954.

2. Nimuendajú, 1914. É talvez o mais importante estudo até hoje publicado sôbre a cultura Guarani.

3. Nimuendajú, 1914, pág. 188, escreve: "Quando os Guarani em sua língua se referem a si próprios como povo ou como tribo, empregam o exponendo 'Ñandéva', ao passo que se incluir a pessoa a que se fala, o 'Ombó', quando a pessoa a que se fala é de outra tribo. Como o outro raios significava 'nossa gente', a segunda expressão sem exclusão e a primeira com inclusão da pessoa a que se dirige a palavra." Segundo informação por mim colhida, os moradores da tribo, quando se encontram, nem se cumprimentam, identificam-se dizendo: "Ziri ñandéva", ou também nos Guarani.

4. Na medida em que ocorrem no decorrer da exposição, tirnos e traços em Guarani são apresentados em dialeto Ñandéva, salvo nos casos em que, pelo contexto ou por menção especial, se verifique tratar-se de um dos outros dialetos. Aqui e acolá a variabilidade da prosódia se reflete também na grafia adotada. Com exceção do g, que representa o vogal característico do Guarani, o valor fonético dos sinais é o do sistema de transcrição feito empregado para a grafia das denominações tribais, o que se lê referência em nota anterior.

5. 6. É, afim, a denominação empregada por mim em trabalho anterior. Schaden, 1948a.

7. Talvez seja de interêsse lembrar, a propósito disso mesmo, a observação de Karl von den Steinen, quando fala dos, naturalmente em fato de que como aldeia Aweti por êle visitada no Alto-Xingu, parte ser considerada o ponto central da navegação pelos canais que, com algumas lagoas, cortavam o território da parte baixa do Kuliseu e do Batovi. "É realmente interessante que o nome dêsses índios participa ter esta significação. São chamados 'Aweti' pelos seus vizinhos; ora, em Guarani, a forma adjetiva aweti, 'que está no centro, no meio'". Karl von den Steinen, 1948, pág. 188.

8. A sra. Wanda Hanke confirmou-me em 1959 numa ou Tembetá por ela visitados no Paraguai ocidental culturalmente idênticos aos Kayová meio-gravaram; também entre eles a mesma Tembetá não é autodenominação. Vivem na proximidade de Bakiry, de onde os mesmos índios (Guajiro, Formosa etc.) podem ser bem atingidos em que dia de viagem a cavalo.

9. Em trabalhos anteriores escrevi Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

10. Sobre a denominação Kayová, a sua etimologia e a confusão a que teve dado origem nos trabalhos relativos aos grupos da tribo Guarani, publiquei extensa nota em apêndice ao trabalho de Curt Nimuendajú, *Apontamentos sôbre os Guarani* (Nimuendajú, 1954, pág. 34-35).

11. De um trabalho de Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), em que, além, também se lê o longínquo confronto entre Kayová e Mbiá, se depreende que os primeiros acompanharam, em suas migrações, até o Baixo-Tibagi.

12. Malinowski, 1944, pág. 155-156.

13. Não cura notar que os Mbiá de São Paulo foram quando do seu considerados "Guarani legítimos", em parte para definirem melhor o seu status de brasileiros em face das autoridades e da população luso-brasileira em geral, mas em parte também por se considerarem superiores aos Kaiová dos últimos primeiros, a que chamam Tatirpá / (ou apelidam depreciativamente de "Bandeira"). Por seu vez, os Kaiová do Mato Grosso, mais cordiais para com os Mbiá de Paulo (aos antigos), e quando aos Kayová me disseram tratar-se de "antiga Guarani", que "não chamavam (?)Mbiá". Numa ótica do sul de Mato Grosso, finalmente, observei franca hostilidade dos Kayová contra os Kaiová, a ponto de bem mesmo expulsos por aquêles, sem que para tal houvesse razões objetivas. O capitão Kayová me explicou sua atitude, dizendo: "Guarani (Mbiá e), Kaiová não gosta quando fala frio, não gosta quando fala calor, não gosta quando trata a barriga cheia e não gosta quando tem fome. O curandeiro Kayová cura do coração e até mesmo a doença que tira do corpo, mas o curandeiro Guarani é só bebida".

14. Baumgart de Holanda, 1948, pág. 348.

15. Foi lá que ouvi, em duas horas principais informantes, o velho Pujetá (atual Capitão Mateus do Aranhã), que detém o cheiro natal com a idade de duas anos. Sobre a biografia de seu bando há uma nota de minha autoria entre as que acompanharam as Apontamentos sôbre os Guarani, de Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pág. 35-36).

Capítulo II

ASPECTO FÍSICO

"Medir, só mesmo feiticeiro, para ver o tamanho do corpo." Esta atitude, encontradiça entre colonos, já passou também para os Guarani. Dos bibliógrafos antigos poucos se ocuparam a permitir as mensurações antropométricas, dizendo que teria medo o corpo de uma pessoa para que fosse somente a defunta. Em Assunção participei de enterro de uma criança Kaiowá: antes de se abrir a sepultura, o pai teve a medida, quebrando uma vara no comprimento do corpo.

Receia-se que a pesquisadora, com suas mensurações, possa lançar magia negra contra o indivíduo. Mesmo o indígena não tem ficam de tal modo apavorados durante o processo que a vara fica colada pelo corpo. Manifesta-se aí a mania de perseguição que domina grande parte dos Guarani. Na Aldeia, onde ainda quase todos os índios adultos, os chefes de família mostram-se dóceis, à noite, no caso de capitão, o fim de decadência e ancião. Na opinião de alguns silvícolas, os livros se medidas para fins mundos vagos, outros dizem que era para fazer roupas, outros julgaram tratar-se de conversação indígena e outros, enfim, que era "para saber comprido, que já somos pesquisados". Explicação esta que, afinal, se coadunava bem com o espírito atribuído dos Guarani.

No Paraná, colhi as medidas de 20 bibiá, 17 homens e 3 mulheres. No pólo de Aranhá, a mensuração abrangeu ao todo 23 Paraná, 9 homens e 14 mulheres. O material será analisado em artigo especial. Nos outros aldeamentos não foi medida alguma, com receio de pôr em perigo os trabalhos de antropologia cultural.

Na tentativa em caracterizar descritivamente os antropótipos dos Guarani, é difícil estabelecer um tipo ideal. Alguns bibiá, especialmente Paraná, de traços tão extraordinários atrapalhados que é quase impossível distinguí-los de indivíduos japoneses. Durante a última guerra, a polícia paulista prendeu como espião o nativo bibiá,

[illegible] tomar-se de japoneses do Brasil. Os traços mongóliques [illegible] com que muitos apareciam menos claros do que [illegible]. Indivíduos do tipo "caboclo" são comuns entre os Bororós, sem que [illegible] se possa determinar qualquer grau de mestiçagem com elementos [illegible].

A côr da pele varia, em escala bastante ampla, entre os extremos de moreno-claro e de moreno-escuro, de tonalidade bronzeada, e não avermelhada, embora os polígrafos General lo vinte diferente ser pigmentado, i. é, vermelhos. Entre os Kayapó, encontrei alguns com a côr de [illegible] escuro. Indivíduos claros existem nos três subgrupos, mas são mais frequentes entre os Bororós, com extremo é o do Emílio de Joaquim Bororo, do Sangue paulista, o que deve o nome portuguêsa à côr da pele. No sul de Mato Grosso, no Kayapó dão aos Bororós o apelido de *Mbaiby-ará*, termo para o qual obtive a tradução de "índio branco". Não há indícios de que a pele clara seja devida a cruzamento com gente estranha, de origem conhecida. Também não se há possível verificar qualquer influência negróida, que poderia explicar a côr mais escura de alguns. — No Rio Branco, a mulher de um Mbiá teve recentemente três filhos albinos, de olhos "azuis".

De qualquer forma, não se nota uniformidade na côr da pele, nem mesmo no interior dos diferentes subgrupos. Os polígrafos falam em amarelinha claro; no aldeia Mbiá do Rio Branco encontrei uma mulher com o apelido de "Pamiéll", com referência à sua pele clara, e outra apelidada de "Ka-ó", em oposição à sua côr escura.

O cabelo é em geral bem preto e liso, mas há também indivíduos que o têm castanho escuro e um pouco ondulado. Não encontrei vários de cabelo branco, mas alguns, de acordo com meu caro do cabelo, ligeiramente grisalhos. Os pêlos do barba, côrto muito escuro, começam a clarear um pouco mais cedo. A plenitude do corpo é quase nula.

Não tem, a disposição dos dentes é irregular. Com relativa frequência nota-se a falta dos incisivos superiores, adquirida não obstante que se mantenha chegar muito cedo-de-aspecto. O desenvolvimento da cárie é acentuado, pois mesmo entre os Bororós, ao sul da alimentação, há os que dão como sendo também o consumo de carne muito crua ou al-mingado. O certo é, porém, que se encontram entre adultos com os dentes muito bem conservados, sem nenhuma falta ou sequer indícios de cárie. Entre os Kayapó, não indícios desaparecidos dos incisivos superiores, a cusa dos indivíduos não sem é muito ou o comprimento do dos outros dentes. Alguns Mbiá do aldeia do Palmeirinha tiveram ligeiro prognatismo alveolar, acompanhado de

[illegible]. Quanto a fins particulares, os índios interrogados discorrem que são os teatros de mutilação, casa de formação completa.

A mentalidade dos índios pulverizada não é generalizada em sentido dos três subgrupos. É fato excepcional, porque as mães observam-lhes nas crianças mestiças nos levam a atitude a dominância genética dizer caráter entre os Guarani. Em numerosos casos a gente não chega a saber a verdade.

Poucos são as mutilações físicas em uso entre os Guarani. A mais importante é a perfuração do lábio inferior, a que se colocavam os mestiços em idade pré-puberdade. À medida que progrida a mutilação, abandona-se o uso do ornamental no homem labial, bem como o de furar o lábio. Os Kaadiéwa devem ainda abandonado há muito tempo, não vi nem dos mulheres indígenas de lábio furado. Mas na mitologia dessa grupo, Tupã, o deus do trovão, passa pelo não com o ornamental colocado, representado pelo rato, o que parece indicar que em tempos idos os Kaadiéwa também conhecessem tal mutilação. Por sua vez, uma parte dos Mbiá ainda não usa o furo labial, e os que o conservam não costumam usar o ornamental, mesmo Mbiá de lábio furado vivem atualmente com grupos do Sul(1) (Guarani paulista) que em 1944 viva do Rio Grande do Sul sob a chefia do kaadiéwa Miguel. Os que mais se aferram ao costume são os Kayowá, ao bem que entre dos também já se encontram adultos que não aderiram a mutilação. No sul de Mato Grosso, o furo labial é tido como o principal distintivo dos Kayowá (só também chamados de Tembekuá, "lábio furado") em oposição aos Kaadiéwa; os Kayowá chamavam o dono como sendo "Nono de mulher".

Entre os Kaadiéwa do Ipuã paulista, o grupo mais influenciado pela cultura colonial, as mulheres furam os lábios dos orelhas para o uso de brincos. Um índio dessa grupo um fato também um brinco, com brinco indígena, um adulto no brasão, indaria, não observei nenhum indivíduo com dessa natureza.

Poucas mulheres dão o cabelo curto; a maioria o deixa cair sobre até a altura dos ombros. A mulher Mbiá, ao cortar o cabelo, corta-o transversalmente sobre o vértice, prendendo-o com dois ou (individual), um sobre a testa, o outro na nuca; quando o cabelo cresce o cortam, desaparece a especialidade transversal e fica um só chumaço, na região do occipício. Os Kaadiéwa do Ipuã de São Paulo gostam de fazer uma ou duas tranças compridas, o que comprovadamente também se observa entre os Mbiá dessa região. Uma jovem Kaadiéwa da aldeia do Ipuã usa só cabeleira posteriormente, sem de pintar-se com urucu e óleos. Os homens dos vários grupos já abandonaram o corte de cabelo comum entre os caboclos; mantém-se parte

dos Kayowá, mais conservadores, que mantêm o penteado tradicional: o cabelo fica na frente até a altura das sobrancelhas e no occipício também é cortado horizontalmente. Mas o cabelo mais penteado com ponta de franja de bandeira, os pais os mandavam usar o *dyapaká*, diadema de plumas, que é adereço exclusivo do sexo masculino nas cerimônias religiosas. A maneira tradicional de cortar o cabelo em franja de corte também se observa em algumas mulheres Kayowá; as outras, "mais modernas", já o deixam crescer mais comprido.

Influências culturais no aspecto físico manifestam-se no desenvolvimento da musculatura dos braços e das pernas. As mulheres dos os braços cipó pelo seu contínuo do uso de pilão. Homens e mulheres dão as panturrilhas salientes em consequência das longas caminhadas e devido ao fato de as mulheres terem de carregar nas costas todos os produtos da roça, ao passo que os homens que trabalham nas crenas mais-pesadas são obrigados a carregar fardos de cerveja de quilos (como, aliás, de lingueiros bíblicos ou "mediadores"). O desenvolvimento da musculatura das pernas é, em parte, devido também às danças quase diárias de que participam todos os membros da tribo.

Em todos os grupos Guaraní, a natalidade é bem elevada. Em geral, a mulher tem no curso de sua vida seis ou dez filhos, mas dificilmente passa mais da metade alcança a idade adulta. Há dificilmente um que a mortalidade infantil se deve a ausência por causa. Não conheço também uma velha Ñandéva que teve dez filhos, dos quais cinco ou nove chegaram à idade adulta; é, entretanto, não exceptional.

A mulher Guaraní deseja ter muitos filhos. Com o intuito de facilitar a concepção, os Kayowá tomam o chá de uma planta chamada *mandyi ajá á ajá*; dizem que ela ajuda bem a mulher para ser porta dessa planta para ficar grávida. Há outra planta que se usa para favorecer a concepção de filho homem. Pelo menos os Kayowá e Ñandéva gostam a prole masculina.

Entre os Kayowá e Mbyá afirma-se haver o infanticídio dos gêmeos e dizem ocorrer também o estrangulamento das crianças aleijadas. Mas, quanto aos Ñandéva, nada sabia, por exemplo, de um casal com filhos gêmeos, nem viu a uma delas aleijada; no Aracruz, conheci uma família Ñandéva com filhos gêmeos de seus descendentes. A atitude diferente em face dos gêmeos se funda talvez na grande diversidade das representações mítico e fora mágico. Em relação de Kayowá e outro os Ñandéva de Jacarei encontrei indícios bíblicos e antigos, aos quais, aliás, se dispensava especial cuidado. A um dêles o pai (Kayowá) me apresentou como *Tupã ryobá*, "não-

do por Deus", isto é, concebido sem que houvesse relações sexuais entre o casal, e enviado em substituição a um filho anterior, falecido.

Em parte, os métodos pouco racionais de se criarem os filhos são responsáveis pelo alto índice de mortalidade infantil. Por ocasião de viagens ou festas, as crianças dormem ao relento, expostas à sereno, tornando-se vítimas de gripe ou de pneumonia. Durante as doenças, que se prolongam do amanhecer ao raiar do dia, muitas vezes conservam os lactentes mentidos nos quadris, sem darem atenção às feras sucedidas a que os expõem a sua vida; alguns crianças sobrevivem a tais práticas. Os padrões culturais vão, assim, justificar-se aos fulgores da seleção natural.

Os padrões de higiene em vigor entre os Guarani são muito rudimentares, o que naturalmente favorece a difusão de moléstias infecciosas de vida curta. De ordinário, não se nota a menor preocupação com o asseio corporal. Um Mbiá do Xaperó me disse que "os Guarani andam sujos, porque nascemos nesmo para serem pobres". Havendo algum rio na proximidade da aldeia, os rapazes uma vez ou outra tomam talvez algum banho, mas apenas com a intenção de refrescarem o corpo em dia de calor ou de se divertirem na água. Os Kaiuá do litoral disseram que, na opinião dos "antigos", o banho matinal dava "vida longa", crença, aliás, existente também em outras populações indígenas; lembram-se de um velho que exigia dos crianças que de manhã cedo tomassem banho no rio, "para ficarem fortes", mas confessam que os Guarani de hoje "preferem ficar perto do fogo". — O cheiro de suor e de fumaça que os caracteriza tem sido tresado erroneamente como "odor racial".

As condições de saúde não são boas. Nas aldeias do litoral, por exemplo, muitos sofrem de malária, doenças venéreas, gripes freqüentes etc. A irregularidade na alimentação e o alcoolismo diminuem a resistência física. Os Kayoá do Mato Grosso são dizimados pela tuberculose, que entre eles se propaga com facilidade, não somente por causa da falta de asseio, como pelo costume de muitas pessoas comerem a um tempo nos mesmos pratos ou cuias, de prepararem a chicha (bebida fermentada com auxílio de saliva) em grandes cochos coletivos, de não dispensarem o chimarrão e, sobretudo, o tereré (bebida de mate, com água fria, tomada com bombilha de metão), e, finalmente, pelas doenças notórias ao ar livre. Além disso, não há, nas circunstâncias atuais, possibilidade de submetê-los a qualquer medicação sistemática; a tuberculose, a que chamam "peste" ou "tosse ruim", é tida como fruto de feitiço, podendo, por isso, ser curada somente com medidas de caráterdo.

Doenças mentais são raras, embora não seja difícil encontrar indivíduos de emotividade "doentia" e outros que tenham freqüentes alucinações. No P. I. Francisco Horta viveu por vários anos um Kayová louco.

A resistência à miscigenação arrefece à medida que se intensificam os contactos e o entrosamento econômico entre os índios e as populações caboclas. Nota-se também estreita relação entre as mudanças da vida religiosa e o número de casamentos interétnicos.

O número de uniões conjugais entre Guaraní e caboclos é muito maior do que entre êsses índios e elementos de outras tribos. Há uns vinte anos, conviveram com os Guaraní do Araribá algumas famílias da tribo dos Terêno, oriundas de Mato Grosso; até hoje não se verificou nenhum casamento entre pessoa dos dois grupos; conheci, porém, nesse pôsto um casal constituído de homem Kaingáng e mulher Guaraní, cuja vida, aliás, se distinguia por constantes rixas domésticas. Há anos residiu também nessa aldeia um alemão, Grütken, casado com mulher Guaraní; alguns filhos do casal vivem hoje nas proximidades de Bauru.

As uniões mistas entre Guaraní e caboclos não são raras, mormente nas aldeias em que o convívio entre uns e outros se vem prolongando há vários decênios. Consoante a regra da hipergamia, essas uniões se dão entre mulheres índias e homens caboclos. As exceções são pouquíssimas; tenho notícia de dois casos em que homens Guaraní constituíram família com mulheres caiçaras do litoral sul de São Paulo. Entre os Nandéva diminui ràpidamente a resistência aos casamentos com elementos estranhos; é que a essas uniões se liga cada vez mais a idéia de ascensão social. No Araribá, as índias casadas com "civilizados", i. é, com caboclos, consideram-se a elite do grupo. O fenômeno, é claro, reflete o alto grau de destribalização em que se encontram êsses índios.

Isto não vale pàra os Mbüá, que não admitem em sua comunidade elemento estranho à tribo. As mais das vêzes, não conseguem sequer viver em boa harmonia com alguma família Nandéva que, por qualquer motivo, se venha estabelecer em seu meio. Tive notícia de um caso excepcional: um índio da aldeia Mbüá do Rio Branco se teria casado com mulher pralana. Não conheci o casal, que vivia nalguma fazenda.

Dizem os Mbüá que não podem permitir casamentos com indivíduos "de fora", porque êstes "não sabem rezar", isto é, não podem participar satisfatòriamente das cerimônias religiosas. "Só Guaraní de verdade é que reza", explicou-me uma índia dêsse grupo. Tam-

bém os Nandéva e os Kayowá acreditam que os "civilizados" e os mestiços não podem ser rezadores. A inspiração religiosa indispensável à comunicação mística com as divindades e os espíritos protetores é privilégio do índio puro. Nas aldeias do litoral encontrei várias vêzes um caboclo paranaense, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, que se diz mestiço de Guaraní; nasceu em Catas Altas, no Alto-Ribeira, perto da divisa Paraná-São Paulo. Embora goze de bastante prestígio entre os índios e participe das rezas e danças, tendo até tomado o título de "*yvyrádjá*", dizem êles que nenhum *yvyrádjá* (espírito protetor) poderá descer nêle, porque Leocádio não é membro da tribo.

Êsses fatos mostram, de um lado, que a religião tribal é a barreira mais poderosa que se opõe ao cruzamento com gente estranha e, de outro, que as uniões mistas não deixam de afetar profundamente a vida tribal, atingindo de maneira direta a núcleo nuclear da cultura, cujo aspecto mais palpável é a realização das cerimônias religiosas. Os Guaraní, principalmente os mais velhos, têm plena consciência dêsse processo e, em suas conversas, insistem na relação que existe entre o número crescente de uniões interétnicas e os fenômenos de desorganização social e desintegração cultural.

[P. 32 is blank]

CAPÍTULO III

ALGUNS ELEMENTOS DA CULTURA MATERIAL E SUAS TRANSFORMAÇÕES

1. *A aldeia, as habitações e o mobiliário*

Portadores de cultura característica de região florestal, em que as atividades de subsistência incluem as lides da caça em combinação com o amanho da terra, os Guaraní se estabelecem, sempre que possível, no seio da mata, evitando a paisagem aberta dos campos. As suas aldeias, longe de constituírem conglomerados compactos de habitações, consistem em casas isoladas, mais ou menos distantes umas das outras, espalhando-se pelas clareiras abertas na floresta. Em geral, não é possível determinar um "centro" da aldeia, a não ser que se considere como tal a habitação do *ñanderú*, médico-feiticeiro, ou o *oýguatsú*, casa de festas religiosas. De fato, a construção em que se realizam as cerimônias é ponto de convergência das atividades sociais e religiosas do grupo, de modo que as aldeias maiores, em que haja dois ou mais chefes religiosos, tendem a decompor-se em outros tantos núcleos bastante independentes, cada qual com vida própria. Na maioria dos casos, essas unidades sociais constituem parentelas sob a direção de um chefe de família-grande.

Ao passo que outrora, ao que tudo indica, a família-grande — constituindo comunidade de produção, consumo e vida religiosa — morava em uma só habitação, suficientemente espaçosa para abrigar várias dezenas de pessoas, hoje só encontramos a casa grande, e assim mesmo a título de exceção e sobrevivência, em uma ou outra aldeia Kayová. Os Ñandéva e os Mbüá atuais vivem em habitações muito pequenas, correspondentes às famílias elementares ou nucleares. Quanto a êsses dois grupos, não é fácil descobrir os motivos da substituição, que se explicaria ou por influências da era jesuítica ou pela grande mobilidade espacial das hordas. Quanto aos Kayová, entre os quais está em plena atividade o processo de individualização

econômica, através do entrosamento do silvícola nas atividades extrativas e produtivas regionais, a adoção da morada da família elementar corresponde a imperiosa necessidade imposta pela transformação da economia.

*

* *

A casa grande, construção típica de numerosas tribos do grupo Tupí-Guaraní, é dos elementos mais imponentes da cultura material dos Kayová. Chamam-na *tapýiguasú* (cabana grande) ou *óga-djekutú* "casa fincada", (*kutú*, fincar, cutucar) ou, em português, "casa beira-chão". Além da base quadrangular, duas são as suas características essenciais: em primeiro lugar, a própria cobertura, descendo até o chão, forma os frontões; em segundo, a "linha" (cumeeira) não tem suporte. O feitio geral é o de uma canoa emborcada, com os oitões em forma de ogiva.

Vejamos uma descrição sumária da *óga-djekutú* de Paí Chiquinho, chefe religioso da aldeia de Panambi. Comprimento: cêrca de 18 m; largura: 8 m. Frontões de oitões cobertos de sapé. A casa consiste, pois, em quatro faces de cobertura, que fecham todos os lados, estendendo-se a cumeeira em sentido norte-sul. Três entradas: uma a leste, outra ao norte e a terceira ao sul. Em frente, isto é, para leste, estende-se grande pátio, como terreiro de dança, de talvez 500 metros quadrados. No interior: quatro grandes vigas transversais, duas à direita e duas à esquerda da entrada principal, repousando sôbre as vigas longitudinais, contra as quais se apóiam as ripas da parede-cobertura fincadas no solo. Do lado oposto à entrada principal, um "altar", armação de madeira, diante da qual se realiza parte das danças religiosas.

A *óga-djekutú* é construção sólida, que resiste às intempéries durante muitos anos. Nela não se descobre nenhum prego: tudo é amarrado com cipó.

Quando a primitiva habitação da família-grande Kayová cede o seu lugar a certo número de casas para famílias elementares, ela não sofre apenas redução de tamanho, mas também mudanças bastante profundas em sua estrutura arquitetônica, aproximando-se em vários sentidos dos tipos de construção rural brasileira e paraguaia. A aculturação nas diferentes esferas da cultura material não poderia deixar de acompanhar e em parte mesmo de preceder a mudanças correlatas na esfera não-material.

Do ponto de vista arquitetônico, duas são as características essenciais da casa grande dos Kayová em oposição às habitações cabo-

cias da região: a falta de separação ou divisão entre cobertura e parede e, em segundo lugar, a ausência de suportes para a linha central da cumeeira.

Uma das primeiras concessões que se faz à arquitetura cabocla é a adoção de suporte central para a linha da cumeeira. Depois, a cobertura se destaca das paredes. Enfim, constrói-se a *namara* (corr. de "ramada"), varanda ou alpendre, às vêzes isolada da casa, coberta com sapé. Serve como "living and dancing room". Exemplo típico de transição entre a morada tradicional Kayová e a habitação cabocla é a casa do índio Mbopí de Dourados: ao feitio predominantemente Kayová veio juntar-se a varanda ibérica para o lado sul; em lugar de porta ainda se usam uns pedaços de lenha.

Hoje em dia, as habitações Kayová construídas segundo a técnica tradicional da tribo já são bem raras. A quase totalidade dos índios passou a preferir casas de tipo caboclo ou, quando muito, as constrói em estilo misto, que tende a perder, cada vez mais, os traços de origem silvícola. A casa Kayová tradicional satisfazia a uma série de requisitos da organização social e religiosa. Constituía abrigo ideal para o conjunto de famílias elementares que, congregadas em família-grande sob a égide de um chefe único, formavam estreita comunidade de vida, com interêsses econômicos, religiosos e políticos em comum. As novas condições de vida, a que a tribo está sujeita há alguns decênios, acarretaram, como veremos, o fracionamento da família-grande e, concomitantemente, a substituição da casa grande por algumas cabanas de tipo caboclo mais ou menos próximas umas das outras. Para certas danças religiosas e profanas das festas de chicha, executadas parte na área de danças diante da casa e parte no interior desta, a construção tradicional tem a vantagem de oferecer melhores condições de espaço, por não ter, na linha central, postes ou estacas que estorvem os movimentos dos dançadores.

A extensão da casa Kayová de tipo tradicional é limitada sòmente quanto à largura, que depende do comprimento das varas fincadas no chão; a construção pode ser mais longa ou mais curta, variando com o número de famílias elementares que formem a família-grande. Seria fácil aumentá-la, fazendo um puxado; todavia não me consta que tal se verifique.

O tipo da casa grande não é adequado às novas condições de vida dos Kayová. A família elementar vai-se tornando cada vez mais a unidade fundamental de produção e consumo. A economia, deixando de ser auto-suficiente, obriga o homem a sair da aldeia e a

trabalhar nos ervais, a fim de ganhar o dinheiro de que precisa para obter umas tantas coisas que veio a considerar indispensáveis e que sòmente a civilização lhe pode proporcionar. Pelo fato de cada homem adulto isoladamente ganhar o seu dinheiro segundo os serviços que presta ao patrão, rompe-se a primitiva produção grupal.

Tão raras se vão tornando as casas grandes entre os Kayová, que encontrei sòmente três nas várias aldeias que visitei: a de Paí Chiquinho, na aldeia de Panambi; a de Isidro, em Dourados; e uma no Taquapiri ou Cêrro Perõ. A do primeiro e a do Taquapiri serviam como habitação e como casa de festas, enquanto a de Isidro, menos do que a de Paí Chiquinho, era usada sòmente para as festas de chicha que nelas organizava Paí Vitaliano, pai de Isidro. Mas assisti também a festas de chicha em casas de construção moderna, embora mais espaçosas que as moradas comuns. A grande casa de danças de Paí José Bourbon Catalan, em Amambai, na qual havia um compartimento especial como aposento do médico-feiticeiro e de sua mulher, era caprichosamente construída, mas já não obedecia ao padrão original.

O *paí* tem especial carinho pela casa de festas e fica satisfeito quando o visitante a ela se refere em têrmos elogiosos. Paí José, que me tinha na conta de um dos mais instruídos representantes do mundo civilizado, honrou-me com o pedido de escolher um nome para a sua casa, construída havia pouco tempo. Propus-lhe a denominação *arandú-roga* (casa do saber), em homenagem a seu proprietário, índio a um tempo extraordinàriamente sabido, e versado na doutrina religiosa da tribo. Também Paí Chiquinho orgulhava-se de sua casa, que era de fato construção de rara beleza.

* * *

A não ser em pormenores insignificantes, a maioria das casas (*óga, óy*) dos Mbüá e Ñandéva atuais é idêntica às das populações rurais vizinhas: ranchos de duas águas, de poucos metros quadrados e reduzida altura; os dos Mbüá um pouco mais baixos do que os dos Ñandéva. Como exceção, havia em Jacareí algumas habitações abertas: uma só parede e cobertura de três águas. Quase tudo é amarrado com cipó, mais raramente com embira; há casas construídas sem utilização de nenhum prego. As maiores, entre os Ñandéva, são divididas ou semidivididas em dois ou mais compartimentos. Muitas já têm porta e janela. As paredes (*kordá*), feitas de pau a pique, de estacas ou de bambu rachado, raramente são barrea-

das (assim criam muitas baratas) e têm de ordinário um fôrro parcial de fôlhas de *djedjý* (guaricanga), *pindó* (palmeira) ou *djapé* (sapé). Para a cobertura (*djoiá*), que repousa em sarrafos de tronco de palmeira ou de outro vegetal, servem também o *djedjý*, o *pindó* e o *djapé*. Entre os Ñandéva, as coberturas de *djedjý* são feitas de fôlhas dobradas; no litoral, amarram-nas à maneira caboclа. O uso de agulhas de madeira especiais para costurar a cobertura das habitações outrora foi comum aos três subgrupos da tribo.

Nos setores da cultura material, os mais permeáveis à infiltração de elementos estranhos, a aceitação de objetos de origem industrial se processa paralela à perda de técnicas tradicionais. À medida que se importam vasilhas de ferro desaparece a cerâmica, a compra de panos fabricados acaba com as técnicas de fiação e tecelagem, os fósforos levam ao abandono do aparelho ignígeno tradicional. E assim por diante. Barreiras que às vêzes se opõem intermitentemente a essas transformações são a impossibilidade de obter as mercadorias importadas, as esporádicas manifestações antiaculturativas de motivação religiosa e, enfim, o emprêgo de determinadas técnicas indígenas a serviço da necessidade de o Guaraní encontrar um lugar na economia regional em que venha entrosar-se.

Sobretudo nas regiões frias foi abandonada pràticamente a rêde de dormir e substituída pelo jirau ou tarimba, a primitiva cama do caboclo, a que chamam *tupá*. Muitos dormem no chão, perto do fogo. Os Mbüá do Rio Branco dizem que fabricam rêdes de embira apenas para o comércio. Pequenas rêdes para crianças ou usadas como assento, vi-as entre os Mbüá do Itariri, feitas ora de timbopeva, ora de embira; existem também entre os caiçaras, que as chamam de puçás e que as devem ter recebido dos antigos Tupinambá. Os Ñandéva do Bananal fazem pequenas "rêdes" de pano de algodão, para ninar crianças.

Para o visitante, a casa Guaraní, com raríssimas exceções, tem dois traços simpáticos que merecem ser mencionados com destaque. Em primeiro lugar, o relativo asseio, sendo varrida uma ou mais vêzes por dia com o *tapýixá*, vassoura de alecrim ou *xiririka*. Em segundo, a hospitalidade: logo se convida o forasteiro a tomar assento no *apyká* (banquinho monóxilo, às vêzes zoomorfo entre os Mbüá, que o denominam *tendá*); se acaso o chefe da família esteja ocupando o único banquinho que possua, levanta-se e diz: "*eguapý*", sente-se!

Em mobília quase não se pode falar. Mesas e cadeiras se encontram só a título de exceção. As peças do vestuário se costu-

mam pendurar num cipó imbé esticado dentro da habitação; só os mais progressistas possuem um baú ou mala. Dentro ou fora da casa, os mais industriosos constroem uma armação de varas horizontais, bastante alta para não ser atingida pelos cachorros e que serve para guardar mantimentos ou utensílios de cozinha. Tudo o mais se guarda em cestos, se enfia debaixo do telhado ou se pendura nos sarrafos. Na parede, uma folhinha ou estampa de folhinha, uma policromia de santo ou, como em um caso, um grande retrato do Presidente da República podem testemunhar o desejo mais ou menos vivo de se parecer civilizado.

2. *Indumentária*

Pano para fazer roupa, por pior que seja a qualidade, é o mais cobiçado dos presentes que se possam levar à população de uma aldeia Guaraní. A manifestação mais evidente de miséria e de pobreza material do Guaraní hodierno é não ter com que vestir-se. Para êle as roupas de tipo europeu se tornaram tão necessárias como o são para nós. Nem tanto por lhe servirem de proteção contra o frio e a chuva, pois o rigor do tempo não o preocupa de forma tão manifesta, mas porque as suas relações com gente estranha exigem que o índio se apresente vestido. O índio "pelado", o que não possui calças e camisa para cobrir a nudez do corpo, não sai de sua cabana, quando alguém visita a aldeia.

A roupa européia dá, pois, ao Guaraní maior segurança de atitudes e capacidade de auto-afirmação em face do civilizado, que encara a nudez do índio como a expressão mais eloqüente de atraso cultural e mesmo de selvageria. Na luta por um *status* aceitável em face do caboclo, o índio não pode, por isso, prescindir da indumentária. Outra função da indumentária de tipo ocidental é a defesa das esferas nucleares da cultura tribal. Vestindo-se à européia, o Guaraní tem a aparência de civilizado; evita, assim, críticas e zombarias, e mais fácil lhe é conservar valores culturais a que em hipótese alguma quer renunciar.

Do ponto de vista da higiene, o uso da roupa é altamente prejudicial, pois, a partir do momento em que o índio veste trajes de tipo europeu, o asseio do corpo deixa muito a desejar; é como se a indumentária tornasse dispensáveis os banhos. Também a lavagem da roupa é padrão mal integrado na cultura. Muitos são os índios que, ao receberem uma peça de roupa, a põem sem perda de tempo, usando-a dia e noite, até que lhes caia aos pedaços.

*
* *

Muito antes da atual fase de aculturação, que se vem prolongando há uns cinco ou seis decênios talvez, o clima continental do sul de Mato Grosso, bastante rigoroso nos meses de inverno, já havia levado as populações Guaraní (principalmente os Kayová) da região a adotarem indumentos para se protegerem contra as intempéries. E' indiscutível, a êste respeito, a influência direta de tribos chaquenhas.

São três as peças principais da indumentária tradicional masculina dos Kayová: o *txiripá*, o *txumbé* e o *ponchito*. Tôdas elas são feitas de fio de algodão (*mandydjú inimbó*), produzido pelos próprios índios. O trabalho de fiação, tintura e tecelagem cabe às mulheres. Hoje em dia, entretanto, se tornam cada vez mais raros êsses artefatos da índia Kayová. A geração atual ainda se lembra do tempo em que muitos usavam essas peças, prestes a desaparecerem. E não vai muito longe a época em que eram obrigatórias para quem quer que participasse de danças e rezas. Paí Vitaliano, em Dourados, ostenta-as ainda como ornato sacerdotal na festa do "batismo do milho" e em outras grandes solenidades, especialmente na iniciação dos meninos. Entre os Kayová de Amambai ouvi dizer que os meninos, por sua vez, se enfeitam, para a grande cerimônia, com a indumentária tradicional da tribo e com adornos de penas na cabeça e nos punhos.

O *txiripá*, que desce até abaixo do joelho, dando a impressão de saia, é um simples pano de fio de algodão, de forma retangular, e provido de franjas (*ipotý*) em três lados. A parte superior (a que não tem franjas), prèviamente dobrada para trás, numa largura de meio palmo, passa em tôrno da cintura, da direita para a esquerda, voltando na frente até o quadril esquerdo, de modo a cobrir duplamente a parte anterior do corpo e uma vez só a posterior.

Em tôdas as minhas visitas às aldeias Kayová encontrei um único *txiripá*; o de Paí Vitaliano, de Dourados. E' feito de algodão não tingido e mede uns 140 por 75 cm; como todos ou quase todos os objetos ligados ao culto religioso, apresenta manchas de urucu, a título de enfeite.

Disse-me certa vez um índio de Amambai: "Kayová não usa *txiripá* no meio das pernas como o Baticola do Paraguai; usa-o jogado na cintura e apertado com *txumbé*". Em Dourados, ao contrário, insistiram em que o *txiripá* e o *ponchito* acima descritos sem-

pre tiveram ligação com exercícios de culto e que os antigos usavam, como indumentária comum, o *tambéó*, faixa de pano passada por entre as pernas e prêsa na cintura com um pedaço de embira. Como a menção do *tambéó* era espontânea, é provável que a peça tenha de fato existido na cultura Kayová. E é certo, em todo caso, que o uso do *txiripá* e do *ponchito* não se presta muito bem às lides de caça e mesmo da lavoura.

O *tambéó* Kayová, hoje em desuso, me foi descrito por Marçal de Souza da seguinte forma: "E' grande, como que um *txiripá*, mas não dá volta e meia pelo corpo; na altura do quadril esquerdo é amarrado com um barbante saliente; desce palmo e meio, até a metade da coxa".

O *txumbé* é uma faixa de algodão tecida em padrões às vêzes muito bonitos. E' usado em tôrno da cintura. O exemplar maior, mais vistoso e mais bem trabalhado que cheguei a ver mede 209 cm de comprimento por 12 cm de largura, com franjas de 40 cm nas duas extremidades; adquiri-o na aldeia de Panambi. O menor, feito como encomenda por uma mulher de Dourados, tem apenas 130 por 10 cm. O fio da trama é sempre de algodão branco, ao passo que a urdidura é de fio branco e tinto. De acôrdo com informação de Marçal de Souza, de Dourados, a tinta vermelha e a marrom para tingir algodão são extraídas de duas espécies de catiguá (*katiguá* em Kayová, *katiguá* em Ñandéva); tinta amarela obtém-se da amoreira silvestre ou tajuva (*tadiguá*). Do catiguá emprega-se a entrecasca, da tajuva, o cerne, que se fervem junto com os fios de algodão já torcidos. (Segundo o mesmo informante, não sòmente as mulheres Kayová, mas também as Ñandéva tecem ou teciam *txumbé;* estas fazem, além disso, rêdes de *txumbé* emendados lateralmente, como também rêdes inteiriças, no mesmo tipo de tecedura, de fio de algodão branco sòmente, ou entremeado de fio tinto.) — Observei muitas vêzes que os Kayová, na falta de cinto de couro, seguram as calças com qualquer faixa de pano colocada em volta da cintura à maneira de *txumbé*.

Além do *txumbé*, existe também um cinto de uso exclusivamente ritual, o *kiákuahá*, ricamente enfeitado de *ipotý*, flôres de penas de tucano tecidas no próprio pano; pode-se usá-lo mesmo sôbre o *txumbé;* dá só uma volta pela barriga e, para fechá-lo, amarram-se na frente as franjas terminais.

O *ponchito* é um poncho pequeno, de tecido de algodão bem cerrado. Em 1950 adquiri a Paí Vitaliano um exemplar com a largura variável entre 50 e 55 cm; média do comprimento, 125 cm;

abertura central para a cabeça, 30 cm. Ao longo dos lados estreitos, franjas (*ipotý*) de 10 cm de comprimento, cada uma de dois fios do próprio urdume torcidos; franjas semelhantes existem também na parte central do pano, distribuídas em quatro molhos, um à direita e outro à esquerda de cada uma das extremidades da abertura central. O pano é de fio de algodão branco, salvo duas listas longitudinais bem estreitas, de côr marrom, que o percorrem de alto a baixo. Sôbre cada ombro está costurado um pedaço circular de pele de tucano com penas laranja e amarelas; sôbre o peito, quatro flôres de penas guarnecidas de fios emplumados, e outras quatro sôbre as costas. Uma das flôres da parte dianteira, de penas amarelas e laranja, de tucano (*tũkã*), e vermelhas, de canindé (*kanindé*), chama-se *kurundúá; nandúá* são as outras flôres de penas de tucano, enquanto os enfeites sôbre os ombros se denominam *ñemombáéhá*. Segundo Paí Vitaliano, êstes são "imitação das coisas de *Ñandedjára*"; não consegui a tradução dos diferentes nomes, todos "dados pelo próprio *Ñandedjára*". O *ponchito* de Paí Vitaliano já não está completo; falta-lhe no peito e nas costas um enfeite alongado de algodão, sem penas, chamado *iporavôhaguê*. O cuidado com que se enfeita o *ponchito* e as palavras com que o médico-feiticeiro se refere ao simbolismo dos adornos de plumas, relacionando-os com o mundo dos deuses, não deixam sombra de dúvida quanto ao significado religioso da peça. Embora tenha a forma de um poncho comum em tamanho menor, o *ponchito*, pelo menos na atualidade, não é indumento comum, mas de função ritual. Só o vi usado por médicos-feiticeiros. Paí Chiquinho o punha tôdas as vêzes, a título de saudação, quando eu o visitava em sua espaçosa e magnífica morada do Panambi. Paí Vitaliano, que o usava em cerimônias religiosas, tinha o aspecto de sacerdote paramentado, sobretudo porque o punha sempre juntamente com as outras peças do traje tradicional Kayová. A quem quer que visse o velho *paí* vestido para as funções religiosas não podia escapar a grande semelhança com o padre católico; à casula bordada dêste corresponde o ponchito enfeitado de franjas e flôres de penas. Não haveria aí também uma reminiscência dos tempos jesuíticos?

Em mais de uma aldeia vi que as cruzes usadas pelos médicos-feiticeiros durante as danças religiosas são vestidas de *ponchito*, fato para o qual não encontrei explicação satisfatória. Talvez seja influência da estola do Paraguai e de muitas regiões do Brasil rural, comum nas cruzes das sepulturas Kayová e Ñandéva do sul mato-grossense. Ou estaria ligada a êsse *ponchito* a idéia de uma personificação da cruz?

Mas, além do *ponchito*, os Kayová conhecem também o pecho comum. O vistoso poncho vermelho de pano de lã de fabrico industrial — o *pÿtã* ou *puitã* das populações rurais do Paraguai e mesmo de Mato Grosso meridional — é uma das grandes aspirações de cada Kayová, mas inacessível a sua bôlsa (custa talvez uns quatrocentos cruzeiros). Na aldeia de Dourados havia dois Kayová que possuíam um poncho de lã de ovelha (*ovetxá ragué*), ambos fitos por mulheres da tribo. O maior dêles mede 2 m de comprimento por 90 cm de largura, sendo provido de franjas nos lados estreitos; é feito de fios grossos de lã pardacenta e tem de cada lado duas listas escuras, bem juntas uma da outra, que lhe conferem nota de grande distinção. O poncho pertencia ao capitão do pôsto, que o herdara do pai. O segundo exemplar é bem menor; tem apenas uns 110 cm de comprimento por uma largura média de 75 cm; é igualmente de lã pardacenta, tendo na parte central uma faixa escura, de uns 20 cm. Disseram-me os índios que em ambos os ponchos a lã clara como a escura são de côr natural. Ponchos de lã ocorrem também entre índios chaquenhos.

Peça complementar do traje Kayová masculino, embora de origem muito mais recente, é o *aparato* (corrutela de "alpargata"), sandália de couro com sola de borracha, que os homens fazem de pneumático de automóvel. Bom presente para um Kayová é um par de solas dêsse material, pois o *aparato*, de uso geral entre os ervateiros da região, é bem adequado ao trabalho com fardos pesados no solo úmido e escorregadio dos ervais. Note-se que o ervateiro carrega nos ombros até trinta arrôbas paraguaias ou trezentos quilos de erva [1].

A vestidura tradicional das mulheres Kayová parece ter desaparecido inteiramente. Segundo a descrição obtida em Amambai consiste em duas peças, o *tupái* e a *váta*. O *tupái*, feito de "quatro metros" de pano e fechado por meio de costura lateral, corresponde ao *txiripá* dos homens, tendo mais ou menos o mesmo comprimento. A índia "joga-o" em tôrno da cintura à maneira de saia e de modo a cobrir em três camadas a face anterior do corpo. Não é préso com *txumbé*, mas simplesmente por uma dobra na orla de cima. Para o feitio se emprega ou empregava só pano grosso de algodão, tecido pelas próprias mulheres ou de origem industrial. A *váta* (de "bata"?) é uma blusa com mangas, que desce até a cintura.

Como as mulheres Kayová nunca dirigem cerimônias religiosas, não usando, por conseguinte, vestimentas cerimoniais, compreende-se que o traje feminino tenha desaparecido mais depressa do que o mas-

culino. O *poncho* e o *tsiripá* puderam sobreviver por mais tempo, por corresponderem a funções importantes para a vida da coletividade.

Entre os Kayová mais setentrionais não ouvi referências ao traje feminino de duas peças, mas ao *typoi*, espécie de saia de algodão, que desce até meia canela, tendo, na parte superior, três aberturas, uma para a cabeça e outras para os braços. *Tapdi* e *typoi* talvez sejam variantes do mesmo indumento primitivo.

* * *

Com a indumentária relativamente rica dos Kayová, embora em vias de desaparecer, contrasta a dos Nandéva e dos Mbüá.

Entre os Nandéva do litoral não se observa mais nenhuma peça do vestuário tradicional. Os de Mato Grosso usam, como vimos, o *tsambé* e, raramente, o *tsiripá*, semelhantes ou iguais aos dos Kayová. O poncho, porém, sempre parece ter sido exclusivo dêstes, e também quanto ao *tambéi* e às demais peças não tive notícia entre os Nandéva. A roupa feminina, o *tipoi* (*typoi*?), que me foi descrita como similar ao das mulheres Kayová, parece ter desaparecido.

Os Mbüá têm como traje masculino o *tambéu* (*tambéi*), espécie de chiripá, que se reduz a uma faixa de pano, que, passando por entre as pernas, é presa por um cinto (*koiral*) de couro ou de algodão, de forma tal que uma ponta cai na frente e a outra atrás. Em nenhuma de minhas visitas a índios Mbüá do Brasil tive oportunidade de ver um *tambéu* original; conheci-o no Paraguai, em Pasó Yovai ou Yrojá. Usava-o o velho "Cacique" Pablo Vera: a peça, agora em meu poder, mede 36 cm de largura por 124 cm de comprimento, sem as franjas. Em tôdas as aldeias brasileiras, na medida em que pude verificá-lo, o pano, outrora feito à mão, é hoje substituído por algodão de origem industrial, embora as velhas, em sua maioria, ainda o saibam tecer. No Itariri, os homens usavam o *tambéu* por baixo das calças. — No Paraguai, disseram-me, as mulheres Mbüá fazem ponchos de algodão.

O traje Mbüá feminino, a "saia Guarani legítima", segundo a expressão de algumas mulheres, chama-se *tuyóijai*. Feita de um dois metros de pano, é dobrada acima da cintura ou logo abaixo dos seios. Tem uma costura de alto a baixo, sendo, pois, semelhante ao *tapdi* dos Kayová, embora menos amplo. Nas aldeias mais isoladas, a maioria das mulheres e meninas ainda usa a vestimenta, ao

Índio de outras roupas. No Iguaçú havia algumas que a produzem de balaio das usas ou vendidas de tipo civilizado; só uma velha que trouxe a antiga peça, com uma blusa, sem outra saia por cima. Nesse mesmo aldeia, uma jovem Kaadiéva, pelo contacto com o grupo de Mbiá recém-vindo do Paraguai, adotou a peça (feita de saia artificial e menos ampla do que de costume), passou-a por sobre o vestido, quando participava de danças religiosas.

NOTA

1. Este tipo de sandália é usado também por índios de regiões andinas. Cf., por exemplo, Karl Schmid, 1931, pág. 78.

CAPÍTULO IV

PRINCIPAIS ATIVIDADES DE SUBSISTÊNCIA E ORGANIZAÇÃO ECONÔMICA

Embora o Guaraní seja bastante de conseguir a vida humana com os alegres do caça e da pesca, o base de seu sustento lhe é fornecido pela lavoura. Por influência, talvez, de condições ambientais e, em parte, de tradição cultural, encontram-se dessa cultura ainda alguns grupos de Mbiá que dispõem de grandes e ricas áreas de mata virgem, como os de Xapecó, em cuja economia a caça, feita principalmente com lazos e armadilhas, prevalece muito sobre os trabalhos de roça. Quanto aos demais, porém, colocados na situação atual, em que os territórios de caça dos diferentes aldeias se vão reduzindo de ano em ano pela progressiva invasão de homens brancos, a importância das caças aumenta cada vez mais em detrimento dos alimentos cultivados[1]. Em certas aldeias, no litoral paulista, o crescimento econômico da sociedade Indígena com população crescente leva à formação de padrões de intercâmbio comercial, através do qual o Índio entra na posse de dinheiro ou de objetos de origem industrial que hoje se lhe afiguram indispensáveis, pois de há muito se integraram na cultura do grupo.

Nas transformações que a vida econômica vem sofrendo em virtude de contacto com a civilização ocidental, se talvez mais claramente do que em qualquer outro setor da cultura a desorganização social que se opera na maior parte dos núcleos Guaraní da atualidade.

Aliás há em que os padrões predominantes na produção e no consumo permitem reconhecer, ainda, com relativa segurança, a organização tradicional da economia, sobre bastante conhecida através das fontes bibliográficas.

A eficiência econômica do indivíduo não apresenta fases de prestígio especial. Dous são os centros principais dessa fase: primeiro, a feição predominantemente comunitária da produção e consumo e, em segundo lugar, a orientação estática da cultura e a ordem

[illegible] à comunhão com o sobrenatural. O primeiro dizer Tupinambá faz-nos ver que o caminho para o trabalho se relaciona estreitamente com a necessidade do sentimento de solidariedade social. Somente com a progressiva individualização dos trabalhos coletivos e o estímulo dos valores correspondentes como elementos de diferenciação social, o senso de individual vale no trabalhador e o de honra pelos se tem não adquirido sentido para o espírito Guarani.

É preciso, por certo, o número de tribos indígenas da América em cujo meio a preocupação com os problemas do destino sobrenatural do homem tenha alcançado o nível que lhe cabe entre os Guarani. Para isso não está apenas a contagiante alimentação de que nas culturas primitivas subsistem os fatos dos "mitos" e de que na vida tribal as preocupações coletivas, como outras quaisquer, são as mesmas sempre religiosas. O que se nota é um predomínio consideravel da religião em todos os setores da cultura, inclusive na economia, e posto de as atividades econômicas aparecerem, não raro, como simples pretexto para a realização de cerimônias de contato com o sobrenatural e controle dos poderes pessoais que se julgam ter influência no destino dos homens. Quer seja um pássaro, o colheita dos pinhões do mato, o pescado para uma viagem, o aparecimento de qualquer fenômeno interpretado na ideologia — tudo, então, pode ser medido para evocar o destino vivido.

A tal ponto isso é verdade que o ciclo econômico anual — o que Ehrenreich chama de "ciclo ecológico" — é como de resto no do um ciclo de vida religioso, em vez que "uma celebração", que acompanha as diversas atividades de subsistência, em especial as de [illegible] fazem da cultura do milho.

É possível que o entrosamento de uns aspectos com o religioso se ligue ao pouco adiantamento da tribo. A fonte em que se fez o milho atual do primeiro milho colhido mais no mesmo ano Nanã, Avá Sem e Rita, o novo aparecer dos animais, fora como outros aspectos vitais, justificam a hipótese, que deseja dizer, em seu, trabalho, de que não há uma série de constatações do tempo das colheitas. Além disso, é possível que tenha havido colaboração parcial com o antigo complexo cultural da tribo e o chaco sido-não-gear [illegible] pelos Guarani.

Em consequência do pulverizar do índio no grupo Guarani, os trabalhos do cacique da terra se distribuem por todo o ano. Pois por isso dizia de haver período de trabalho mais intenso em aparição o nome em que há "mais fogo".

Assim, entre os Kaiowá e os Ñandéva do sul de Mato Grosso, o tempo do milho agora, em linhas gerais, o seguinte calendário: em

[illegible]

Em, além de ser uma das principais fontes de alimento (alternada entre os Kaiuáwa e os Kayowá), constitui a principal matéria-prima para a fabricação de chicha (bebida fermentada) e é, além disso, produto que sempre encontra mercado fora de aldeia.

O milho primitivo dos Guarani é o milho mole, conhecido entre os colonos pelo nome de cabocl. Há no que o elemento de consistência, originando assim variedade entre o cereal duro. Como o cabocl não se presta para o consumo, os Guarani passaram a cultivar ao mesmo tempo o milho duro, que os próprios indios consideram já como nativo. A fase última, que leva não menos para amadurecer, se dá, geralmente, o nome tupi, o que indica tratar-se de espécie de procedência estranha, quer de tribo não Guarani, quer de mundo civilizado. O Guarani tem plena consciência da distinção entre o milho cabocl como elemento cultural tradicional e o milho duro, escolhido de fora em época mais ou menos recente e que não foi possível aclimar, uma vez que havia necessidade de produzir para o consumo, a fim de se obter distinção. Ao milho cabocl, de grão mole, que fornece de dois a três amadurecer em quatro meses, bem cuidar se grande, considerado o principal alcóol dos seus milhos chamados *Djakapé* (bebe entre os Kayowá), é também o que melhor se presta para a fabricação de chicha. As raças do milho mole e milho duro se fazem em separado e torna-se a percentagem de não minimar as sementes, os grãos das espigas que revelam crescimento não servem para a plantar. Um e outro se plantam uma só vez por ano, entre os meses de agosto a setembro, iniciando-se a colheita mais ou menos em janeiro, quando se realiza o grande festa do *avati-mangaré*.

As denominações dadas às variedades de milho cabocl não são uniformes, diferem de aldeia em aldeia e, mais ainda, de um subgrupo para outro. Em minhas viagens colhi exposições de seus nomes que são variedades, entregando-os, para o estudo genético, ao sr. Professor Frederico Brieger, da Escola Superior de Agricultura Luiz de Queiroz, de Piracicaba. Algumas são plantas de baixo crescimento, razão pela qual se fala, conforme o grupo, em *ava mirí*, ou em *avati mirí*, ou em *avati kanapi*, ou em *avati mirí*. Como na maioria das variedades as espigas são alongadas em comparação com as do milho duro, também se usa para elas a designação *avati pukú*. Além disso, faz-se distinção indicando a côr: *mandi* (branco), *djú* (amarelo) ou *pyhú* (vermelho), *pavi* (pintado: de grãos amarelos e pretos em mistura).

De todas essas variedades se destaca, pelo interesse etnológico, o *avati djakaiá mandi* ou *avati pukú mandi*, de pé alto e grão branco, o preferido para fazer chicha. Especialmente o Kayowá se refere

(Pág. 4)

I. [illegible] — [illegible]

II. [illegible] — [illegible]

III. [illegible] — [illegible]

[P. 49-B]

IV. Cestos-de-carregar das mulheres Guarani.

1. Bibiá. 2. Sondéva.

V. Roça de Ismília Sondéva — Guarani de Dourados.

a ele com sensível respeito. "Este tem bem, não dá em qualquer terra"; não dá em *kai ñu* (pastagem de campo), nem em roçado novo, só na capoeira. E é preciso "benzer a semente", acrescenta um informante. "Este é muito delicado", diz outro; "a gente planta a roça e já não cruza mais; e é preciso batizar a terra". Na realidade, as precauções cerimoniais e mágicas são tomadas também com as outras variedades, mas, pelo menos entre os Kayová, dá-se maior importância ao *avatí djakaiá morõti*.

Fato interessante, também para o geneticista, é o de que os Kayová e outros Guaraní têm receio de que o milho possa degenerar. No Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta encontrei um médico-feiticeiro, de origem Randéva, que me comunicou curiosa teoria sôbre o assunto. Era mais ou menos a seguinte: Do *avatí pukú* existem duas variedades, *morõti* e *pÿtã*, a branca e a vermelha. Diriam os antigos que a vermelha nasce junto à branca, para esta não degenerar e dar sempre espiga graúda. O milho vermelho se origina do salpicado, e êste do branco; é como se fôsse melado, rapadura e açúcar. O vermelho sai do branco, nas covas que se abrem, em posição oblíqua, em direção do nascente. Planta-se apenas sementes brancas, não pintadas ou vermelhas. A côr vermelha é efeito da luz solar; as espigas se tornam assim por influência direta do sol e elas fazem, por sua fôrça, que as brancas se tornem fortes também. O milho vermelho, *avatí pukú pÿtã* dá a "fôrça" ao milho branco, para êste ter espigas grandes e pesadas. *Djakaiá* foi um índio Kayová que recebeu o milho taboró branco das mãos da "Vírgen de los Milagres", em Caácupé, no Paraguai, quando fugia das fôrças de Lopez. — Abstração feita do fecho, nascido talvez no cérebro do próprio informante, tôda a explanação, apesar de não ser convincente, e de não corresponder bem às exigências de nossa lógica, parece ter o mérito de mostrar que a familiaridade do Guaraní com o milho e o seu cultivo, remontando talvez a época muito antiga, lhe confere noção perfeita dos fenômenos de degenerescência característicos dessa planta doméstica. Na impossibilidade de explicar satisfatòriamente e de modo racional os dados empíricos, que, não obstante, se lhe impõem ao espírito em forma de problema "científico" a ser resolvido, o índio lança mão de representações de seu mundo sobrenatural, mas sem por isso contentar-se com uma solução que fique inteiramente no plano das idéias míticas, tão ao gôsto, aliás, da mentalidade Guaraní.

Tôdas as atividades que se referem à produção do milho constituem ou podem constituir ensejo para cerimônias religiosas, mormente entre os Kayová. Parece que a freqüência das cerimônias e as situações especiais em que devem realizar-se dependem da decisão e

do critério do respectivo *paí* ou médico-feiticeiro. Um *paí* do Pôsto Indígena Benjamin Constant em Azambuja me descreveu tôda uma seqüência de *mongaraí* (cerimônias, bênçãos, "batismos"), verdadeiro ciclo cerimonial paralelo ao da lavoura do milho. *Angá* é "fazer a benção", ato que na referida aldeia se realizaria em oito fases diferentes: antes de se queimar a roça (*djadjapó rosá rordangá*, vamos fazer a benção da roça); na véspera do início do plantio (*djahá angá ñanderosá kaíguê*, vamos batizar a roça queimada); quando o milho tem cêrca de meio metro de altura, isto é, quando se trata de combater o *hũ a só*, bicho que devora as fôlhas (*djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré*); quando se forma o grão, época em que pode sobrevir a "ferrugem", "proveniente da larva de mosca" (*djahá dharú ñandé avatí mberúre*); quando já se pode tirar milho verde (*djahá djarú ñande avatí ñahanqá*); depois de se prepararem as primeiras comidas com milho verde (*djahá hovasá ñandé avatí djíguê*); e, enfim, quando se faz a primeira chicha do milho verde (*djahá djárú kãvira angá* ou *djahá djaporahêi kãvira angáre*).

Em suma, tudo o que diz respeito ao milho se associa ao mundo sobrenatural. É verdade que se fala em cerimônias correspondentes também para as outras plantas de cultivo — mandioca, batata-doce, feijão, abóbora, moranga, fumo, algodão — mas estas parecem limitar-se ao "batismo" dos primeiros frutos, espécie de exorcismo da "primeira cestada". Diante da cruz que se encontra defronte à casa do *paí*, cada mulher deposita a sua canastra, o *mynakú*, para se "batizar" e "para não dar cólica". Isto vale para todos os produtos da roça, dos quais o milho se distingue por fornecer os marcos de um genuíno calendário econômico-religioso, a ponto de, como vimos, se poder quase falar numa "religião do milho".

*
* *

Em comparação com o milho, a mandioca tem importância secundária na alimentação dos Guaraní. Nem por isso deixa de ser considerada como indispensável, especialmente nos meses em que o milho começa a escassear. Existe em tôdas as épocas do ano e constitui alimento básico permanente da cozinha indígena. Por êste motivo também não pode dar origem a nenhum ritmo social ou, pelo menos, cerimonial. Nas aldeias do litoral paulista, a farinha de mandioca, em conseqüência do contacto com o sistema alimentar do caiçara e talvez também em virtude das condições geográficas, superou de há muito a importância do milho na cozinha indígena. Note-se, a

êste respeito, que nas culturas Tupí-Guaraní localizadas no leste da América do Sul a mandioca sempre parece ter tido maior importância do que o milho, ao contrário do que se nota para os lados da Cordilheira Andina.

Para cozinhar, usa-se naturalmente a mandioca doce ou aipim, de consumo considerável em algumas aldeias, especialmente Kayová. Em nenhuma das comunidades, excetto as duas antigas do litoral paulista (Bananal e Itariri), deparei com a fabricação de farinha de mandioca brava. E aí as fases do processo, bem como todo o tráfico, são pràticamente iguais aos que se observam na população caiçara, que por sua vez conheceram, há séculos, a mandioca através dos primitivos indígenas da costa. E entre os atuais Guaraní há mesmo consciência de que, pelo menos em parte, se trata de conhecimentos transmitidos pelos caiçaras em época recente.

Assim, afirmam ter sido "com os praianos por aí" que aprenderam a fazer *manema*, como dizem êstes, ou *pari kàtá* (farinha dura), segundo a expressão híbrida dos Guaraní. À massa ralada que se destina à obtenção do *pari kàtá* junta-se *mandió pý*, mandioca prèviamente macerada no rio (durante quatro dias e quatro noites) e depois socada no pilão; o conjunto fica no *tipiti* durante uma noite, para escorrer a *mandiókuêra*. Passa-se a massa pela peneira. Depois forneia-se, colocando pouco a pouco a massa sêca [4].

Mas faz-se também farinha branca, *pari vévé* ou, como alguns dizem, *mandió-kúí morõti* (pó branco de mandioca), segundo processos idênticos aos dos caiçaras.

Na medida em que pude assistir à fabricação de farinha, todo o trabalho era feito pelas mulheres. Mas não parece haver a êste respeito rígida divisão sexual de trabalho. No Itariri tirei uma fotografia do velho Capitão Silvino, demonstrando o uso do ralo.

E' na importância assumida pela farinha de mandioca na alimentação dos Ñandéva do litoral que encontramos um dos principais traços da aculturação econômica por êles sofrida através do contacto com os praianos. Sem farinha sentem-se pobres. O velho Pedro Pires não se cansava de pedir que eu lhe mandasse um "forno" (tacho para fazer farinha). Acreditam que a farinha é o alimento melhor; é nela "que está a fôrça". Já de manhã cedo a tomam como café, lançando-a na bôca [5].

• • •

Entre as numerosas plantas cultivadas pelos Guaraní cumpre mencionar o tabaco, pela importância que lhe cabe na vida cotidiana e sobretudo em alguns rituais.

"Petiguara" ("mascadores de fumo") era designativo ou apelido de, ao que parece, mais de uma tribo Tupí do Brasil antigo[6]; "comedores de fumo" poderiam ser chamados também os Kayová de Mato Grosso. Não só nas cerimônias religiosas, mas a qualquer hora do dia ou da noite o Kayová menos aculturado faz uso do *pẽtỹ gúi* (pó de fumo) ou *"pẽtỹ ñamõi"* (fumo dos antepassados). E' um pó de tabaco, espécie de rapé, que, em vez de se cheirar, se põe entre o lábio inferior e a gengiva, onde fica sob a ação da saliva. Preparação: fôlha de fumo verde, sapecada sôbre uma grelha e triturada entre as mãos; junta-se: cinza de *guadjáyvi*, guajuvira, mas só a cinza branca, externa, chamada *huguẽ;* além disso: *kỹ ỹi* ou *kumbari*, "pimenta malagueta", nativa na região, segundo informação dos próprios índios. Já o velho Dobrizhoffer refere que os Cainguá (provàvelmente Kayová) mascavam fumo, que traziam consigo em pequena cuia suspensa à cintura[7]. Falaram-me também de um fumo-de-mascar chamado *maxakáro*, outrora em uso entre os Kayová. Tiram-se as fôlhas tenras da planta, que se colocam na cinza quente e depois se batem com um pedaço de pau. Resulta uma massa de fumo e cinza, que se masca. A facilidade com que hoje se obtém fumo em corda para mascar é certamente responsável pelo abandono do *maxakáro*.

O uso do cachimbo é menos generalizado entre os Kayová do que nos outros subgrupos da tribo. E' verdade que êstes em grande parte já deixaram de fabricar cachimbos, mas em todo caso compram os pequenos pitos que se oferecem nas vendas caboclas. Uma das peças mais interessantes da cultura material dos Mbüá é o cachimbo, *pẽtỹgui*, de forma típica, feito de barro ou de nós de pinho. Fumam-no, de maneira "comunista", duas, três ou mais pessoas; depois de umas poucas cachimbadas, o fumante o passa para as mãos do companheiro. Hoje muitos Mbüá já fazem cigarros (*pẽtỹ ñomimbiré*) de palha, que preferem aos de papel. Entre os Ñandéva do litoral encontrei uma velha que fazia cachimbos de barro, muitos dêles de fornilho ornitomorfo.

Entre os Mbüá, quase todos fumam, inclusive as crianças de pouca idade; uma vez ou outra, as crianças rejeitam o cigarro, porque têm mêdo de ficar tontas: *"txedjuká"*. Entre os Ñandéva são principalmente os homens que fumam, mas também boa parte das mulheres.

Entre os vegetais cultivados nas aldeias do sul de Mato Grosso deve mencionar-se, embora de passagem, o *yrukũ* ou urucu, planta que não é nativa naquelas paisagens. Os Kayová consideram sagrada a tinta de urucu, dizendo que o seu "abuso" acarreta sanções sobrenaturais. Todos os objetos cerimoniais dos Kayová, inclusive a cruz (*kurusú*) usada pelos homens e o bastão de ritmo (*takuá*) das mulheres, o banquinho (*apyká*) e o altar (*yvyrá*), são esfregados com urucu depois de se raspar um pouco a superfície das peças para a tinta pegar melhor. Por ocasião de cerimônias ou na recepção de alguma visita, o Kayová gosta de cobrir o rosto com uma camada de urucu. A tinta se usa ou fresca ou cozida. Neste caso, fervem-se os grãos com um pouco de água, sem nenhum outro ingrediente; tira-se a semente e torna-se a ferver a massa até tomar consistência pastosa, forma em que a tinta não empedra e se conserva por tempo ilimitado. A técnica dos Ñandéva, pela descrição que obtive, é a mesma.

*
* *

Ao lado da extração de plantas de uso terapêutico, que são muito numerosas, e outras, de aproveitamento industrial, o Guaraní explora de maneira extensiva, mas não intensiva, os recursos vegetais de seu ambiente no que se refere à alimentação.

A coleta é, pois, de importância secundária como fonte de mantimentos. Entre as exceções, pode-se mencionar a coleta da guavira pelos Kayová nos campos do Mato Grosso meridional, atividade que leva todos os anos bandos inteiros de índios a vagucarem durante semanas, nos meses de novembro a dezembro, pela paisagem livre, onde ficam acampados ao céu aberto. Mas o interêsse pela guavira hoje em dia já se liga à aculturação, pois o fruto é fonte de dinheiro: a guavira, que é silvestre e abundantíssima, é vendida a fábricas de aguardente e vinagre.

De uso fortuito na cozinha Kayová são muitas espécies vegetais, como, por exemplo, um cará nativo (que não é o cará-do-ar) e não cultivado, de bulbo bem grosso.

*
* *

A caça e a captura de animais fazem parte das atividades cotidianas do Guaraní. Tive ocasião de observar a sua importância

principalmente entre os Mbüá do Rio Branco. Tôdas as manhãs, grande parte dos homens sai de casa, embrenhando-se pelo mato "para ver mundéu". Cada homem tem no mato quatro, cinco ou mais mundéus de jiçara e laços. Com laços de varas elásticas pegam-se "pela mão" (isto é, pela pata dianteira) porcos, veados, antas etc. Os laços para antas são de corda muito grossa. Para pegar macucos e outras aves, armam-se laços pequenos, *ño* i, que prendem a ave pela perna.

Desde que se conhece a espingarda (*mbokâ*) — que, aliás, poucos possuem, — o uso de flechas, inclusive do *guyrá piá* (flecha para aves; rombuda, para não ficar prêsa nas árvores) se vai tornando cada vez mais raro. Como conseqüência dos contactos culturais, nota-se que a técnica de fabricar arcos e flechas, embora continue tendo grande utilidade econômica para êsses Mbüá, deixou de ligar-se à caça, para assumir interêsse comercial, de vez que há sempre compradores interessados em armas indígenas, embora fabricadas sem esmêro. O caçador, porém, vai munido de espingarda e, saindo pelo mato, imita, por assobios, a voz do macuco, do jacu, do macaco. Para chamar macucos, aliás, também se usa apito de origem industrial, "flauta para enganar macuco". Vê-se que o processo aculturativo atingiu em cheio as preocupações econômicas mais genuìnamente indígenas. Mas como são poucos os indivíduos que possuem espingardas, é evidente que êsse aspecto da aculturação econômica equivale, em certo sentido, a uma desintegração cultural, criando necessidades sem proporcionar os meios de satisfazê-las.

Quando na proximidade da aldeia aparece alguma vara de porcos do mato (*tadjasú*), realiza-se uma caçada coletiva, da qual participam umas quatro ou seis pessoas. A distribuição dos animais abatidos, feita por quem os matou, beneficia tôdas as famílias-grandes da comunidade. Reparte-se tudo em porções iguais, inclusive para o caçador, e não há partes especiais destinadas a êste ou aquêle.

*
* *

À semelhança do que se dá com muitos outros aspectos da cultura Guaraní, a importância da pesca no conjunto das atividades econômicas varia, como é natural, de acôrdo com as possibilidades e condições ambientes. Disseminados por uma área imensa, as aldeias ora se encontram à beira de cursos fluviais piscosos, ora em

regiões que oferecem peixe em pequena quantidade, o que evidentemente condiciona em larga escala o interêsse dispensado a essa fonte de alimento.

E' verdade que há também diferenças de caráter indubitàvelmente cultural. Enquanto os Ñandéva do Bananal, por exemplo, se limitam a pegar, com auxílio do covo e raramente com anzol, algum peixe do rio — *taraý* (traíra), bagre, cará — e ao passo que entre os Kayová a pesca é pràticamente inexistente, os Mbüá, onde quer que estejam aldeados, procuram aproveitar, o mais que podem, a piscosidade dos cursos fluviais.

São vários os métodos de pesca em voga entre os Mbüá. Na aldeia do Rio Branco, por exemplo, registei a existência de covos de tequara ou de *timbópé* (empregados só pelos homens), de anzóis de metal (usados de preferência pelas mulheres), de *pari* com timbó e de mundéu de peixe. Quanto aos anzóis de metal, afirmam usá-los desde tempos imemoriais; não os possuindo comprados, fazem-nos de arame ou, quando para lambaris, de agulha de costurar; na falta de linha comprada, recorrem à fibra de tucum. Para a pesca com timbó, constroem um *pari* no rio, cortam timbó, colocam-no sôbre uma pedra e amassam-no com outra, jogando-o em quantidade dentro da água. No mundéu de pesca não se usa timbó; faz-se um "chiqueiro" dentro do rio, com uma tábua que cai ("desarma"), quando a traíra ou outro peixe mexe na isca. Alguns indivíduos ainda pescam com auxílio de arco e flecha. Quanto ao arpão e à rêde de pescar, dizem nunca tê-los usado. Os peixes não são enfiados em cordel, mas recolhidos num cêsto ou, na falta dêste, enfiados num pauzinho provido de farpa. De vez em quando se organizam pescarias coletivas. Sendo longe de casa, os homens pescam, enquanto as mulheres assam o peixe no próprio local (*mokã é*), onde é consumido. Quando perto, levam tudo para a aldeia, onde repartem o produto com os que ficaram.

As pescarias coletivas dos Mbüá do Xapecó se prolongam durante meses.

* * *

Apesar do pouco relêvo das preocupações econômicas na cultura tribal, nota-se um senso de propriedade privada bastante vivo. O pesquisador, procurando adquirir para a coleção etnográfica algum objeto — um cêsto, por exemplo — que pertença a uma criança, não o consegue sem a anuência desta, embora talvez ofereça, a

título de remuneração, um utensílio muito cobiçado pelos pais. O dinheiro recebido na rua pelas crianças por ocasião das visitas a São Paulo ou a outra cidade pertence a elas mesmas; gastam-no geralmente com pão de trigo (*mbodjapé*), uma de suas guloseimas prediletas. De outro lado, em se tratando de alimentos de consumo imediato, o indivíduo faz prevalecer o seu interêsse. Em São Paulo, ofereci certo dia a um grupo de Mbüá uma cesta com algumas dúzias de bananas, todos avançaram a um tempo sôbre as frutas, cada qual agarrando o que podia, e escondendo imediatamente o produto de sua agilidade debaixo das cobertas, dos sacos de viagem ou casacos espalhados pelos cantos do casebre em que os índios se haviam alojado. E' atitude que contrasta sensìvelmente com a eqüidade que êsses mesmos Mbüá fazem valer quando distribuem na própria aldeia o produto da caça (mesmo individual). Vê-se que neste caso continua viva antiga instituição da economia tribal.

Do ponto de vista da aculturação econômica, é interessante a atitude dos Guaraní em face do dinheiro (*pirê, perdta; pirápirê*, dinheiro-papel; entre os Ñandéva do Itariri ouvi: *retsá guatsú*, olhos grandes, para as notas graúdas, e *retsá mirim*, olhos pequenos, para as miúdas, expressões essas correntes também no Paraguai). O valor que lhe atribuem, e que aumenta com a marcha aculturativa, é muitas vêzes mais simbólico do que real, parecendo corresponder antes à imitação de uma atitude econômica alheia às solicitações culturais. O dinheiro existe para ser gasto; não se trata de economizá-lo e à sua poupança não corresponde função na cultura Guaraní. (O Capitão Francisco, do Rio Branco, certa vez me disse ter guardado uma porção de moedas, mas não dinheiro em notas, que, afirmava, se estragam fàcilmente.) A consciência de outras possibilidades de fazer economia — através da aquisição, por exemplo, de um cavalo, de um tráfego de mandioca ou de outros valores — só aparece em estado aculturativo posterior à assimilação de muitos padrões da vizinha cultura rural. E neste caso a posse dêsses valores materiais já começa a representar fator de distinção social.

A propriedade das terras se individualiza na medida em que é o indivíduo que a cultiva. Sòmente entre os Mbüá do Rio Branco encontrei uma roça de propriedade coletiva, um bananal, e pensava-se em desenvolver uma criação de porcos, igualmente coletiva. A regra, em todos os subgrupos, é que as plantações pertencem a quem as tenha feito e que a terra cultivada por um indivíduo lhe continua pertencendo indefinidamente. Tratando dos Txané e Txiriguáno, escreve Erland Nordenskiöld: "Suivant *Vocapoy*, les chefs

sont seuls possesseurs de la terre. *Batirayu* disait que les droits de propriété du sol sont réglés en telle sorte que chacun cultive le terrain qui lui semble bon. La terre qui a déjà été cultivée est considerée comme ayant un propriétaire, même lorsqu'elle est restée en friche pendant de longues années. Aussi les champs en friche eux-mêmes font-ils partie de l'héritage" [8]. Ora, esta explicação dada por Batirayu vale, *ipsis litteris*, para todos os grupos Guaraní, na medida em que pude observá-los. Qualquer roça abandonada continua sendo "posse" de quem a fêz; no Araribá, por exemplo, encontrei índios que se consideravam donos de "posses" no Bananal, onde tinham morado havia muitos anos.

*
* *

Índice inequívoco do grau de desorganização social da maioria das comunidades Guaraní é o progressivo abandono dos padrões de trabalho coletivo. E' conseqüência direta da individualização das preocupações econômicas. Por outro lado, o sucessivo entrosamento dos grupos indígenas na economia regional caboclа leva ao restabelecimento do trabalho cooperativo, mas em moldes já modificados.

Vários autores trataram de investigar as origens histórico-culturais do mutirão ou puxirão brasileiro; entre êles, há os que admitem haver na instituição cabocla confluência de elementos indígenas, ibéricos e africanos. Não cabe aqui discutir o problema, de difícil solução. Em todo caso, é indubitável a filiação ameríndia do mutirão, revelada já pelas fontes dos cronistas, como pela própria denominação, de origem Tupí-Guaraní; por exemplo: *puxirõ* (Kayová), *puxirũ* (Mbüá), *apatxirũ* (Tapirapé). Entre os Ñandéva do Araribá deram-me o nome *añomoõita* como designativo de mutirão. Entre as tribos dessa família lingüística, o trabalho coletivo da roça parece ter sido bastante generalizado. Mas também tribos brasileiras de outra classificação, como os Bakairí [9], conhecem ou conheceram instituições dêsse tipo.

Em todos os grupos Guaraní por mim visitados obtive indicações precisas sôbre a existência do mutirão ou puxirão. Tive oportunidade de assistir repetidas vêzes a reuniões dessa natureza, como em Dourados entre os Ñandéva e em Panambi entre os Kayová. De modo geral, pode-se dividir em duas categorias bem distintas os trabalhos coletivos dos Guaraní: os que se fazem para determinada pessoa e os que se destinam à coletividade como tal. O primeiro caso, o

mais freqüente, é comum nos três subgrupos da tribo e, com a marcha da aculturação, tende a conformar-se com as novas concepções econômicas. Em algumas aldeias, hoje nem todos conseguem reunir um grupo de companheiros para um dia de trabalho. "Só quem pode", disse-me o velho Pedro Pires, índio Ñandéva de Itariri. E' preciso ter prestígio e possuir mantimentos para os que vêm trabalhar. Assim, a instituição cooperativa funciona a serviço de interêsses individuais, ou seja, em benefício de pequeno grupo, a família elementar. Antes que se individualizem os padrões de trabalho, o seu fruto deixa de ser coletivo. "Quem pode" realiza um puxirão para abrir a roça, outro para plantar, outro para construir a sua casa, e assim por diante. Pedro Pires quis fazer um puxirão e não o conseguiu: os convocados não compareceram. E depois me explicou: hoje é difícil fazer puxirão; os mantimentos estão muito caros.

O puxirão deve ser interpretado como expressão de solidariedade de um grupo de vizinhança ou grupo local. Quanto menor êste grupo e maior a sua coesão, mais fácil é realizar o puxirão. Às vêzes a participação não ultrapassa o raio de parentela, ou seja, de duas ou três famílias-grandes ligadas uma à outra por laços conubiais.

O "dono" do puxirão (entre os Mbüá e Ñandéva) compra carne e farinha ou mata um capado. A sua mulher se encarrega de preparar a comida para o grupo todo, auxiliada ou não por parentes ou amigas, que ajudam a carregar água, socar arroz ou em outro mister.

Dia de puxirão é dia de festa, geralmente um sábado. Em certos grupos, termina com um baile regado de pinga, em outros com animada festa de chicha ou cauim, à maneira do que, segundo os cronistas, se teria verificado entre os antigos Tupinambá. Isto vale para os Kayová, que, aliás, não deixam de manifestar viva satisfação durante os trabalhos, acompanhados de constantes gritos de alegria, gracejos e estimulante competição entre as pequenas turmas em que se divide o grupo em atividade. O trabalho se transforma em jôgo. Entre os Kayová a ligação entre festas de chicha e puxirão é tão estreita que não há como não acentuar a função econômica das festas. Segundo o padrão tradicional dos Kayová, o "dono da chicha", como êles dizem, não oferece comida, mas apenas a chicha; é verdade que os participantes podem tirar algum mantimento da roça do "dono". O período da manhã é dedicado ao trabalho, a tarde e a noite à bebedeira e às danças.

Entre os Ñandéva de Dourados, onde o puxirão parece ter perdido em grande parte a função primordial de manifestação de soli-

dariedade do grupo, há a tendência de substituí-lo por padrões mais racionais — ou mais vantajosos e eficientes do ponto de vista econômico. Se alguém dispõe de quantia suficiente para organizar um puxirão, prefere empregá-la para empreitar a roça a um parente ou companheiro; assim evita os dissabores decorrentes das bebedeiras. E puxirão sem bebida dificilmente se realizaria. — No Araribá, por sua vez, o puxirão está desaparecendo pelo fato de não subsistir o antigo espírito de mutualidade e cooperação; tendem a abandoná-lo, porque se tornou comum não se retribuírem os serviços prestados ao companheiro. Como a participação nos trabalhos é inteiramente livre, não havendo consenso quanto à sua obrigatoriedade moral, o não-comparecimento não é sequer motivo para desavenças. E' que a instituição deixa de desempenhar a função primordial, que é a de assistência mútua.

Mais uma vez se confirma dessa maneira que a mudança mais incisiva provocada pelos contactos culturais consiste no abandono de antigos padrões de solidariedade e cooperação que vigoravam na satisfação de tôdas as necessidades vitais, quer fôsse nas práticas religiosas, nas atividades econômicas ou em quaisquer outros domínios da existência.

Por outro lado, nos lugares em que os Guaraní vivem em associação com moradores caboclos ou na proximidade dêles, o puxirão pode revelar-se meio eficaz para estreitar as relações com os "nacionais". Mormente o baile que encerra o dia de trabalho em comum assume às vêzes a feição de confraternização interétnica. Os índios, por seu turno, atendem prazerosos à convocação feita por um sitiante caboclo. E' o que se verifica, por exemplo, entre os Ñandéva da aldeia do Bananal.

A segunda forma do puxirão — trabalho coletivo para todo o grupo local — foi observada só na aldeia do Rio Branco. Como a comunidade se reduz em última análise a uma associação frouxa de famílias-grandes, compreende-se que o empreendimento não parta da ordem de algum chefe, mas de combinação entre todos, comparável talvez às decisões do "conselho dos velhos" entre os antigos Tupinambá.

Dessa maneira surgiu na aldeia um bananal de uns oitocentos pés de banana, de propriedade conjunta, i. é, "da sociedade", constituída por tôda a aldeia (excluído um velho Ñandéva, que colaborou "só de adjutório", pois chegou depois de pronta grande parte do trabalho). A derrubada para formar o bananal se fêz em dois puxirões; a plantação também foi feita em conjunto, mas sem pu-

xirões. O plantio se foi realizando antes que se concluísse a derrubada; não houve, portanto, queimada, e as bananeiras cresceram entre as árvores caídas. Os índios explicaram a sua atitude pela pressa de obter bananas, não sòmente para a criação de porcos, que estavam iniciando, como para sua própria alimentação. Continua, pois, o imediatismo econômico, em conflito com o desenvolvimento duma lavoura racional.

Em muitos núcleos bastante influenciados pela cultura caboclа, a conservação e limpeza dos caminhos também é feita em forma de trabalho coletivo. Se o capitão da aldeia tem prestígio para tanto, convoca os homens para o "adjutório"; caso contrário, há "combinação" entre os moradores. Cada qual leva a sua merenda — ou não. — Ao contrário dos puxirões pròpriamente ditos, essa forma de trabalho coletivo não se prende, por certo, a nenhuma instituição inerente à cultura tradicional.

A transformação das primitivas condições de vida pelo contacto com a sociedade ocidental de tipo capitalista fêz surgir novas formas de trabalho cooperativo. Assim, entre os Mbüá do Rio Branco, que fornecem artefatos indígenas a turistas e banhistas, qualquer indivíduo pode erigir-se numa espécie de empreiteiro ou diretor econômico, convocando ou convidando os companheiros para trabalharem com êle, durante um ou mais dias, na confecção de arcos, flechas, bengalas, espadinhas e outras coisas mais. O empreiteiro vende os produtos em Santos, São Vicente ou São Paulo, distribuindo parte do lucro, de preferência em forma de mantimentos comprados, entre os que o tenham auxiliado.

Nos puxirões Mbüá a que acima se fêz referência em último lugar, há também cozinha conjunta, para ela contribuindo cada qual segundo as suas possibilidades. Da preparação da comida encarrega-se um homem ou uma mulher do grupo. As mulheres não tomam parte no puxirão, mas participam da refeição conjunta. Para organizar o puxirão, compram-se seis a doze litros de pinga. Antes do almôço, "correm" de um a dois litros, pelas duas horas outro tanto, às quatro e às seis (antes do jantar) mais uma vez, e o resto de noite. Para comprar a pinga, fazem "sociedade"; quem tem dinheiro, dá.

Tudo isso, nos puxirões de interêsse coletivo. Para os que se organizam para as roças particulares, vimos que o dono fornece comida para todo o grupo: compra um capado e pinga na fazenda ou povoação próxima. Quanto às mulheres, que "só trabalham de enxada", também fazem puxirões (entre os Mbüá), "mas não matam

capado". Parece não se tratar de puxirão pròpriamente dito, mas de colaboração informal [10].

Expressão manifesta da solidariedade do grupo local, o qual, como já foi acentuado, em última análise se reduz a simples associação de famílias-grandes, o puxirão representa uma das poucas instituições cooperativas pelas quais se vinculam econômicamente os diferentes grupos de parentesco. Ao lado dela se destaca, é bem verdade, a distribuição do produto da caça. Mas quanto ao mais, o auxílio mútuo no setor econômico, embora seja constante e não falhe nunca, se passa em plano inteiramente informal. Cada família planta para si e se considera dona de suas roças; não obstante, o consumo toma feição bastante comunitária, sobretudo em situações de penúria. Não afetando de mancira sensível a auto-suficiência e a liberdade econômica das diferentes famílias-grandes que constituem o grupo local, a troca de serviços entre elas assume, por conseguinte, genuíno caráter de simbiose.

*
* *

A aculturação econômica se processa não sòmente de acôrdo com a necessidade de fazer face a novas exigências, oriundas do contacto com a civilização, mas também como conseqüência mais ou menos direta da perda ou transformação de velhos padrões ou instituições ou mesmo de condições materiais, que torna a velha economia impraticável, obrigando à procura de novas soluções.

A mudança mais incisiva que se vem manifestando nesse domínio talvez seja o reconhecimento, paulatino embora, da eficiência econômica do indivíduo como fator de distinção social. E' conseqüência mais ou menos direta da desintegração da antiga família-grande como unidade de produção e consumo, levando à individualização econômica, conseqüência da necessidade de encontrar critério substitutivo para a tradicional estratificação social sôbre base de experiência religiosa e, por último, do esfôrço de superar os motivos da discriminação por parte dos moradores civilizados, que tendem a estigmatizar o silvícola como indolente por natureza e econômicamente incapaz. A eficiência econômica assume, destarte, valor social em duplo sentido: como fonte de prestígio no seio da própria comunidade e como recurso de auto-afirmação em face de elementos estranhos.

Já por tais razões de ordem especìficamente social, se outras não houvesse, tornar-se-ia manifesto que a marcha aculturativa não

pode deixar de levar para uma individualização crescente das atividades econômicas. De outro lado, porém, essa transformação não se efetua sem causar sérios transtornos em tôda a cultura, no sistema adaptativo, como no integrativo. A maior dificuldade consiste na falta de equipamento mental em correspondência com a economia individualista. Além de uma noção de trabalho adequada à nova forma de vida econômica, o Guaraní carece de um mínimo de previsão, bem como da noção de correspondência de valores nas transações comerciais (de onde a impossibilidade de lidar com dinheiro). Certo, obstáculos dessa ordem existem talvez em tôdas as tribos indígenas e mesmo em todos os povos primitivos obrigados a substituir em curto prazo a antiga economia comunitária de tipo cooperativista pelo sistema individualista do mundo ocidental. Mas poucas serão por certo as tribos em que é tão acentuada como na Guaraní a incapacidade de desenvolver um espírito econômico com a noção do lucro e um correspondente pensamento finalista, simplesmente por causa do profundo misticismo religioso que lhes plasmou a mente e que tende a conferir um cunho emocional e sentimental a tôdas as suas atitudes, em vez de lhes dar critérios racionais para a aplicação de normas práticas nas relações com outros sêres humanos. Do ponto de vista psicológico, a aculturação econômica só há de (ao que parece) realizar-se de modo integral a partir do momento em que o indivíduo consiga encarar a sua eficiência econômica como critério de avaliação de sua própria personalidade e não apenas como fonte de prestígio e distinção social. Em suma, a partir do momento em que se possa dizer que o antigo ideal-de-vida se tenha substituído por outro.

Em todo caso, a aculturação econômica dos Guaraní recebeu impulso decisivo pela necessidade de se obter dinheiro para entrar na posse de umas tantas coisas que a cultura tradicional é incapaz de fornecer e que sòmente com dinheiro se podem comprar. O fato de precisar de dinheiro é para o Guaraní o único estímulo tendente a fazê-lo romper o círculo fechado das atividades de produção e consúmo do grupo local e integrar-se na esfera mais ampla da economia regional. Essa integração dá-se através de atividades até então desconhecidas na cultura Guaraní: trabalho remunerado em fazendas e propriedades próximas; exploração da natureza ambiente com intuito comercial (extração de palmitos, orquídeas, peles, papagaios etc.); comércio de artefatos de confecção baseada em técnicas em parte tradicionais, em parte novas (vassouras, cestos, arcos e flechas); venda de produtos agrícolas; e finalmente expedições de mendicância aos centros urbanos. À medida que se generalizam es-

nas atividades, a economia perde o seu caráter tribal, deixando de ser fechada e auto-suficiente.

Por enquanto, porém, trata-se apenas de atividades ou esporádicas ou executadas para satisfazer a necessidades imediatas. Ao lado delas subsistem muitos elementos da economia tradicional. Assim, as roças coletivas, caçadas e pescarias coletivas (vinculando as famílias-grandes), a instituição da família-grande, por seu turno, como comunidade econômica (congregando às vêzes em unidade de produção e consumo a algumas famílias elementares), a posse coletiva das áreas de caça e das terras de lavoura e, sobretudo, a ausência quase completa do comércio intragrupal, a não ser em se tratando de troca de serviços. Tudo isto quer dizer que não se reconhece o indivíduo como agente econômico autônomo no seio da comunidade tribal. E, quando ocorre, êste último passo se dá com a própria destribalização, isto é, representa a fase final da existência do grupo.

A aculturação econômica dos Guaraní se revela tanto mais difícil quanto mais ela se processa dissociada de transformações correspondentes em outras esferas, tornando-se motivo de desnivelamento cultural. São significativas, a êste respeito, as constantes queixas dos funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, empenhados em impor aos silvícolas, no interêsse dêstes, umas tantas "matrizes econômicas", sem que êles estejam em condições de integrá-las satisfatòriamente em seu sistema de padrões de comportamento. Desiludido, dizia-me o encarregado de um pôsto do sul de Mato Grosso: "Os Kayová não *querem* produzir coisa alguma; falta-lhes o senso necessário". Em seu pôsto procurara, por mais de quinze anos, estimular a produção individual para o comércio, coisa que para os índios não tinha o menor sentido. Em um núcleo próximo, também de Kayová, conseguiram-se resultados mais positivos com um sistema de produção coletiva de erva-mate. Para promover o "progresso" econômico dos Nandéva de outro pôsto, o Govêrno mandou, há anos, entregar cafèzais formados às diferentes famílias; dentro em pouco, deixaram tudo ao abandono. Êstes e outros exemplos demonstram a dificuldade do Guaraní em destacar o indivíduo da comunidade econômica e passar a considerá-lo como agente próprio com interêsses individuais e em parte talvez contrários aos do grupo; enfim, a relutância em adotar um padrão de competição econômica intragrupal.

NOTAS

1. Mas em algumas aldeias a situação ecológica entre índios e civilizados se vai tornando tal que os primeiros não só não podem mais sustentar-se pelas atividades da roça, mas também deixam de prestar cômodo bastante para fazerem as suas modestas compras. Veja-se o caso da aldeia de Pakaanã, onde, apesar dos produtos do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e dos seus, o Ministério da Agricultura mandou, há poucos anos, levar as terras dos Kayová, a fim de distribuí-las a colonos mandados para a região. Do outro lado da fronteira, os Guarani têm a individualidade de se encontrar em território considerado muito bom para a expansão da cultura-cultura. Sob o título de "Compra de terras para o cultivo do café no Paraguai", o jornal *O Estado de São Paulo* publicou, em 21 de março de 1952, o seguinte telegrama: "Assunção, 20 (UP) — Chegaram ao Paraguai os organizadores da 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation' com sede em São Paulo, no Brasil, para concluir negociações sôbre a aquisição de uma extensa área de 250.000 hectares, situada na zona fronteiriça com o Brasil, ao sul do Mato Grosso. A companhia realizará nessas terras o cultivo do café em grande escala, secundando desta forma a iniciativa do 'rei do café' do Brasil, Jeremias Lunardelli, que já iniciou uma plantação na mesma região paraguaia em princípios dêste ano. Os peritos consideram essa região, compreendida entre os paralelos 21 e 23, como a última reserva de terras virgens propícias ao cultivo do café na América do Sul" — O que isto representa para os Guarani daquelas matas não poderá ser explicado. E' o ato final de um drama que se vem representando há séculos.

2. Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pág. 35.

3. Birket-Smith, 1943, pág. 33.

4. E' interessante comparar esta técnica com a última das três indicadas por Hans Staden para os Tupinambá Itoarúcos. Staden, 1943, págs. 162-163.

5. Aliás, já Thevet se refere à técnica de jogar a comida na bôca, especialmente farinha de mandioca. Os caiçaras de São Paulo, que também usam a técnica, chamam de "capitão" à bolota de comida formada com os dedos e certeiramente lançada na cavidade bucal.

6. Veja-se, por exemplo, Kalvet, 1947, págs. 133-134.

7. *Apud* Métraux, 1928a, pág. 117.

8. Nordenskiöld, 1912, pág. 201.

9. E' o que se depreende, por exemplo, da descrição dada por Max Schmidt, 1905, págs. 102-103.

[D-C4-A]

VI. [illegible] — [illegible]

VII. [illegible] — [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

19. Entre os Mbiá do Paraguai, disseram-me haver mutirões — o que chamam *petijoé* — de homens e, mais raramente, de mulheres. Estas se organizam para a abertura das covas no plantio do milho. Consideram, aliás, dever Mbiá todo plantio tarefa de mulher, "por ordem divina", admitindo a colaboração de homens somente no caso de haver poucas mulheres. A não ser nos procurias com Ibabá, de interêsse coletivo, o *petijoé* é feito para determinada família, não sendo acompanhado, nem seguido de nenhuma festa. Talvez se explique isso pelo fato de os Mbiá não conhecerem nenhuma bebida fermentada, em que se distinguem dos *Xandéva* e dos *Kayová*.

[P.66 is blank]

CAPÍTULO V

INDIVÍDUO E FAMÍLIA

1. *A infância e a formação da personalidade*

A criança Guaraní se caracteriza por notável espírito de independência. Na medida em que lho permite o desenvolvimento físico e a experiência mental, participa da vida, das atividades e dos problemas dos adultos. Compreende-se que tal se verificasse em épocas anteriores à aculturação acelerada, em que havia grande estabilidade cultural no tempo e fixidez de padrões, um estado de coisas em que o conflito entre as gerações devia ser pràticamente nulo. Se o fenômeno persiste inalterado em tôdas as fases do processo aculturativo, é que reflete um traço fundamental ou essencial da cultura Guaraní que por sua vez se revela constante, enquanto esta seja capaz de subsistir. Tal característica é o respeito pela personalidade humana e a noção de que esta se desenvolve livre e independente em cada indivíduo, sem que haja possibilidade de se interferir de maneira decisiva no processo. No que respeita ao desenvolvimento psíquico e moral da pessoa, o Guaraní descrê inteiramente da conveniência e da eficácia de métodos educativos, a não ser a título excepcional ou por via mágica. Tratadas como adultos, as crianças Guaraní são mais francas e menos retraídas do que êstes, quando em contacto com estranhos.

Acontece as crianças, mesmo as de pouca idade, ficarem sòzinhas em casa o dia todo, enquanto o pai se encontre na caça ou vá "ver os mundéus" no mato e a mãe esteja trabalhando nalguma roça distante. Os pequenos gastam como bem entendem o dinheiro que recebem a título de esmola por ocasião das viagens em que acompanham os pais a São Paulo ou a outra cidade. Êstes e muitos fatos semelhantes caracterizam a atmosfera em que a criança se desenvolve, nela criando um sentimento de autonomia e de independên-

cia que não pode senão levá-la a um comportamento em muitos sentidos idêntico ao dos pais.

Explica-se por isso, em parte, que seja quase nula a cultura infantil Guaraní. Poucos são os brinquedos que não se reduzem à imitação de atividades dos adultos. O menino Mbüá já na idade de três anos começa a exercitar-se no manejo de arco e flecha [1]; cedo também constrói o seu mundéuzinho de jiçara. Entre os Mbüá da Palmeirinha, vi as crianças brincarem de caça e caçador; a caça por fim cafa no laço. Os Mbüá do Rio Branco adotaram um jôgo de cartas, a bisca; dêle participam indistintamente os homens e os meninos de pouca idade.

Dentre os raros brinquedos que não reproduzem atividades do adulto podem-se mencionar simples balanças de *guaimbé* em forma de U prêsas a algum galho horizontal (Mbüá do Itariri). Mas também a êste respeito a aculturação se faz sentir: a criança — talvez atraída pelo ideal que a civilização ocidental representa, parte consciente, parte inconscientemente, para o Guaraní —, começa a interessar-se pelos brinquedos que simbolizam o progresso técnico e o movimento, tal qual a nossa criança citadina. Na aldeia do Rio Branco, um menino faz um aviãozinho com auxílio de uma hélice de taquara, de um maço de cigarros (corpo do avião) e de cêra de abelha silvestre. Outro utiliza como hélice uma folhinha de calendário. No Araribá, um menino Nandéva constrói um caminhãozinho, servindo-se de um pedaço tôsco de madeira e de dois carretéis de linha soltos. — Mostram êsses exemplos que a criança Guaraní já coloca o seu próprio espírito inventivo a serviço da satisfação de atividades lúdicas outrora inexistentes na cultura tradicional, atividades que constituem inovação no sentido de representarem não simples reflexo da cultura dos adultos, mas elementos civilizatórios cuja significação decorre de um ideal aculturativo.

O extraordinário respeito à personalidade e à vontade individual, desde a mais tenra infância, torna pràticamente impossível o processo educativo no sentido de repressão. As tendências da criança nada mais são, na opinião do Guaraní, do que manifestações de sua natureza inata. Um Mbüá do Xapecó fazia cigarros de palha para o filho de dois anos de idade, o qual em sua opinião nascera "viciado". Se de um lado tal forma de tratamento favorece atitudes de desembaraço, independência e autonomia na personalidade infantil, de outro parece provável que a isto se deva, pelo menos em parte, a excessiva pieguice ligada a um sentimentalismo que aos olhos do ocidental se classificaria de mórbido. Na

infância, o Guaraní não aprende, por assim dizer, a dominar-se e a contrariar as suas inclinações e o seu temperamento; adulto, vive a queixar-se de tudo. E como lhe é quase inconcebível a noção do arrependimento, tende a procurar sempre em outrem e nunca em si próprio a causa de seus sofrimentos. E' claro que tal feitio de personalidade agrava de certo modo os efeitos da desintegração cultural, bem como outras manifestações decorrentes da situação de marginalidade.

Na medida em que o adulto se preocupa com o desenvolvimento da criança, a sua interferência diz respeito quase que exclusivamente ao crescimento e bem-estar físicos. As restrições a que o pai se submete na *couvade* e antes dela visam sobretudo ao bem físico do recém-nascido. As medidas mágicas que se põem em prática na infância são de ordem terapêutica e profilática. Para evitar que se formem sapinhos na bôca do bebê, pendura-se-lhe ao pescoço pequena bôlsa de pano com sete "sapinhos" (provàvelmente gininos). Tal usança, observada entre os Ñandéva do Araribá e provàvelmente de origem cabocla, é análoga à de se amarrar em tôrno de cada perna da criança um cordel com miçangas e anéis de perna de saracura, "para aprender a andar depressa" (Mbüá do Rio Branco). Os Ñandéva do Bananal, como vimos atrás, me falavam do banho matinal frio a que "os antigos" submetiam as crianças, para que crescessem fortes, prática hoje abandonada. Entre os Mbüá da Palmeirinha vi uma criança de colo, de sexo masculino, com uma pulseira de embira provida de um nó; disseram-me tratar-se de "simpatia, para ficar forte"; o leitor, é claro, não deixará de perceber a analogia com a "muquira" usada na munheca pelo nosso caboclo a fim de tornar o braço forte. — Enfim, no tocante à existência física, as crianças estão contìnuamente cercadas de proteção e estímulos mágicos.

Com referência à alma, isto é, à individualidade psíquica e moral, há algumas práticas de tratamento mágico-educativo, mas de secundária importância. A alma já nasce pronta ou, pelo menos, com determinadas qualidades virtuais, por assim dizer embrionárias. Em geral, não se procura, por isso, forçar o desenvolvimento da natureza psíquica. São poucos os recursos mágicos desenvolvidos pela cultura para se influir na formação da personalidade dos imaturos. Entre os Guaraní de Dourados (tanto Kayová como Ñandéva, segundo informação de Marçal de Souza), os pais do recém-nascido passam sôbre a bôca dêste uma orelha de pau (*yrupé*), para que não se torne desbocado e não se acostume a dizer grosse-

rias. "Educam" também a criança feminina, desde os primeiros dias, passando-lhe sôbre as mãos a pata dianteira duma cutia morta na caça; é para que a criança aprenda bem a colhêr batata-doce, cará e outros produtos da terra. Outra prática dos mesmos Ñandéva, a que também os adultos se submetem: mata-se um gaturamo (*guyrãtã ñcỹ*), ave que arremeda o grito das demais, tritura-se o corpo e mistura-se com pó de fumo, que se mastiga, para com maior facilidade aprender a língua dos brancos. Tratamento semelhante ao dos Kayová, que dão muita importância à boa voz para o canto; consiste em gargarejo, por muitos dias, com um "remédio" da casca duma árvore que não pude identificar. Entre os Kayová, um menino de talvez oito anos de idade tinha ao pescoço um saquinho de couro com marimbondos (*kávy*), a fim de se tornar esperto (*kýréỹvadjá*). *Kýréỹ mombyrỹ ohó*, "quem é esperto, vai longe", explicou-me a criança.

*
* *

Disseram-me os Ñandéva que não se ensinam as rezas às crianças, porque, sendo individuais, são mandadas diretamente pelas divindades. Desde a mais tenra infância, cada Ñandéva participa das cerimônias familiais e das de tôda a comunidade, aprendendo, assim, sem esfôrço tudo o que faz parte do patrimônio grupal; ao mesmo tempo, fica à espera de que lhe seja enviada a sua reza própria, que receberá em sonho. O mesmo se dá entre os Mbüá, onde todos conhecem, à fôrça de ouvi-las sempre, as rezas de todos os companheiros; são usadas como canções de ninar e as crianças pequenas, de dois anos de idade, já as cantarolam baixinho, por própria conta. Mais tarde, por sua vez terão suas revelações. Daí o ar de desdém com que Miguel, *ñanderú* Mbüá, me disse: "Nós não precisamos de dinheiro, nem de escola, porque Deus assim manda. Criança não precisa de escola, porque o saber vem de Deus". E' a mentalidade a que se refere também o Padre Franz Müller, missionário da Congregação do Verbo Divino, que trabalhou entre os Mbüá e outros Guaraní do Paraguai e que se queixa amargamente de que êsses índios desprezam tôda educação intelectual, moral ou religiosa [2].

Dessa atitude destoa a dos Kayová, entre os quais a religiosidade individual certamente não é muito menos acentuada, mas que têm também uma espécie de "escola", i. é, ensino ministrado durante meses pelo *pai* a um ou mais jovens que se destinam ao ofício

sagrado. — Cursos para candidatos à pajelança, aliás, existem também entre Ñandéva.

Para êstes, o problema educacional toma aspecto peculiar em face da crença na reencarnação, inexistente nos outros subgrupos da tribo. O extraordinário carinho que o Ñandéva dedica à prole é o amor materno e paterno reforçado pela idéia de que os filhos são entes queridos que voltam do outro mundo. Já Curt Nimuendajú observou que ao renascido se chamava "Tudjá", velho. No Araribá, o *ñanderú* Sebastião se refere a seu filho Vítor: "O Capitão Emídio morreu. Depois foi para o céu. Voltou, deu a reza para mim e — olhe lá êle. E' o Capitão Emídio". E assim por diante, o filho mais velho de Bastião é a reencarnação do sogro, uma filha a da sogra. Não admira que o Ñandéva dê sempre muita independência aos filhos. E não admira que o filho mais velho de Bastião, embora adolescente, se comporte como adulto, que discuta os mesmos problemas, que se preocupe da mesma forma com as relações entre os índios e os funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e outros assuntos dessa ordem. Como se há de exigir muita submissão e retraimento de uma criança que, há poucos anos, todos conheceram como adulto, talvez como velho chefe religioso e poderoso médico-feiticeiro? E como se há de, por exemplo, dar especial relêvo ao aspecto educativo da iniciação pubertária, se a criança, como adulto renascido, participa de há muito de tôdas as rezas e cerimônias coletivas? E como haveria, enfim, terreno para se desenvolver uma cultura infantil bem diferenciada?

E' reduzido o número de brinquedos da criança Guaraní pertencentes à antiga cultura tribal. Entre os Kayová e os Ñandéva de Dourados observei a peteca de palha de milho, a que os primeiros chamam *mangá* e os últimos *mbopé*. Em Jacareí vi as crianças brincarem com um pião de cuia, com cordel de fibra de caraguatá; a única denominação que davam ao objeto era a de *trompo*, o que parece evidenciar que o receberam dos vizinhos paraguaios. Por sua vez, o jôgo de "bolinhas de vidro" ou gude, igualmente praticado pelos meninos daquela aldeia, é conhecido apenas pelo nome de *bolita;* como não possuíssem bolinhas de vidro, as crianças recorriam a frutos de macaúba (*mbokadjá*).

De modo geral, porém, essas manifestações de cultura especìficamente infantil são mínimas diante da participação da criança nos padrões culturais dos adultos. Nos grupos mais aculturados, onde êstes já tocam violão e se alegram com música sertaneja ou até carnavalesca, acontece que o pai compra para o filho de seis ou

sete anos de idade um cavaquinho, no qual êste então procura tocar as modinhas que está acostumado a ouvir. Por seu turno, as crianças cedo aprendem as rezas cantadas, não só à fôrça de assistirem constantemente às cerimônias religiosas, e de delas participarem, mas também porque essas rezas são usadas, por vêzes, como canções de ninar, ao que observei entre os Ñandéva do Itariri, onde, como entre os Mbüá, também vi pequerruchos de poucos anos de idade as cantarolarem sòzinhos.

A atitude em face da educação se modifica de modo visível com a marcha do processo aculturativo, que traz nôvo ideal de cultura e aspirações sociais anteriormente desconhecidas. Sobretudo os Ñandéva do litoral de São Paulo revelavam por vêzes acentuada preocupação com os problemas de ensino, decorrente de um desejo manifesto de parecerem mais civilizados. Um casal ficou morando por três ou quatro anos em São Vicente, só para que o filho pudesse aí freqüentar o grupo escolar. A fim de ganhar o sustento, o menino vendia então arcos e flechas em Guarujá e em outros pontos procurados por banhistas ou turistas. Como, porém, a escola não é instituição integrada na cultura tribal, o desejo de civilização nem sempre se concretiza na freqüência regular ao estabelecimento de ensino, mesmo que haja possibilidade para tal. O encarregado do Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, do Araribá, queixava-se dos Guaraní, os quais mandavam as crianças à escola do pôsto só nos dias em que se distribuíssem aos alunos roupas e mantimentos. Note-se, de passagem, que as mesmas queixas não se faziam com referência aos Terêno daquela mesma aldeia: os filhos dêstes eram assíduos e tinham aproveitamento satisfatório. Talvez a causa esteja na orientação mais prática e positiva dos Terêno, que, aliás, naquele mesmo pôsto chegaram a eficiência econômica incomparàvelmente superior à dos Guaraní.

A organização social dos Guaraní se baseia na família-grande. Segundo Linton [3], a criança que cresceu nesse tipo de família aprende a não fixar ou focalizar as suas emoções ou expectativas de recompensa e punição em poucas ou determinadas pessoas. Vários adultos estão em condições de punir e de recompensar. O que um não faz, outro poderá fazer. — Também como adulto o Guaraní tem pouca estabilidade emocional. Não conhece o amor romântico, borboleteia nas relações amorosas e fàcilmente desmancha o casamento, deixando o filho com a mulher, para unir-se a outra, fatos que, aliás, se agravam com a desorganização social. Da mesma forma não é em geral capaz de ódios muito prolongados, nem de ati-

tude rancorosa. Hoje briga com o vizinho, amanhã torna a conversar e a divertir-se com êle ou vai pedir-lhe um pouco de feijão ou uma caixa de fósforos. Há tempos, os índios do Itariri tiveram uma briga bem feia na estação local; arrancaram sarrafos da cêrca, avançando furiosos uns contra os outros. Daí a pouco, sentaram-se todos num grupo, rindo, conversando e gracejando. A raiva se desfizera como fumaça.

Vem a propósito aqui também a observação de Linton de que nas sociedades em que as crianças são obrigadas a rigorosa obediência aos pais, elas se tornam, quando adultas, pessoas pouco independentes e sempre desejosas de uma autoridade que as dirija, havendo mesmo casos extremos em que é necessário educar alguns poucos indivíduos selecionados para se tornarem líderes [1]. Entre os Guaraní, cuja educação repressiva é quase inexistente, não se desenvolve forte senso de disciplina e de autoridade. Cada qual se pode tornar chefe, contanto que sinta a necessária vocação sobrenatural; em geral bastam práticas espontâneas e auto-impostas para estabelecer as qualidades mágicas e obter inspiração religiosa. Cada chefe de família é ou pode tornar-se chefe de bando. A idéia de um govêrno organizado, de tipo estatal, existe bem nítida, mas apenas num campo abstrato, dentro do ritual religioso e da mitologia, reminiscência, por certo, da antiga organização do estado jesuítico. Os funcionários do S. P. I. são unânimes nas queixas com relação à dificuldade de submeter os Guaraní às normas do Serviço. Sem que sejam violentos, — ao contrário, são chorões —, êsses índios sempre acham um jeito de fugir aos regulamentos. No Araribá, como vimos, houve a tentativa de enquadrar os Guaraní no sistema econômico-administrativo do pôsto, dando-se-lhes cafèzais já formados. Dentro de poucos anos estava tudo arruinado. O Guaraní não sabe administrar um cafèzal. Não tem disciplina de trabalho, que ninguém lhe ensinou em criança. E o chefe para o qual converge a sua noção de autoridade é antes de mais nada chefe religioso — *ñanderú*, bondoso como um pai, diretor espiritual que quer levar os "súditos" ao paraíso do herói civilizador. À autoridade que se liga ao cargo chega a considerá-la o dignitário como pêso desagradável. O *ñanderú* Bastião me dizia com insatisfação: "Todos se encostam em mim, que eu sou *ñanderú*". Na maior parte das aldeias atuais, o *capitão*, o chefe oficial do grupo, é indivíduo relativamente jovem, escolhido pelo funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e que em geral não dá muita importância à dignidade de seu cargo — a não ser para mendigar.

2. *Casamento*

Entre Ñandéva e Kayová, outrora, a iniciativa para o casamente partia da mãe da noiva, ou, às vêzes, do noivo. Hoje, na maioria dos casos quem a toma é o rapaz. Êste se entende com a môça e o pai dela, que por sua vez serve de intermediário entre o pretendente e a mãe da jovem. Se o rapaz se dirige ao futuro sogro, é por se tratar de entendimento de homem para homem, considerado menos difícil. O pai pouco se incomoda com os problemas de casamento dos filhos, ao contrário da mãe, que se interessa de fato pelo futuro da filha, indagando da opinião dela; esta por seu turno lhe pede conselho e a devida licença. A filha casada, aliás, quando fica morando perto da mãe, gosta de passar o dia com ela. — Entre os motivos de recusa a um pretendente indicaram-me no sul de Mato Grosso o ser êle cachaceiro, vagabundo, econômicamente incapaz, membro de outro subgrupo da tribo, de origem paraguaia ou luso-brasileira, ou simples antipatia pessoal. Casos há, entre os Kayová e Ñandéva dessa região, em que a mãe sugere à filha um noivo — conhecido como ordeiro, trabalhador e possuidor, talvez, de animais de montaria, morada própria, roças, criação —, indo ela mesma, a mãe, entender-se com o rapaz. Os moços mais trabalhadores vivem em casa própria já como solteiros, tendo economia independente.

Entre os Kayová, o casamento era mais um problema das duas famílias, que o ajustavam prèviamente, impondo-o aos jovens; nesse subgrupo, aliás, é um pouco mais precoce do que nos outros dois. Hoje muitos pretendentes já fazem valer a sua vontade. Relatam-se exemplos, isolados embora, em que o jovem rapta a noiva, caso ela não consiga vencer a resistência dos pais. Repressão dêsse "abuso" tem sido feita pelos funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

Entre os Mbüá, a iniciativa para a vida amorosa é do rapaz. Há uma espécie de matrimônio de prova; muitos têm uma "companheira" (*txeirũ kuñã vae*) antes de casarem. Depois de entender-se com a menina, o rapaz se dirige aos pais dela, não precisando permissão dos próprios pais. Leva a companheira para a casa paterna, onde vive com ela por algum tempo e onde ela cozinha junto com a mãe do rapaz. Havendo filho oriundo das relações e se "se acertarem", isto é, se houver acôrdo, tratam de casar. O rapaz arma-se de coragem e pede licença ao pai da jovem, ao passo que ela a solicita à mãe do rapaz. Entre os Mbüá do Xapecó disseram-me que o *ñanderú* celebra o casamento, que se comemora com um baile. O matrimônio experimental — não sei qual é a sua fre-

qüência — se caracteriza por dois traços importantes: primeiro, pela patrilocalidade e, em segundo lugar, pela ausência de deveres econômicos definidos. Só com a união definitiva é que o casal passa a ter morada própria, vindo a constituir grupo de produção e consumo parcialmente independente. Importante é notar que o rapaz cedo obtém a sua liberdade, enquanto a jovem pràticamente fica prêsa a sua família de origem até o fim da vida.

Casam cedo; entre os Kayová e Mbüá a mulher pelos 14 anos de idade, o homem pouco mais tarde; entre os Ñandéva, a mulher pelos 16 anos, o homem pelos 17 ou 18. Kayová e Ñandéva proibem as relações pré-nupciais, ao passo que os Mbüá, como vimos, as institucionalizam. Afirmam os Kayová que as onças comem de preferência os filhos das solteiras e adúlteras.

No tocante ao casamento preferencial do tio materno com a sobrinha, assinalado para outras tribos da família lingüística Tupí-Guaraní[8], não encontrei dados claros, fidedignos e unívocos entre os Guaraní de qualquer dos três subgrupos. As informações acêrca de sua possibilidade eram contraditórias, o que pode ser talvez indício de padrão outrora existente e hoje abandonado ou em vias de sê-lo. Fato é que as declarações sôbre o tema eram feitas em geral com pouca segurança e que na realidade não encontrei nenhum caso concreto de tal casamento. Também as informações sôbre êsse tipo de união em época antiga eram muito vagas: ao passo que uns negavam categòricamente terem notícia do casamento avuncular, quer como instituição, quer como caso fortuito, outros o admitiam, mas da mesma forma a união da sobrinha com o tio paterno. Referindo-se a Ñandéva e a Kayová, Marçal de Souza afirma considerar impossíveis tais uniões, de vez que os sobrinhos de um e outro sexo, tanto os filhos da irmã como os do irmão, seriam "o mesmo que os filhos". Quanto ao casamento do sobrinho com a tia, materna ou paterna, não é permitido, segundo voz unânime dos informantes; também os Mbüá estudados por Cadogan o consideram incestuoso.

Em oposição ao que se dá com os Mbüá, que negam a possibilidade, os Ñandéva e Kayová admitem o casamento entre primos, paralelos e cruzados, indistintamente. Só os Ñandéva do Itariri e do Bananal me declararam serem proibidas essas uniões, talvez por efeito de aculturação. A tia de meu informante Marçal, irmã do pai, queria que o sobrinho casasse com a filha dela; explicava que dessa forma pretendia evitar o casamento do rapaz com mulher não-Guaraní. Embora na terminologia de parentesco irmãos e irmãs se identifiquem com primos e primas, a coesão social entre êles não é mui-

to acentuada, como, aliás, não o é tampouco entre os irmãos, quer de um ou de outro sexo. Isto vale para os Ñandéva e os Kayová; entre uns e outros também se nota que o homem manifesta não raro com relação aos sobrinhos, tanto aos filhos da irmã como aos do irmão — *de preferência da irmã*, segundo Marçal —, maior ligação afetiva e tendência para auxílio do que no tocante aos próprios filhos. Haveria nisso algum vestígio de antiga instituição avuncular?

No aspecto ritual do casamento se manifesta com especial evidência a situação aculturativa das diferentes comunidades que constituem a tribo. Ao que tudo indica, na cultura tribal não havia pràticamente cerimônia de casamento em nenhum dos subgrupos, a não ser entre os Kayová, que também exigiam, como condição para o casamento, que o rapaz tivesse o lábio inferior furado. Isto provàvelmente vale também para os Mbüá. Em conversa com o índio Vicente, informante do Amambai, êste, lamentando que parte da nova geração já "não sabe direito a língua" e que hoje em dia muitos companheiros de tribo, "patrícios", não têm o orifício labial, afirmou: "Antigamente ninguém casava antes de furar o beiço. Hoje o Kayová é quase como bicho, porque não conhece o sistema dos antigos, nem o dos civilizados". Segundo o mesmo informante, existiu outrora entre os Kayová uma cerimônia de casamento, que não era feita pelo *ñanderú* ou *pai* (ao contrário do que me disse Marçal de Souza), nem pelo capitão da aldeia, mas por um casal, isto é, por um homem casado e pela espôsa dêle; o homem pegava o rapaz pelo braço, a mulher à môça, juntavam-nos e consideravam-nos casados. Tal prática, hoje desaparecida, e acêrca da qual não logrei obter pormenores, muito provàvelmente se originou em época pós-colombiana; o casal que realiza a cerimônia lembra "testemunhas" ou "padrinhos" de casamento da época das missões. O certo é que hoje entre os Kayová o casamento é realizado, de maneira informal, pelo capitão da aldeia, que decide se os pretendentes devem ou não considerar-se casados.

Em tempos idos, os Kayová comemoravam o casamento com uma chicha; hoje se contentam, pelo menos em certas aldeias, com um "baileco tipo paraguaio", na casa da noiva e por conta da família desta. Para a diversão se convida a aldeia tôda, oferecendo-se comida aos que compareçam, e bebendo-se cachaça em lugar de chicha. Não se dão presentes aos noivos.

Curiosa combinação de elementos tradicionais com outros, de adoção recente, é observada entre os Ñandéva do Araribá. Vê-se bem como aí as cerimônias de casamento vieram integrar-se na cul-

tura tribal na medida em que esta conservou características que lhe permitiram tal integração. A instituição do casamento foi adotada pela comunidade; a sua realização se faz segundo o que se poderia chamar de "técnicas cerimoniais tradicionais". Não assisti a nenhum casamento; devo a descrição ao velho Capitão Maneco, *Poýdjú*. Eis o seu depoimento: Não há muito namôro. Em geral, o jôvem se dirige aos pais da menina, pedindo o consentimento para casar. Êstes indagam da opinião da filha. Então os pais de ambos combinam com os noivos e com o *ñanderú* o dia de *cñomomendá*, do casamento, festa para a qual não se usa o nome *ñemongaraí* (!). O *ñanderú* faz o casamento no *oýguatsú* (casa de festas religiosas) ao anoitecer. Assistem parentes e amigos; os homens levam os seus *mbaraká* e as mulheres vão munidas de *takuá*. Mulheres e homens que tenham *djeatsaá* também o levam. O noivo precisa de *djeatsaá* e *mbaraká;* a noiva, de *djeatsaá* e *(a)kanguaá* (diadema de penas de tucano, pavão, gralha — até de aves domésticas) e de *takuá*. Acendem-se duas ou três velas de cêra de abelha silvestre e todos cantam e dançam. Durante a cerimônia, o *ñanderú* sopra no peito da noiva e do noivo; depois passa com as duas mãos pela cabeça e tronco de ambos os nubentes. Em seguida, bebem cauim de milho, feito pelas mulheres (na fabricação a noiva pode ajudar); bebem igualmente mel de abelha silvestre; às vêzes também levam comida. Na cerimônia há dois casais de padrinhos; um para o noivo, outro para a noiva. A quaisquer pessoas escolhem para êsse fim. Em casa, depois, se realiza a festa do casamento, na qual se dança segundo a música dos civilizados. Na falta de outro instrumento, fazem flauta de taquara (*mimbý*). — Além da cerimônia no *oýguatsú*, obrigatória para todos os casais, há também o casamento na igreja católica, que se realiza depois daquela e a que nem todos se submetem; os padrinhos que nela funcionam não são índios, mas pessoas civilizadas que tenham relações de amizade com os nubentes. O casamento na igreja católica é seguido de festa na casa do pai da noiva, como também é costume entre os civilizados da região. Alguns se casam igualmente no cartório, com padrinhos civilizados, "para não caçoarem dos índios".

O casamento feito pelo *ñanderú* e segundo ritos da religião indígena não o encontrei em nenhuma outra aldeia, salvo no caso dos Mbüá do Xapecó, já mencionado. Em todos os demais grupos é, pelo menos hoje em dia, tarefa do capitão, representando êste de certo modo as autoridades do registro civil, ou então, nos lugares em que há pôsto, o funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Na aldeia do Rio Branco, Alcides é quem realiza os casamentos em sua

casa. Depois de perguntar à mulher se gosta do homem, e a êste se gosta da mulher, declara-os casados. Age, pois, como genuíno juiz de paz.

Bigamia é rara e parece não ocorrer entre os Ñandéva. Em um núcleo da aldeia Kayová de Dourados havia um homem casado com três mulheres a um tempo; não eram parentés entre si. Vistos com certa reprovação pela comunidade, os bígamos costumam ser vadios; à mulher mais velha cabem as tarefas mais pesadas da economia doméstica; a mais jovem, privilegiada, "descansa", como dizem, à custa da outra. Entre as mulheres duma união dessas há bom entendimento, e os filhos de uma e outra gozam dos mesmos direitos na constelação familial.

Índice da desorganização social dos Guaraní atuais, com exceção dos Mbüá, é a pouca estabilidade das uniões conjugais. Entre os Ñandéva, a iniciativa da separação é quase sempre do homem, que ou deixa os filhos com a mulher, ou — "conforme a briga", no dizer de João Samuel, Ñandéva do Bananal — manda embora a mulher e fica morando com os filhos. No Araribá, onde encontrei mulheres com três ou quatro maridos sucessivos, o encarregado do pôsto não se lembrava de um caso, em quase vinte anos, em que a mulher tivesse decidido abandonar o espôso. Também em outras aldeias se observa que a mulher procura contemporizar, a fim de não arcar depois sòzinha com o sustento da prole. O adultério, da parte do homem como da mulher, é uma das causas de divórcio. No Araribá, uma índia casada, seduzida por um prêto ou mulato, que vivia no pôsto, disse-me que, depois de resistir por algum tempo, cedeu à sedução, por gostar dêle. O padrasto da mulher pegou da faca para matar o homem, talvez em obediência a padrão caboclo.

Dada a precariedade das uniões matrimoniais, o casamento não constitui hoje fato de incisiva importância na vida de muitos Kayová. Em Dourados, onde chegou a haver homens que mudavam de mulher de uma chicha para outra, a situação tende a melhorar por influência da missão cristã que trabalha entre os índios do pôsto. Na separação do casal Kayová, os filhos, quer masculinos ou femininos, costumam ficar com a mulher, bem como a casa e a roça, embora feitas pelo espôso. Casos há em que a mãe, apaixonando-se por outro homem, passa a maltratar os filhos, que constituem espécie de empecilho, porquanto o homem não gosta de receber mulher com filhos de outrem. Note-se, de passagem, que as mães excedem em rigor aos pais no castigo das crianças. Brigas entre cônjuges são motivadas pelo alcoolismo, por ciúmes e por incapacidade econômica do

marido. Mulheres Kayová não raro decidem abandonar o espôso vadio; quando o homem se afasta da mulher, é geralmente por se ter apaixonado por outra.

Tal estado de coisas, é claro, não deixa de ter profundas repercussões na existência de tôda a comunidade, uma vez que a estrutura social Guaraní se apóia essencialmente nas relações que regem a vida da família. O ritmo da desorganização social está em função do esfacelamento da primitiva família-grande. E em muitos grupos da atualidade a família-grande já não pode subsistir pelo simples fato de ser precária a existência da própria família elementar. Por sua própria natureza, a família-grande requer estabilidade das ligações matrimoniais; do contrário, não há sequer número para a sua constituição, ainda mais porque, em caso de divórcio, os filhos — especialmente entre os Kayová — ficam de preferência com a mãe, baseando-se, de outro lado, a família-grande no exercício da autoridade paterna. O exemplo de uma das poucas famílias-grandes que sobrevivem entre os Kayová atuais, a de Paí Chiquinho (Panambi), ilustra bem a importância de uma personalidade masculina na manutenção do padrão tradicional. Como poderia alguém tornar-se chefe de numerosa família-grande, se êle próprio abandonasse a mulher com que se casou?

Se perguntamos a um menino Kayová "Quem é você?", êle costuma identificar-se com referência ao pai; por exemplo: "Isidroraý", filho de Isidro. E' reminiscência, talvez, do sistema primitivo, em que o grupo doméstico vivia sempre sob a égide de um varão. Hoje muitos homens passam a maior parte do tempo na changa, fora da aldeia, e os filhos crescem à sombra da mãe. Os laços que os prendem a ela e aos parentes maternos são bem mais fortes. A mãe continua a mesma pela vida afora, ao passo que o pai pode "mudar", situação, aliás, encontradiça também nas populações rurais da fronteira paraguaia. E, ao casar, o filho varão fàcilmente se desliga da família de origem, atraído pela do sogro, com a qual e perto da qual mora por algum tempo, já em virtude da instituição da matrilocalidade; a filha casada, por sua vez, fica perto da mãe. Combinam-se, destarte, a persistência da antiga matrilocalidade com a perda da autoridade paterna no sentido de só em circunstâncias excepcionalmente favoráveis subsistir a organização tradicional da família-grande.

De qualquer maneira, porém, a solidariedade do grupo parental continua a sobrepor-se, em tôdas as comunidades Guaraní, à da aldeia ou grupo local. Onde quer que haja Guaraní, ouve-se falar em parentelas que se opõem a parentelas. Os liames sociais que vinculam os habitantes de um grupo local são, por outro lado, de consistência

tão fraca e tão pouco permanentes que a composição da comunidade de aldeia está sujeita a perenes modificações. E o grupo em migração — a "trinca" de fulano ou de beltrano, como dizem os Mbüá — é sempre uma parentela guiada por um chefe.

3. *Relações econômicas no grupo familial*

De alguma forma, as malhas da rêde de relações econômicas ligam entre si todos os indivíduos de determinada aldeia ou grupo local. Em outros têrmos: o grupo local constitui comunidade econômica em que, de maneira mais ou menos frouxa, estão vinculadas, pela comunhão de interêsses, as diferentes unidades de produção e consumo, que tendem a ser, hoje em dia, as famílias elementares. Parentelas constituídas de duas, três ou mais famílias elementares correspondem a unidades econômicas de ordem superior, refletindo bem, em suas manifestações de solidariedade, o estado anterior, pré-aculturativo, em que a família-grande era a unidade econômica pròpriamente dita. O congraçamento das diferentes famílias-grandes — ou parentelas — para a constituição de unidade mais ampla, seja a aldeia ou parte dela (como grupo local, geogràficamente destacado), se dá bem mais acentuadamente sôbre base religiosa, pois assim como o grupo de parentesco é a unidade elementar de produção e consumo, a aldeia constitui a unidade religiosa, pelo menos por ocasião das grandes festas, de transcendental importância.

Outrora, enfim, ao que tudo indica, a família-grande — compreendendo o casal, as filhas casadas, os genros e a geração seguinte — constituía a unidade de produção e de consumo. A sua fragmentação talvez se tenha iniciado já com a influência jesuítica. Em alguns poucos casos, ainda hoje a família-grande é pràticamente a unidade de produção, embora se declare serem as roças propriedade das diversas famílias elementares da parentela.

Um dêstes exemplos é a família-grande de Paí Chiquinho, da aldeia Kayová do Panambi. O filho casado e cada um dos genros têm roça em separado, e Chiquinho insiste em dizer que, segundo o costume Kayová, cada família elementar consome o produto de suas plantações. Mas no tempo do *djakairápékỹ*, do "milho verde", se "batizam" conjuntamente na casa-grande as primícias das roças, não só da parentela, mas de tôda a aldeia. Por seu turno, cada uma das famílias elementares da casa de Chiquinho contribui para a chicha e, segundo o "sistema Kayová", as "visitas" que vêm participar da festa são levadas às roças, a fim de se lhes oferecer do que lá existe. Os

genros, diz Chiquinho, trabalham nas roças dêle, mas o chefe, por sua vez, ajuda nas roças dos genros. Por ocasião de minha última visita à aldeia, em 1950, a roça de Paí Chiquinho tinha umas 1.400 mãos de milho (1 mão — 15 atilhos de 4 espigas); a do filho umas 300 e a de cada genro outro tanto. A desproporção decorria menos dos serviços prestados pelos genros do que dos puxirões que o chefe da parentela realizara por ocasião das festas de chicha. — Na casa de Paí Chiquinho cada casal tem cozinha própria; mas, quando uma das famílias elementares tem na panela algo de especial — carne de vaca, por exemplo —, é costume mandar pedacinhos a tôdas as outras.

Desde cedo, as crianças de um e outro sexo ajudam os pais, quer na roça, quer nos trabalhos domésticos. As meninas, por exemplo, carregam água e cuidam dos irmãos menores, enquanto os meninos trabalham na roça ou levam para casa os produtos que se tornarem necessários.

No comportamento econômico das crianças não tarda a manifestar-se um dos traços característicos da situação dos adultos, pelo menos nas aldeias do sul de Mato Grosso. E' o que se refere à divisão sexual do trabalho no interior da família, bastante transformada, aliás, em conseqüência dos efeitos aculturativos dos contactos. A mulher não trata de ganhar dinheiro, ao passo que para o homem a sua capacidade de trabalho e de produção é fonte de meios pecuniários hoje considerados indispensáveis para a existência do grupo. Já as atitudes infantis se conformam a esta distinção. Dos oito aos dez anos, mais ou menos, o menino passa por um período que se pode chamar de aprendizado: acompanha o pai nas caçadas, na coleta de mel e em outras atividades, aprendendo também, sob a orientação paterna, a técnica de trançado e a fabricação dos mais diversos artefatos. Espontâneamente — e menos por iniciativa dos pais, ao contrário do que Virginia Drew Watson observou entre os Kayová da aldeia de Taquapiri — o menino faz a sua própria roça e, não raro, vende o produto; com o dinheiro compra alguma roupa de que precise ou algum presente para a mãe — um corte de vestido, por exemplo —; nada para o pai. Em Francisco Horta acontece que meninos Kayová de seus dez anos de idade fazem changa fora da aldeia. A partir dos doze, o menino Guaraní em geral começa a manifestar a sua independência, trabalhando apenas parte do tempo na roça do pai, até que, pelos quinze ou dezesseis anos, passe a morar com o sogro, em cuja lavoura terá que trabalhar muito mais do que os filhos dêste. — De qualquer forma, os laços afetivos que ligam o menino ao pai são bem menos consistentes e duradouros do que os que o prendem

à mãe. Na falta do pai, há pouca preocupação em se encontrar "substituto legal"; a pessoa mais indicada é, porém, o tio *paterno*.

No tocante às relações econômicas, o filho casado se torna pràticamente um estranho em face do pai, a não ser o caso excepcional de continuar morando com êle na mesma família-grande. Em Francisco Horta observei certa vez como o velho Paí Tomás saiu de casa para trabalhar na roça do filho casado, que morava a talvez dois quilômetros de distância; o velho aceitara o trabalho da roça a título de empreitada, pela qual ia ser pago como outro trabalhador qualquer. E' um exemplo extremo, ao qual se opõe outro, o de Paí Chiquinho, do Panambi, cujo filho casado mora com o pai e, embora tenha roça própria, faz parte da mesma família-grande.

A ligação da filha com a família de seus pais é bem mais longa de que a do filho; vai pelo menos até o casamento. E mesmo depois de morar em casa própria, a mulher costuma passar grande parte do dia com a mãe, ajudando-a nos trabalhos domésticos.

Com o casamento, o Guaraní assume responsabilidades econômicas que até aí não conhecia. Responsabilidades em dois sentidos: para com a espôsa, evidentemente, e quase sempre também para com o sogro. A autonomia econômica da família elementar vai sendo adquirida aos poucos, i. é, os casais novos não gozam de inteira independência, sobretudo quando moram na casa do sogro do espôso. (Ocorre também, embora mais raramente, que o casal passa os primeiros meses na casa do pai do marido; neste caso, sòmente até construir casa própria e poder colhêr da própria roça.) Mormente para os Kayová e Ñandéva é importante a autoridade dos sogros; êstes exercem sôbre o genro (ou a nora, conforme o caso) hegemonia idêntica à dos pais. Para explicar a relação, uma índia Kayová me disse: "*Iúva*, o mesmo que pai". Quanto a obrigações econômicas, porém, só ouvi referências às do genro para com o sogro, reduzindo-se, ao que me disseram, a algum trabalho na roça dêste. São, além disso, obrigações pouco definidas. Entre os Kayová, a família recém-constituída passa logo a formar *unidade de consumo* distinta. Embora o genro costume morar algum tempo na casa do sogro, os casais têm roças separadas e até panela própria. E' interessante, a êste respeito, a significação simbólica da panela. Disseram-me os Kayová de Benjamim Constant que o môço pode casar só quando esteja em condições econômicas de comprar panela. As idéias ligadas à panela correspondem, em certo sentido, às que na civilização ocidental às vêzes se ligam à lareira. De qualquer forma, também para o Guaraní — no caso, para o Kayová — o problema da economia doméstica é um problema de panela. — Com o tempo, acentua-se a autonomia eco-

nômica da família nova, que após alguns meses trata de construir a sua casa própria, primeiro nas imediações da morada do sogro e depois, como me disseram, "cada vez mais longe"...

Na maioria das aldeias atuais, a divisão de trabalho entre os cônjuges não é muito rigorosa. Em todo caso, tudo o que se refere à caça é assunto do marido, ao passo que a lavoura se divide em atividades masculinas e femininas. A derrubada, a roçada, a preparação do terreno em geral cabem ao homem; o plantio, à mulher. Quanto a êste último ponto, notei, porém, que entre os Ñandéva de Dourados não é a mulher que planta; já adotaram, como dizem, o "sistema dos civilizados". A colheita é parte feita conjuntamente, parte tarefa da mulher; às vêzes o marido quebra o milho, enquanto a espôsa o carrega para casa. A não ser a título de exceção — em dias de chuva, por exemplo —, são as mulheres que vão arrancar mandioca. Pode se mesmo indicar a cesta-de-carregar — *adjó* (Ñandéva), *adjaká* (Mbüá) e *mynakú* (Kayová) [8] — como símbolo da atividade econômica feminina. Repetindo o que já se afirmou com referência às mulheres de outras tribos, dir-se-ia que a mulher Guaraní sem a sua cesta-de-carregar é comparável a um soldado sem fuzil. E é um particular importante de sua dependência com relação ao marido, uma vez que a técnica de trançar faz parte da cultura masculina. Só entre os Ñandéva do litoral paulista observei as mulheres fazendo peneiras ou trançando o revestimento (*mbopará*) de arcos destinados à venda. A técnica de fazer êsses revestimentos foi, aliás, aprendida por êles através do convívio com os Mbüá. Convém notar que a produção industrial para o comércio age no sentido de contrariar a primitiva divisão sexual do trabalho; também entre os Mbüá vi as mulheres fazerem as cordas de embira para os arcos destinados ao comércio.

Buscar lenha é tarefa masculina entre os Kayová e Ñandéva, feminina entre os Mbüá. A preparação da comida cabe à mulher, a não ser em caso de doença ou outro impedimento qualquer. Em todo caso, porém, os homens conhecem perfeitamente, até os mais insignificantes pormenores, os segredos da arte culinária.

Os trabalhos tradicionais de fiação e tecelagem, na medida em que se conservaram, são apanágio da mulher. Entre os Kayová da nova geração encontrei mulheres um tanto envergonhadas por já não dominarem essas técnicas. O meu amigo Marçal de Souza, casado com mulher civilizada, disse-me que se empenhará por que suas filhas aprendam a fazer *txumbé* e outros trabalhos manuais. A maioria das mulheres de tôdas as aldeias conhece também a arte de costurar, e é raro ver-se um homem manejar a agulha para remendar as calças.

O que implica relações pessoais com gente estranha cabe de preferência ao elemento masculino. As compras na vila próxima, por exemplo, fazem-nas os homens, embora às vêzes acompanhados pelas mulheres.

NOTAS

1. Alguns arcos e flechas de tipo infantil, adquiridos aos Mbüá do Rio Branco e entregues à Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional (Universidade de São Paulo), têm metade do comprimento das armas dos adultos, sendo feitos do mesmo material. Os arcos, de corte biconvexo, têm encordamento de embira e enfeite de trançado de tipo *mbopará* (taquara e imbé) em padrões tradicionais; as flechas, com pontas de osso de bugio (*kéíguasú*) ou de brejaúba, a madeira preta de que também se faz o arco dos adultos, são desprovidas de farpas, mas ostentam emplumação comum. — Nas aldeias do litoral, essas armas infantis sofreram mudança funcional, não sendo fabricadas hoje em dia para o adestramento da nova geração, mas para o comércio; muitos compradores (turistas) as preferem pela maior comodidade de transporte.

2. Müller, 1919.

3. Linton, 1945, pág. 142.

4. Linton, 1945, págs. 141-142.

5. Quanto aos Tupinambá, parece não haver dúvida de terem conhecido o casamento avuncular; principalmente as fontes jesuíticas insistem no fato, havendo até uma espécie de fundamentação mítica num texto do Padre Cardim, relativo ao Dilúvio: "porque dizem que as águas afogaram e mataram todos os homens, e que sòmente um escapou em riba de uma Janipaba, com uma sua irmã que estava prenhe, e que dêstes dois têm seu princípio, e que dali começou sua multiplicação" (Cardim, 1939, pág. 142). — Com referência aos Kayová contemporâneos, o problema do casamento com o tio materno foi abordado por Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. Veja-se também J. B. Watson, 1952.

6. Müller (1934-1935) distingue três "tribos" Guarani na região florestal do leste paraguaio: Mbyá, Chiripá e Pañ. Afirma (págs. 180-181) que através da forma das cestas a ergologia oferece infalível critério de distinção entre as três "culturas", sendo uma a do "*adjaká*", outra a do "*adjó*" e a terceira, enfim, a do "*pynacá*". Pela análise do trabalho de Müller, vê-se que os "Mbyá" são os mesmos existentes no Brasil (Mbüá), ao passo que os "Pañ" seriam Kayová — que, especialmente na mitologia, conhecem o têrmo *pãi* com o significado de companheiro — e os "Chiripá" provàvelmente Ñandéva. Isto concordaria também com o feitio e a denominação das cestas-de-carregar nas três subculturas representadas no Brasil, com a ressalva, embora, de que nunca ouvi os Kayová dizerem *pynaká*, mas sempre *mynaká*.

Capítulo VI

ESTADOS DE CRISE NA VIDA GUARANÍ

O ritmo social da vida Guaraní decorre não só do "ciclo ecológico" anual, mas também da seqüência regular ou do aparecimento mais ou menos fortuito de situações de crise, que ora atingem o grupo em sua totalidade, ora, mais de perto, a determinadas pessoas pela posição que lhes cabe na estrutura social. As situações de crise, pelo perigo que encerram para certos elementos da comunidade ou para o grupo todo, exigem tratamento especial, segundo normas e ritos estabelecidos pela tradição. Na existência do indivíduo, o nascimento, a maturação biológica, as doenças, o nascimento dos filhos e a morte são os principais momentos de crise. Para o grupo como totalidade, situações especiais, como a colheita do primeiro milho verde, epidemias, viagens e outros acontecimentos rompem de alguma forma o equilíbrio da vida cotidiana e exigem ou podem exigir medidas rituais.

Nem tôdas as situações de crise requerem idênticas precauções. As mais importantes são aquelas em que a pessoa implicada recebe a designação especial de *(h)akú* ou *odjékóakú*, estando sujeita a perigo de encantamento sexual, a que se denomina *odjépotá;* os Mbüá falam também em *karugná*. O conjunto das medidas que a pessoa deve tomar chama-se "resguardo" em português; em Guaraní se diz simplesmente que fulano está *akú*. *Akú* é o estado do pai (e entre os Mbüá também o da mãe) nos primeiros dias após o nascimento da criança, *akú* é a menina durante a primeira menstruação e, finalmente (entre os Kayová), o menino nos dias que se seguem à perfuração labial. — O têrmo resguardo encontramo-lo também em textos relativos aos antigos Tupinambá, onde se fala no "resguardo do matador".

Das situações de crise, a mais corriqueira é a que decorre do nascimento duma criança. A crise existe tanto para o próprio recém-nascido, como para o pai e a mãe.

Precauções pré-natais para a mãe existem nos três subgrupos, para o pai com certeza entre os Mbiá. Umas e outras referem-se, pelo menos em sua maioria, ao desenvolvimento normal do parto e ao futuro do bebê. Assim, o pai Mbiá, logo que se verifique a gravidez, deixa, por exemplo, de amarrar quaisquer coisas e não arma laços para pegar animais, pois haveria perigo de ferir o nascituro; não pode comer carne de bugio, porque o bugio, mesmo depois de atirado, fica suspenso pela própria cauda, e assim por diante. Semelhantes são as restrições, principalmente alimentares, a que, por sua vez, a futura mãe Guaraní se deve submeter. Disse-me Pablo Vera no Paraguai que a mulher grávida não se deve zangar, pois a raiva passaria para a carne, os ossos e o espírito da criança. Esta se tornaria mau feiticeiro, *póro-avykỹ-á*.

Quem assiste à parturiente é a mãe desta; na falta dela, a sogra ou outra velha do grupo. Os Nandéva do Bananal costumam chamar uma parteira mestiça da proximidade; não sendo possível, uma velha da aldeia ajuda no parto. Nem sempre a família dispõe de recursos para pagar parteira estranha, que se remunera com gêneros ou até com dinheiro. Entre os Kayová acontece que o próprio marido atua como parteiro da espôsa. Em geral não se admite a presença de pessoas desnecessárias durante o parto, nem nos dois ou três dias imediatos. A mulher Kayová não raro se retira para o mato a fim de dar à luz, permanecendo lá um dia ou uma noite e um dia.

Quando o parto se dá no interior da casa, a placenta é enterrada aí mesmo. Cuidado especial dispensa-se ao tratamento do umbigo. O cordão umbilical é cortado pela parteira com auxílio duma lasca de *takuãrí* ou bambu (*takuára*); usando-se tesoura, "arruína". Para o umbigo secar mais depressa, põe-se cinza como "secante"; os Mbiá obtêm-na queimando coquinhos de pindó; os Kayová e Nandéva queimam ou estrume de cavalo ou sabugo de milho.

O resguardo paterno após o nascimento da criança é conhecido em antropologia pelo nome de *couvade*. Ocorre em muitas tribos brasileiras e tem suscitado as mais diversas interpretações. A preocupação, aliás justa, de se considerar a *couvade* em suas relações com o ritual de nascimento não deve levar ao exagêro de se reduzir a própria *couvade* a um rito ou conjunto de atos ritualizados. Para se compreenderem as funções da *couvade* — bem lembrou certa vez Roger Bastide — é menos importante estudar-lhe a ritualização do que pô-la em confronto com outras situações de vida e práticas análogas a ela. De tal confronto depreender-se-á o que há de geral e o que de específico nessas práticas e situações. Como vi-

mos, o Guaraní, falando português, chama o chôco paterno de "resguardo", mas aplica o têrmo também, pelo menos na atualidade, às medidas tomadas pela mãe do recém-nascido. Isto já é significativo; nas relações paternas e maternas existe, pois, um elemento comum. Mas de outro lado há também elementos distintivos. Raramente ouvi o têrmo *odjépoid* empregado para a mãe, e apenas os Mbüá a consideram (*odjékó*)*akú;* os outros não têm para o estudo da parturiente designação especial. Ermelina, a Ñandéva mais velha da aldeia do Bananal, recorda o tempo em que as parturientes Guaraní (Ñandéva) se levantavam logo no primeiro dia; hoje, acrescentou, "ficam uma semana aí sem poder fazer nada". — Entre os Ñandéva atuais de Dourados, a mulher permanece deitada uns quatro dias após o parto; a mulher Kayová fica sentada uns dois ou três dias com as pernas cruzadas, deitando-se apenas de noite.

Enfim, há elementos comuns e divergentes. De qualquer forma, só se poderá falar em *couvade* com relação ao pai.

Se em situações diversas, mas em parte análogas àquela em que a família é acrescida de um recém-nascido, se requerem precauções do tipo da *couvade*, isto é, medidas mágicas para neutralizar a vulnerabilidade — física e psíquica — decorrente de um estado de "fraqueza", é cabível a hipótese, sustentada por vários autores, de que se trata, primordialmente, de extensão, para o pai, de medidas de precaução necessárias à segurança do recém-nascido. Através de uma espécie de "participação", o pai representa o filho e, até certo ponto, também a mãe. O perigo que o ameaça é da mesma natureza do que paira sôbre a mãe. Não há, provàvelmente, necessidade de interpretar as suas práticas como tendo sentido ou função fundamentalmente diversa das que têm as medidas tomadas pela cônjuge. Quanto a presumível "reconhecimento de paternidade", que se tem apontado como função social do sobreparto masculino — com razão talvez para outros grupos primitivos —, não o encontramos entre os Guaraní, pois a não-observância não afetaria de modo algum o *status* do pai, com referência ao recém-nascido, mas simplesmente a sua segurança mágica e a saúde do filho. Portanto, o sobreparto masculino, em vez de conduzir à paternidade social, é, ao contrário, decorrência dela. E muito menos se pode dizer que o resguardo do pai tenha a função de conferir ao homem e espôso a dignidade paterna dentro da constelação grupal; neste caso não haveria razão para se repetirem as observâncias tôda vez que nasce um filho, mas bastaria submeter-se a elas por ocasião do nascimento do primogênito. Nada há, ao que parece, entre os Guaraní, que permita falar de funções sociais específicas inerentes à *couvade*.

Ao contrário do que se tem procurado mostrar com referência a outras tribos do grupo Tupí-Guaraní, não há indício, para os Guaraní, de uma relação direta entre o sobreparto masculino e as idéias sôbre a concepção existentes na cultura tribal. Se bem que se admita provirem as crianças masculinas do pai e as femininas da mãe, não obtive a menor referência a diferenças do comportamento paterno ou materno em um ou outro caso. Um informante Mbüá do Rio Branco, por exemplo, *insistiu* na necessidade de o pai se resguardar também após o nascimento duma filha, "porque senão a criança fica doente".

O receio do ridículo e das críticas torna difícil obter informes bastante seguros sôbre a *couvade*. No Bananal, por exemplo, disseram-me que o perigo existiu apenas para "os primeiros Guaraní que viveram no mundo, cobra mordia, onça pegava, mas aqui para nós não têm acontecido estas coisas". E não há dúvida de que o progressivo abandono do sobreparto masculino pode ser observado em muitas aldeias, sobretudo Ñandéva. E' decorrência inevitável das novas condições de vida.

As medidas de resguardo a que se submetem os pais do recém-nascido — e que para o homem se estendem, ou estendiam, até a queda do cordão umbilical, ao passo que para a mulher se prolongam talvez por mais de duas semanas (alguns índios me falaram em vinte ou trinta dias) — constituem apenas parcialmente práticas ritualizadas, não devendo, por conseguinte, ser identificadas sem mais nem menos como "ritual de nascimento". Trata-se principalmente de permanência na habitação, ligada à proibição de atividades e a restrições alimentares, estas últimas, ao que pude saber, mais rigorosas entre os Mbüá, que em geral dispensam maior atenção aos problemas da dieta.

Não trabalharás. Eis o primeiro mandamento, mormente para o homem, que deve evitar acima de tudo o manejo de ferramentas e quaisquer utensílios de ferro; não trabalha com machado, nem com foice. A mulher, por sua vez, deixa de realizar trabalhos pesados: não lava roupa, não soca no pilão, nem trabalha na roça. Não andarás pelo mato — é o segundo mandamento; isto, para evitar o perigo do *odjépotá*, pelo menos entre os Ñandéva. Depois, é longa a lista dos alimentos proibidos a pai e mãe. Entre os Ñandéva do Araribá deram-me a seguinte dieta: "Não podem comer: gordura, tatu, paca, quati, carne de porco, jacu, nenhuma fruta, milho, mandioca cozida; não podem usar sal, nem café; podem comer: carne de boi, frango, mandioca assada; bebidas: só 'chá de açúcar', mel fervido." Certos

informantes fizeram enumerações diferentes, considerando perigosas ou "pesadas" certas comidas que outros indicavam como inofensivas. Todos, porém, insistiam no perigo de determinadas carnes de caça, especialmente de tatu. — Outro mandamento se refere à vigília: pai e mãe devem dormir o menos possível. Para os Mbüá há, ademais, a necessidade de abstinência sexual durante a *couvade*, provàvelmente também para Ñandéva e Kayová; é verdade que Marçal de Souza me disse não conhecer precauções especiais a êste respeito.

Em seu conjunto, as medidas de precaução se revelam indispensáveis ao bem-estar da criança, inclusive a dieta de pai e mãe. Não é o pai que adoece no caso de não respeitar as restrições alimentares, mas o recém-nascido; e a dieta da mãe atinge a ela e à criança, que lhe mama o leite. A proibição de mexer em aço visa igualmente ao benefício da criança. Disseram-me os Ñandéva do Araribá: "O pai não pode mexer em aço, porque senão o umbigo da criança não fica duro; o umbigo arruína, porque o aço é muito forte". E enquanto não sarar o umbigo, a mãe deve, por sua vez, evitar o trabalho com tesoura, agulha e quaisquer utensílios de ferro. (Entre os Mbüá, permite-se à mulher que costure durante o período de resguardo.)

A ameaça que paira sôbre os pais é a do *odjépotá;* é por isso que devem ficar em casa e não dormir muito. Quem "dá o *odjépotá*" são o Arco da Velha e "outros bichos", como sapos, cobras e assim por diante, animais em que os psicanalistas tenderiam, por certo, a enxergar algum simbolismo sexual. O *odjépotá* é a triste sorte que espera a todo homem que, desrespeitando a prescrição de ficar em casa quando a espôsa deu à luz, não resista à tentação de sair para a caça. O primeiro animal que encontra afigura-se-lhe como gente, atrai-o e torna-o *odjépotá;* no dizer de um informante Ñandéva do Bananal, "o bicho se mistura com a gente e a gente fica vivendo com o bicho tôda a vida".

Sôbre o perigo do *odjépotá* do pai há, entre os Ñandéva, o mito de um homem que, desrespeitando as observâncias, vai para o mato, onde encontra um *tadjatsú* (queixada) em forma de mulher bonita, ao qual acompanha e que o leva para o meio dos queixadas. Êle fica vivendo no meio dos queixadas, tomando-os todos por gente. E' história análoga à do *odjépotá* da anta, que se refere ao resguardo da jovem menstruada.

A mudança das condições de vida, ao lado da vontade de evitar críticas e zombarias da parte de indivíduos estranhos, acarreta a decadência do sobreparto masculino. Como nem sempre é possível interromper os trabalhos da roça até a queda do cordão umbilical, isto é, por uma semana ou mais, ficam em casa apenas dois ou três dias,

e também já não levam tão a sério o perigo do *odjépotá*. O receio parece, no entanto, continuar bem vivo com relação à menina menstruada. Quanto ao resguardo materno, parece antes estar sujeito a incremento, possìvelmente em conseqüência de aculturação. Entre os Ñandéva do Araribá disseram-me estar a mãe que, em lugar de ficar em casa, sala para o mato, sujeita aos mesmos perigos de encantamento que pairam sôbre a jovem na eclosão pubertária. Um bicho-homem a atrairia e não a deixaria por muitos anos; ela ficaria "peluda como bicho", *odjépotá* (vítima de encantamento sexual), e perigosa para os outros sêres humanos. Parece tratar-se de processo de transferência de crenças para situação análoga em virtude de prévia mudança de comportamento.

*
* *

Poucos são os aspectos de sua cultura sôbre os quais o Kayová mantenha segrêdo tão rigoroso como no tocante às práticas que integram a iniciação dos meninos. Afirma-se que não permitiram até hoje a nenhum estranho que assistisse a essas cerimônias, cujo ponto culminante é a perfuração do lábio inferior. Os Ñandéva não conhecem, na atualidade, a prática, enquanto os Mbüá não a tomaram como centro de elaboração cerimonial.

Bem mais fácil é obter informações sôbre as observâncias que assinalam a maturação biológica do elemento feminino. Ao passo que a iniciação dos meninos constitui acontecimento de profunda significação religiosa, a das jovens se reduz, em sua essência, a certo número de prescrições de "resguardo", de profilaxia, para evitar que a jovem menstruada se exponha aos perigos sobrenaturais decorrentes de tão melindroso estado. Quando existe, a iniciação dos meninos, cerimônia coletiva que representa a subida de nova camada-de-idade à categoria dos púberes, desperta o interêsse de tôda a comunidade. Já a da menina é acontecimento individual, e por isso mesmo de alcance social bem mais restrito, motivo pelo qual se considera dispensável o aparato cerimonial. De mais a mais, pode-se dizer que a cultura Guaraní é de orientação marcadamente masculina. A religião está, não exclusiva, mas preponderantemente nas mãos dos homens, e é por ela que se exprimem de modo mais manifesto e sensível os aspectos dominantes do *ethos* cultural. Compreensível, pois, merecerem maior participação ou interêsse social os fatos ligados ao mundo masculino, entre êles a iniciação dos meninos — apesar de, como vimos atrás, não haver (dos pontos de vista social e cultural) divisão rigorosa entre camadas-de-idade.

Por que é preciso cercar de cuidados especiais a jovem em seu primeiro período menstrual? Ela se encontra no limiar de nova fase biológica e, da mesma forma como por ocasião do nascimento, o pai (e a mãe) se tem de abster substitutivamente de certos alimentos e atividades para que o recém-nascido seja capaz de sobreviver, agora a menina, através do resguardo, se defende dos males que a nova condição poderia trazer-lhe. Não se deve interpretar o resguardo pubertário apenas no sentido de "rito" para o "reconhecimento" social da maturidade biológica e conseqüente possibilidade de casamento.

Não há dúvida de que o primeiro catamênio é tido como o acontecimento responsável pela manifestação de crise mais delicada na vida da mulher Guaraní. Nas três subdivisões da tribo considera-se a eclosão pubertária cercada de gravíssimos perigos.

Tanto para o estado da jovem menstruada como para o período de resguardo a que se sujeita, os Guaraní usam a designação *ñemondýiá*. Além dêste têrmo, emprega-se também a denominação *odjekóakú*, genérica, aliás, para os principais estados de crise do indivíduo que exigem resguardo.

Quando se manifestam as primeiras regras, corta-se o cabelo da adolescente em forma circular, ou rapa-se-lhe a cabeça, que ela mantém coberta com um pano, a fim de evitar ataques de maus espíritos e especialmente o *odjépotá*[1]. Durante os dias do mênstruo, a jovem Ñandéva lava a cabeça repetidas vêzes com água de cedro para não ter cefalalgia. Os Kayová administram à adolescente, como chá, uma infusão de raiz de *yvyrá rapóguasú*.

As medidas prescritas assemelham-se grandemente às tomadas na *couvade*, com a diferença de serem ainda hoje bem mais rigorosas, pelo menos nos primeiros dias. Estes são de reclusão absoluta num cubículo da cabana, que o pai se encarrega de fechar de tal modo que mal entra a luz do dia. A jovem fica aí isolada, sem poder sair (a não ser para as necessidades fisiológicas) nem receber visitas, deitada numa rêde ou num jirau, mas sem a rigorosa proibição de tocar o chão, que se encontra em outras tribos brasileiras. Em todo caso, porém, os Mbüá têm a precaução de construir para a menina um jirau bem alto para ficar bastante afastada do chão e não ser atingida pelo *yvýdjú*, espírito da terra. Não se conhece a freqüente proibição de levar as mãos ao couro cabeludo da cabeça. A "paciente" durante o resguardo tem apenas contacto com as pessoas da própria família; mesmo estas lhe falam em voz baixa e ela responde de igual maneira.

Diante da rêde ou do jirau, o pai ou irmão acende um foguinho, para aquecer e iluminar, ou então uma velinha de *iraitý* (cêra de abelha do mato), pois no escuro haveria perigo de *odjépotá*. Uma velha Ñandéva me contou que na ocasião em que ela "passou de idade", o resguardo foi tão rigoroso que nem sequer lhe permitiram soprar o fogo que de noite se acendia em seu cubículo; cabia ao irmão arrumá-lo.

Quando sai para satisfazer uma necessidade, a jovem deve ter a cabeça e o corpo envolvidos num pano; não se afasta muito da habitação e, pelo menos entre os Ñandéva, vai acompanhada pela mãe. Entre os Mbüá, sai sòzinha, mas olhando apenas para o chão e caminhando depressa.

O essencial é que a jovem menstruada se alimente apenas de "comida escolhida" e em pequena quantidade, além de insulsa ou preparada com pouco sal. Além do alimento principal, peixinhos ou passarinhos ("carnes leves"), dá-se-lhe batata-doce, beiju (*mbeidjú*), chicha etc.; o pai, o irmão ou algum primo se encarregam de caçar os passarinhos ou pescar os peixinhos para a "paciente".

E' preciso evitar sobretudo carne de caça: veado, anta, paca, queixada, catêto. Tatu, ao que me disseram, é permitido entre os Ñandéva e proibido entre os Mbüá. Até a carne de algumas aves é proibida: baitaca, entre os Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu e jacu entre os Ñandéva. Êstes enumeram ainda entre as restrições: feijão (que não seja o "de vara"), café, carne de porco e de vaca, bem como gordura. À não-observância se ligam conseqüências negativas para a saúde. Assim, afirmam o Mbüá que porco-do-mato daria lombriguciro, ao passo que tatu e papagaio dariam "cabeça maluca". Os Ñandéva, por sua vez, insistem no perigo de epilepsia ("ataque", *ẽ-á-á*) para a jovem (e para os futuros filhos dela, segundo Poýdjú, do Araribá) que não se abstenha de caça, e acreditam que baitaca e juriti causariam muita hemorragia na menstruação. Especialmente a carne de veado é responsável pelos "ataques", tanto na opinião dos Ñandéva como na dos Kayová. O uso de carne de inhambu, dizem os Ñandéva, faria a jovem ficar com a vista fraca. A Ñandéva mais velha do Bananal me disse que devia o possuir ainda bons dentes ao fato de haver feito o resguardo sem sal. Também no Araribá me disseram que a menstruada deve evitar o sal, para não perder cedo os dentes. Os Mbüá acreditam que a jovem emagreceria muito, se comesse alimentos salgados.

Na opinião dos Ñandéva e dos Kayová, o maior perigo que paira sôbre a menstruada é o do *odjépotá*. "Quem dá o *odjépotá*

à mocinha", disse-me um índio do Araribá, é o *karuguá* ou Arco da Velha, que lhe "aparece como gente para desatendê-la; depois ela vai ficando amarelinha, amarelinha, até morrer". Outro informante, em Dourados, disse-me que a jovem não deve olhar para nenhum rapaz, para não ser vítima de encantamento, nem para a paisagem, pois seria encantada pelos animais, que se tornariam assanhados por causa dela. Entre os Ñandéva de Pôrto Lindo ouvi a explicação de que a própria reclusão se faz para prevenir o *odjépotá* da parte de animais, sobretudo de onça, veado e anta.

Os Mbüá não permitem à jovem caminhar pelo mato, para não ser vítima de cobras nem do *yvyrádjá* ("espírito das árvores"), não a deixam atravessar o rio, para não ser agarrada pelo *ýdjá* ("espírito das águas"), nem tocar em alguma pedra, por causa do *itádjá* ("espírito da pedra"). Tenho a impressão de que o animismo expresso nessas crenças é peculiaridade dos Mbüá, pois não o encontrei em nenhum dos outros subgrupos da tribo. Parece, aproximar-se, porém, de crenças registadas entre os Tenetehára do Brasil setentrional [2].

Nas semanas intermediárias entre as primeiras e as segundas regras, a menina fica em casa ou em suas imediações, mas sem o rigor das observâncias que vigora nos dias da crise. Antigamente, dizem os Ñandéva, "deixava-se prêsa a menina" o mês todo, até o fim da segunda menstruação, mas agora não é mais assim, "por causa dos nacionais". Afirmam que, em conseqüência desta relaxação, as jovens Guaraní de hoje deixaram de ter a conduta "respeitosa" das antigas. (Há, portanto, alguma idéia de "educação" moral ligada ao resguardo.) Mas pelo menos a maioria tem ainda o cuidado de repetir o resguardo nas segundas regras, embora com menos rigor nas restrições. Depois disso, porém, considera-se mais ou menos superada a fase aguda de crise. Todavia, entre os Kayová prolonga-se durante meses o período de relativo isolamento, em que a jovem mantém a cabeça coberta, evitando contacto com pessoas estranhas à família e assim por diante.

O tempo do resguardo representa para a adolescente um período de aprendizagem de habilidades manuais, uma espécie de escola de economia doméstica. Se bem que uns digam que se lhes dão afazeres apenas "para distrair-se", outros insistem em que ela "não fica à-toa, não" e em que tem de ocupar-se: "é para aprender". E, mal decorridos os dias do catamênio, há muito que aprender: preparar comida, descaroçar algodão, fiar, trançar rêdes, costurar, talhar roupa, fazer *akanguá* (diadema), *djeatsoá*, *mbaraká*. Mas natu-

ralmente "não pode trabalhar no pesado". Pelo menos entre os Mbüá o ensino é ministrado pela avó, paterna ou materna.

Abstração feita do aspecto educativo, específico do resguardo da menstruação, êste é essencialmente análogo ao que se exige dos pais do recém-nascido: medidas impostas em reação a um estado de extraordinária diátese sobrenatural e física. A similitude se evidencia também pela comparação dos mitos, relativos às duas situações, narrados pelos Nandéva.

*
* *

Hoje em dia os homens Nandéva não usam *tembetá* (adôrno labial), nem perfuram o lábio inferior dos meninos. Mas é provável que outrora tenham conhecido a prática; do contrário não se compreenderia o representarem, em sua mitologia, a *Tupã* com luminoso *tembetá*. Na atualidade, porém, dão pouca atenção ao fenômeno da adolescência masculina. Sòmente na aldeia de Jacareí tive notícia de que o menino, quando muda de voz, é sujeito a resguardo, a fim de não ser vítima de *odjépotá* e de nêle não se encarnarem certos espíritos, especialmente de animais, como anta, onça etc. Nos meninos se encarnariam espíritos de animais fêmeas, assim como nas meninas de animais machos. O resguardo dos meninos se reduz pràticamente a não se comer carne de animal considerado de espírito perigoso. E' a idade em que aprendem a confecção de *adjó* (cestas-de-carregar) e peneiras, os trabalhos da roça, a construção de mundéus e outras coisas mais.

Os Mbüá praticam a perfuração do lábio, mas a ela já não parecem ligar excepcional importância, pelo menos de modo geral. No grupo atualmente estabelecido na aldeia do Rio Branco, um médico-feiticeiro, há alguns decênios, decidiu, sem mais nem menos, abolir a prática; teria explicado a sua atitude dizendo que "hoje não se pode mais viver como antigamente".

O orifício é mínimo, quase invisível, e nêle se usa (mas nem sempre), como adereço, um palito fino de taquara. A perfuração não é necessàriamente feita pelo *ñanderú*. Pode realizá-la qualquer homem da aldeia, usando uma lasca da nervura de fôlha de pindó. No entanto, prefere-se submeter à intervenção simultâneamente todos os meninos em idade pré-pubertária (por volta dos dez anos) existentes no grupo. Qualquer pessoa, inclusive do sexo feminino, pode assistir ao ato. Não se consideram os pacientes em estado de *odjékóakú* e trata-se apenas a ferida com azeite de coró (*ytxótxim*).

Condição essencial é que o menino tenha passado prèviamente por um período de aprendizagem, sob a orientação do pai ou de alguma pessoa encarregada, em que se lhe tenham ensinado as técnicas de trançar e outras habilidades — para que não venha a tornar-se preguiçoso, segundo a explicação de Pablo Vera, de Yroÿsã. No Rio Branco, o índio Karaí ou Marcelino Rosa me explicou que os iniciandos recebem uma série de recomendações ou conselhos (a que chamava "educação"). São mais ou menos os seguintes: "trabalhar bastante, plantar bem, não fazer mal a ninguém, não ofender a família dos outros, não maltratar a ninguém, comportar-se bem nas viagens (isto é, não beber muita pinga), fazer os trabalhos da roça bem feitos, não maltratar a mulher quando casar" [3]. E' interessante esta enumeração especialmente por trair a consciência de uns tantos problemas que afligem a comunidade em sua atual fase de transição cultural.

Sòmente os Kayová dão ênfase ritual à perfuração do lábio dos meninos, com cerimônias de cunho religioso e não apenas medidas de natureza mágica. Para o Kayová a festa é a ocorrência que mais se destaca em seu ciclo de vida. Não obstante, nos núcleos do sul de Mato Grosso a festa (aí denominada *kunumi-pepý*, ou *kunumi-piéta*, forma híbrida) está condenada ao desaparecimento, conseqüência inevitável das novas condições de vida dominantes nesses grupos. Os dados de que disponho obtive-os principalmente na aldeia de Amambai.

Quem determina a realização da festa é o *ñanderú* (*pai*) ou médico-feiticeiro. Deixando de realizar-se por período muito longo, a comunidade será vítima de desgraças. O intervalo comum entre uma festa e outra, variando de acôrdo com o número de meninos em idade de furar o lábio (entre 8 e 12 anos de idade, mais ou menos) é de uns quatro anos, em média. Nessa ocasião se congregam os Kayová de duas ou três aldeias vizinhas.

Em geral o *kunumi-pepý* coincide no respectivo ano com a festa do milho, *avati-mongaraí* (colheita cerimonial do primeiro milho), que se realiza quando o milho está amadurecendo, isto é, de janeiro em diante. Para a perfuração do lábio deve haver uns dez meninos na idade indicada; aos que passam dos doze anos já não se submetem à cerimônia. Há, por isso, adultos que não têm o furo labial. Já com um ano de antecedência passam os candidatos a evitar comidas pesadas, especialmente certas caças, alimentando-se de preferência de chicha. O pai ou a mãe do menino, ou ambos, se encarregam de levá-lo à aldeia em que se vai celebrar a festa. Durante o período das cerimônias, que em geral se estende até maio,

há rezas tôdas as noites e de dia também. "Porque não têm o que fazer, só aquela reza", segundo a frase do índio Vicente, de Amambai.

Preliminarmente o *ñanderú* escolhe e ensina o *huitxá*, o "chefe dos guris", que a seguir canta com os companheiros por muitas noites as rezas que aprendeu e que se chamam *kunumí porahêi*. Os meninos "se resguardam" por se encontrarem em estado de (*odjékóakú*) durante êsse período que precede à furação e que pode prolongar-se por muitos meses ("se o *ñanderú* mandar"); e após a cerimônia, o resguardo continua até sarar a ferida, "até o *ñanderú* os largar, é o *ñanderú* que deve saber". O menino que não se resguarde com bastante cuidado "cria-se mal", isto é, "fica com enfermidades". O resguardo, que não inclui jejum, consiste antes de mais nada em abstenção de carne. Depois de furar o lábio, o menino se alimenta de banana madura, evitando principalmente farinha de mandioca, "senão entra no furo e arruína"[4]. Naturalmente os meninos também não podem trabalhar.

Os meninos têm a sua cozinheira, solteira ou viúva. Mulher casada não pode incumbir-se da tarefa, pois a cozinheira deve manter abstinência sexual; se dormir com homem, a comida fará mal aos meninos. A mulher não poderá, como nenhuma outra, assistir à cerimônia da furação do lábio.

Trata-se de iniciação rigorosamente secreta, de que não participa quem não tenha por sua vez o lábio furado. E' inaudito que mulheres e crianças ou indivíduos estranhos tenham visto as cerimônias. E' pouco provável, infelizmente, que algum antropólogo por sua vez chegue um dia a obter a permissão de observá-las. Nem sequer cachorros, cavalos ou outros animais domésticos podem permanecer na proximidade, devendo ser amarrados cuidadosamente.

O *kunumí-pepý* não é apenas festa religiosa dos iniciandos, mas de tôda a população masculina das aldeias reunidas. Os homens cantam uma série de rezas diversas, correspondentes a diferentes aspectos ou fases do cerimonial. O meu informante Vicente, de Amambai, enumerou cinco rezas.

A primeira se refere ao *ñemonguý*, a tinta preta de *yváporoý tý* (em português o mesmo nome), com que se assinala o ponto do furo labial. O ponto é assinalado por um *yvyráidjá*, isto é, oficiante auxiliar do *ñanderú* ou *pai*.

A segunda reza é referente ao *yvyrárakuá*, instrumento de madeira para fazer o furo. O *yvyráidjá* que tem o ofício de furador — o *ñanderú* só dá ordens — fica sentado num *apyká*, banquinho cerimonial; diante dêle há outro *apyká*, em que se coloca primeiro o

"chefe dos guris" ou *hultxá*, depois sucessivamente os outros (chamados os *ivódjá*), que aguardam a sua vez, sentados em alinhamento sôbre uma série de *apyká*, à direita e à esquerda. O furador fica sempre no mesmo *apyká*; os candidatos, prèviamente embriagados com chicha, são levados para a frente dêle. Outro *yvyráidjá*, que fica em pé ao lado do furador, coloca um *tembetá-mirim* no orifício recém-aberto.

E' ao *tembetá*[3] que se refere a terceira reza; a quarta é relativa ao *apyká*, a quinta, enfim, ao ato de se tirar o menino do cubículo em que se encontra, para levá-lo ao centro do pátio da aldeia, onde se realiza a cerimônia. Nenhuma dessas rezas se ensina aos candidatos, que têm suas canções próprias.

Cumpre acentuar especialmente um ponto em que o estado de crise dos iniciandos lembra a *couvade*. Assim como o pai — e, com êle, a mãe — estão sujeitos a uma série de restrições não só em seu próprio benefício, mas sobretudo no do recém-nascido, o *ñanderú* que dirige o *kunumi-pepý*, bem como os *yvyráidjá* que o auxiliam, são obrigados ao resguardo até os meninos sararem. Não comem carne, não entram em contacto com fogo, não pegam em facas, machetes e outros objetos de ferro, devendo, ainda, guardar rigorosa abstenção sexual. Tudo isso até os meninos sararem, porque "senão arruína o furo". O resguardo sexual de que aqui se fala pode bem ser qualificado como temporada de Tobias.

O Capitão Alberto, da aldeia Kayová de Amambai, disse-me ser o *tembekuá* necessário "para arranjar mulher", isto é, para o casamento; quem casa sem furar o lábio está em maior perigo de se tornar vítima das onças, de cobras e mesmo de feitiço: é mais "cheiroso" para as onças. Mas hoje em dia já nem todos têm o lábio furado. Em todo caso, a perfuração é essencial para a formação da personalidade-de-culto masculina entre os Kayová. Ao homem que não tenha o orifício labial não se permite participar dos cantos e das danças da festa anual do "batismo do milho", *avati mongaraí*. Segundo informação de Marçal de Souza, tal restrição não atinge as mulheres. Quanto aos meninos não-iniciados, porém, apenas se lhes permite assistir às cerimônias.

NOTAS

1. Disseram-me os Mbüá caber entre êles ao pai a tarefa de cortar a cabeleira da jovem, logo no primeiro dia do incômodo. Com o cabelo, a menina faz — para o pai, irmão ou outra pessoa

da família — uma atadura que constitui um dos elementos típicos da cultura material Guarani, pois é aderêço comum aos três subgrupos da tribo. Passam-na principalmente os homens, com umas quarenta ou mais voltas, em tôrno de cada pulso, formando uma faixa de uns 10 cm de largura. E' um cordel torcido de dois feixes, de 10 a 20 fios de cabelo cada um. Os Kayová denominam o aderêço *pó-apý-kuahá*, os Mbüá simplesmente *pó-kuá*. Os Nandéva, que em sua quase totalidade já o abandonaram, afirmam ter-se originado como proteção contra a corda do arco, o que parece duvidoso, pois não se justificaria o uso em ambos os braços. Os Kayová consideram o *pó-apý-kuahá* como adôrno de festa, comparável, no dizer de Pai Tomás, à fatiota nova do civilizado. Os Mbüá, que põem a atadura tanto nos pulsos como nas pernas, os homens acima, as mulheres abaixo das panturrilhas, *tetýmãguá* ou *tetýmãkuá*, interpretam o uso como instituição divina para os "Guarani" se distinguirem de outros índios. Mas indicam também a finalidade mágica de evitar o cansaço da musculatura dos braços e das pernas, sendo, por isso, o *tetýmãguá* tido como indispensável nas longas caminhadas. No Xapecó me disseram que especialmente as mulheres tendem a abandonar a atadura das pernas, "porque os portuguêses caçoam delas"; muitos homens usam-na escondida sob as calças. Os Kayová dizem não conhecer a atadura de cabelo para as pernas, usando, porém, outra, *y-asó*, feita de casca dum bichinho dágua, de igual nome; é colocada já em meninos de pouca idade, atribuindo-se-lhe a virtude de prevenir mordeduras de cobra.

2. Wagley e Galvão, 1949, *passim*.

3. Schaden, 1948c, pág. 162.

4. A título de curiosidade, registo haver no interior de São Paulo a crença de que, depois de furarem os lóbulos das orelhas para a colocação de brincos, devem as meninas abster-se de certos alimentos, especialmente farinha de mandioca e ovos (Comunicação pessoal de Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso).

5. O *tembetá*, medindo em geral de 8 a 15 cm de comprimento, e em casos excepcionais até o dôbro, é feito de resina de *tembetá-ý* (também chamado *mbavý*; em português: pau-vidro), parecida com âmbar amarelo. A resina existe em quantidade suficiente só depois do inverno, em setembro e outubro, isto é, no tempo da "fôlha nova". Para fazer o *tembetá*, dão-se talhos em forma de losango na casca do pau-vidro, prendendo por baixo dela um tubo fino de *ta-kuarý* (taquara apropriada por ter os gomos bem compridos), no qual a resina escorre por uns dois dias. Daí a um ou dois dias, endurecida a resina, racha-se a taquara, alisa-se o *tembetá* com lixa-do-mato (*ambá-ý*, árvore de fôlha áspera), afina-se a ponta inferior com faca, lasca de pedra ou caco de vidro, e coloca-se na parte superior um botão da mesma resina.

Capítulo VII

A CHEFIA DA COMUNIDADE

Em parte alguma, a sociedade Guaraní contemporânea chegou a constituir organização de tipo estatal; tem desenvolvimento rudimentar, na cultura da tribo, a idéia de autoridade civil e política. Segundo os padrões tradicionais, a chefia política do grupo coincide com a liderança carismática do sacerdote ou médico-feiticeiro. Esta pode ou não coincidir com a autoridade do chefe de família-grande. Os chefes de família-grande, reunidos em conselho, formam uma espécie de senado informal, de função consultiva e deliberativa, sem que lhe inira, entre os atuais Guaraní do Brasil, grande autoridade com base em alguma instituição. Nos grupos mais sujeitos à influência do mundo civilizado o poder político se concentra, pelo menos formalmente, nas mãos do capitão de aldeia, nomeado pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Em virtude do pouco relêvo dado ao exercício do poder, enquanto fator essencialmente político, não há em geral razões para conflitos de competência.

Parece-me ser o nome *ñanderú* [1], dado ao "rezador" ou chefe religioso, simples transferência da designação do chefe da família-grande ("nosso pai"), embora eu tenha ouvido, da parte de um Ñandéva, a explicação de que deriva do fato de o rezador em sonhos se comunicar com *Koarahý*, divindade solar, também chamada *ñanderú* pelos Ñandéva e Mbüá. Êstes últimos também chamam o guia espiritual de *ñanderúvitxá* ("o nosso chefe"), têrmo com que se designa igualmente o capitão. Nos três subgrupos, o *ñanderú* é secundado nas cerimônias religiosas por auxiliares que têm o título de *yvyráidjá*.

Embora o chefe religioso em geral exerça também as funções de médico-feiticeiro, encontram-se rezadores que não são curadores e vice-versa. Os que numa comunidade criam fama como grandes curadores são muitas vêzes indivíduos oriundos de outra aldeia. Santo de casa não faz milagre. Entre os Kayová de Dourados havia em 1950 um médico-feiticeiro Ñandéva, de nome Pascoal, que viera do

Paraguai; era muito procurado em casos de doença, mas não tinha importância alguma na vida religiosa dos Kayová, cujas rezas e danças dizia ignorar. Pascoal era alvo de espontâneas e sinceras manifestações de aprêço, que se repetiam amiúde. Levavam-se-lhe presentes, especialmente gêneros alimentícios, e executavam-se, em sua homenagem, danças religiosas, acompanhadas de cantos. — O mais famoso médico-feiticeiro que encontrei, e que ao mesmo tempo dirigia a vida religiosa de sua aldeia, era o Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, morador de Amambai, mas que se dizia ter vindo também de outra comunidade.

"Outrora — diz Nimuendajú — os Guaraní não conheciam chefe que não fôsse o seu médico-feiticeiro [2]." E, quando as necessidades religiosas o exigem, o *ñanderú* não hesita em tomar providências incisivas também na vida civil, determinando a mudança da aldeia, ordenando migrações e outras medidas. Mas é possível também que os Guaraní reconhecessem outrora um poder civil além da autoridade do *ñanderú*: a mencionada assembléia dos chefes de família, hoje com as características de senado informal. Sua importância talvez tenha diminuído por influência da instituição do capitanato. Para os atuais Mbüá do Paraguai oriental, a autoridade civil suprema do senado é atestada pelo Pe. Müller, segundo o qual até lhe cabe a proclamação do cacique (capitão), de poder mais nominal que real, escolhido de preferência em atenção a suas qualidades físicas, coragem, generosidade, talento de comando e de orador, e mantido no cargo enquanto não aborreça a comunidade [3].

Havia, sem dúvida, um princípio de chefia hereditária. Montoya escreve: "Para a posição de chefe é de ordinário designado aquêle que pertence à família de algum chefe falecido" [4]. Nimuendajú se refere ao capitão "legítimo", que herdou o cargo; a tábua da família Honório, organizada por êsse autor, revela claramente a sucessão hereditária da dignidade de capitão em concomitância com a chefia da família-grande [5]. São, entretanto, casos em que o chefe civil é ao mesmo tempo chefe religioso e em que o prestígio de médico-feiticeiro é a base para a autoridade do capitão, reconhecida e confirmada — ou não — pelo Govêrno do país.

Entre os Kayová de Benjamim Constant, o Capitão Alberto, chefe apenas civil, conseguiu manter-se no cargo enquanto contava com os votos dos companheiros. Dizia ter sido eleito porque os companheiros nêle "acreditavam" (tinham confiança) por êle cuidar da ordem e da disciplina e, especialmente, por castigar com exemplar severidade os maus feiticeiros que êle e seus companheiros de

aldeia acreditavam haver no grupo. — Entre os Ñandéva de Jacareí assisti a uma sessão informal do senado, da qual não participava o capitão (talvez acidentalmente) e que se convocara para discutir comigo problemas de relações econômicas da comunidade com moradores brancos da vizinhança.

Para ser considerado competente, ou seja, para conseguir o prestígio de seus súditos, deve o capitão ser enérgico, ter poder persuasivo sôbre os companheiros, não ser dado à embriaguez, falar o idioma nacional e ser hábil e astuto no trato com autoridades brasileiras. Entre os Ñandéva do Itariri ouvi queixas contra o velho Silvino Rufino, a cuja incapacidade se atribuía a "falta de união" na aldeia; dizia-se não possuir energia nem poder persuasivo suficientes para reunir os homens que deviam consertar o caminho da aldeia. Acusavam-no de excessivamente alcoólatra, o que contribuiria para o mau nome da comunidade. *"Mburuvitxá naiporãi*, o chefe não presta, porque bebe muito e a mulher também."

Não há, na estrutura social, obstáculo formal que se oponha ao acesso de quem quer que seja à categoria de rezador ou médico-feiticeiro. O *status* decorre da experiência religiosa do próprio indivíduo e não há limitação de número de médicos-feiticeiros. A rigor, cada chefe de família-grande, ou mesmo de família elementar, pode, contanto que tenha vocação para tal, tornar-se o médico-feiticeiro de sua parentela. Nada impede que uma família se divida em duas, cada uma com seu *ñanderú*, o que, aliás, vem mostrar a estreita relação entre a chefia do grupo familial e a autoridade carismática. Não há quase perigo de rivalidades entre médicos-feiticeiros de uma aldeia; a autoridade de cada um ultrapassa o âmbito do grupo familial sòmente na medida em que o seu prestígio lho garanta. O seu poder não repousa em patente conferida por nenhum funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, mas em seus conhecimentos religiosos, em sua faculdade de prever o futuro e no exercício de práticas que afastem os males do presente e previnam os do futuro. E' por isso que Pedro Pires me dizia: *"Mbaekuad* é o rezador, porque êle sabe tudo".

Bem diferente é a situação do capitão de aldeia. A instituição não se originou no seio da cultura Guaraní; foi-lhe imposta de fora. No entanto, cabem-lhe hoje importantes funções na vida do grupo. O capitão representa oficialmente os interêsses da aldeia perante os moradores brasileiros e é ao mesmo tempo chefe de polícia no interior do grupo. E' sua tarefa restabelecer a ordem e castigar os culposos, sempre que a desorganização social e o abuso do álcool façam surgir brigas e rixas no seio da comunidade.

Em geral o capitão ocupa o cargo enquanto não seja demitido pelo funcionário encarregado da administração do pôsto. Ao passo que êle precisa de apoiar-se nos podêres do funcionário, o *ñanderú* ou *pai* pode exercer a sua autoridade até *contra* o encarregado do pôsto. Apesar da coexistência pacífica dos dois podêres, o temporal e o espiritual, êsse estado de coisas tende, assim, a gerar um estado de permanente tensão social, que se manifesta através das relações entre o grupo e o funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Para o *ñanderú* convergem as manifestações de crítica e descontentamento relativas ao encarregado, que, por sua vez, encara o *ñanderú* como principal obstáculo ao bom desempenho de sua missão. De outro lado, o capitão é a mão direita do encarregado e representa, por assim dizer, o ponto de vista "oficial". Na medida em que lhe cabe representar e defender os interêsses materiais do grupo, sempre ameaçados pelo homem branco, e servir de ponte de ligação entre os índios e o encarregado, o grupo já não pode dispensar a sua cooperação. Surge daí aquêle estado de tensão que revela nìtidamente não estar ainda integrada na cultura Guaraní a instituição do capitão ou chefe civil. Na realidade, há duas noções de chefia em luta virtual: a religiosa, de fundo essencialmente carismático, autoridade que pode estender-se à aldeia tôda, se para tanto fôr suficiente o prestígio do indivíduo, mas também limitar-se ao grupo familial (havendo sempre a possibilidade de se entenderem, como vimos, em reuniões consultivas de discussão informal, os diferentes chefes de família, quando estejam em jôgo interêsses gerais do grupo local), e a civil, nas mãos do capitão, chefete mais ou menos despótico de tôda a aldeia, influindo em tudo, menos no que é realmente essencial para o Guaraní, isto é, na orientação religiosa da comunidade. Embora em conflito latente, as duas chefias podem, por isso, na realidade coexistir pacìficamente. O capitão não se considera competente em assuntos de natureza religiosa e o *ñanderú*, por seu turno, apesar de sua autoridade indiscutìvelmente maior, não costuma imiscuir-se em questões de política interna ou externa do grupo, contanto que não atinjam, de modo mais ou menos direto, os interêsses vitais da aldeia. E se nestes casos o *ñanderú* entra em ação, é porque para os problemas de real importância não concebe senão soluções de cunho religioso. Para os grandes males, os grandes remédios. No Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, apesar do prestígio que desfruta, não toma conhecimento das mais movimentadas discussões e brigas que se desenrolem na aldeia ou quiçá na presença dêle, mas quando soube que, em obediência a determinação do Ministério da Agricultura, a direção da Colônia Federal de Dou-

rados decidira lotear as terras do Panambi, para distribuí-las a famílias de imigrantes, sem atender às necessidades e aos direitos dos Kayová, resolveu agir — sempre, porém, dentro do âmbito de sua competência. Tomado de ira sagrada, promoveu danças religiosas com o intuito de apressar o fim desta terra, em que, pela incompreensão e má vontade do homem branco, as condições de vida se tornavam insuportáveis.

Em geral, o próprio capitão, não menos imbuído de mentalidade Guaraní do que os seus súditos, tem dificuldade em dar ao cargo que ocupa sentido correspondente à intenção com que foi criado. Na Palmeirinha encontrei um capitão que não se incomodava com as brigas que havia entre a gente de seu grupo, nem tampouco tomava medidas contra as explorações da parte de indivíduos civilizados; certa noite de inverno, porém, achou necessário suspender uma festa de danças, "porque fazia muito frio e o pessoal se estava cansando à-toa". — Bento, capitão do Bananal, disse-me considerar uma de suas obrigações de chefe a de "animar o pessoal", quando na aldeia se realiza um baile. Não é de admirar, pois, que muitos Guaraní não tenham idéia clara das funções que nós ocidentais atribuiríamos ao cargo de capitão. Deixam de procurá-lo quando lhe caberia tomar medidas enérgicas para restabelecer a ordem ou garantir a segurança do grupo, e de outro lado recorrem a êle em coisas de somenos importância. Encontrei Guaraní que não se deixavam fotografar antes de obterem a permissão formal do *mburuvitxá* (ou *ñanderúvitxá*, como também dizem os Mbüá).

A chefia política é, como vimos, de base estritamente local, jurisdição que abrange todos os indivíduos da aldeia, ao passo que a religiosa é ao mesmo tempo familial, de vez que os asseclas do *ñanderú* são formados de uma, duas ou mais famílias constituindo um grupo de vizinhança e não necessàriamente a aldeia tôda.

Entre os Mbüá do Rio Branco, que não possuem pôsto indígena, mas que gostam de fazer viagens às cidades mais ou menos próximas, tendo, portanto, freqüentes contactos com a civilização, cada chefe de família (ou de "trinca", como dizem) pode, segundo as circunstâncias, assumir as responsabilidades de *mburuvitxá*. O chefe de família em viagem é ao mesmo tempo o "capitão" do grupo que o acompanha. E o indivíduo que queira viajar pede licença ao seu chefe de família. Além disso, nota-se nessa aldeia uma espécie de divisão de trabalho no tocante às funções de capitão. Para efeito externo, havendo necessidade de contacto com representantes do Govêrno, para defesa dos direitos ou interêsses da coletividade,

o capitão é Francisco, que fala bastante bem o português. Alcides, que há anos parece ter sido nomeado para o cargo, exerce a jurisdição de preferência no interior do grupo; é êle, por exemplo, quem realiza os casamentos na aldeia. Marcelino, irmão mais velho de Alcides, e por certo o principal rezador e diretor de festas religiosas, é tido como o verdadeiro chefe do Rio Branco; em sua casa é que se hospedam os visitantes.

Tal situação revela que os Mbüá não ligam necessàriamente a determinada pessoa o exercício das diferentes funções do govêrno civil, mas, de acôrdo com a mentalidade tribal, distribuemnas pelos vários chefes de família, segundo as necessidades do momento e a competência de cada um. Tendem a coincidir aí a chefia religiosa e a política com a direção do grupo familial. E' prova de que, como já dissemos, o cargo de capitão não se integrou ainda como instituição na cultura da tribo. A instituição, para manter-se, precisa do apoio direto e constante do funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Onde, como no Rio Branco, não haja pôsto oficial, não pode haver capitão pròpriamente dito.

Mas também nos postos se observa que o capitão não se considera autoridade suprema. Muitas vêzes se aconselha com o *ñanderú* para melhor definir as suas atitudes e saber as medidas que deva tomar. De qualquer forma, falta à sua autoridade a base carismática, que para o Guaraní é essencial. Quando visitei os Mbüá do Xapecó, êstes tinham como capitão um môço de seus vinte e poucos anos de idade. Mas a sua autoridade parecia ser apenas nominal. "Para ser cacique", disseram-me, "é preciso saber rezar" e ser *ñanderú* ou pelo menos *yvyráidjá* (auxiliar de culto). O jovem capitão e seus companheiros obedeciam ao *ñanderú* Dionísio, ancião que tinha o plano de migrar com o seu grupo para o litoral, a fim de apressar a partida para a Terra sem Males. O capitão do Araribá é Manequinho ou Poýdjú, nomeado há vários decênios; mas o chefe religioso, *ñanderú* Sebastião (agora falecido), embora fôsse quase um estranho, pois viera do pôsto de Dourados, era quem de fato cuidava dos interêsses de seus companheiros.

Em algumas aldeias há rivalidades e mesmo intrigas para a ocupação do cargo de capitão, isto, quando não se pode adotar a solução dos Mbüá do Rio Branco, que admitem vários capitães lado a lado. As vantagens econômicas do cargo parecem ser o motivo principal da competição. O chefe civil da aldeia tem maior facilidade em obter presentes do encarregado do pôsto e de pessoas estranhas e às vêzes explora os companheiros de aldeia, obrigando-

os a trabalhar em sua roça, a título de castigo, quando se tenham embriagado ou feito alguma desordem. Na maioria, os chefes religiosos não têm senso econômico muito desenvolvido; conheço apenas um Kayová que teve habilidade e interêsse bastantes para tirar vantagens materiais de sua posição de chefe carismático, o Paí José Bourbon Catalan, de Amambai. Mas também êle explorava menos o seu pôsto de *paí* do que a profissão de curador, que exercia com excepcional eficiência, a julgar pela fama que atraía índios, mestiços e mesmo fazendeiros brancos de lugares distantes. Disse-me cobrar até sessenta cruzeiros por sessão ou, como nós diríamos, consulta. E' praxe, aliás, entre índios como entre civilizados do sul de Mato Grosso e de outras regiões, levar algum presente ao curador ou médico-feiticeiro em paga de seus serviços. Entre os Guarani êste padrão não está muito difundido.

NOTAS

1. Não parece haver dúvida de que a denominação *paí*, com que os Kayová também designam os chefes religiosos, embora usem igualmente o têrmo *ñanderú*, se liga etimològicamente a *mbaír*. Êste foi o apelido dos franceses entre os Tupinambá quinhentistas e, além disso, ocorre na mitologia de muitas tribos Tupi. Como figura mitológica, *Maíra* é o companheiro ou "contrário" de *Sumé* nas tradições Tupinambá (Veja-se, por exemplo, Anchieta, 1933, pág. 332.); *Bahira* é o herói civilizador dos Parintintin da Amazônia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). A etimologia do nome tem dado margem a diferentes interpretações. A mais conhecida é a de Teodoro Sampaio: "*Maír*, apelido dos franceses entre os tupis do Brasil. Os guaranis do Paraguai chamavam os espanhóis — *mbaí*. Os dois vocábulos *Maír* e *Mbaí* são formas contratas de *mbae-íra*, que exprime — *o apartado, o solitário, o que vive distante*. De *mbae-íra* procedem: *mbaíra, maíra, maír, mbaí*. Êste apelido davam os indígenas aos franceses e espanhóis, não só por virem de longe, como porque os equiparavam, pela sua superioridade, aos seus feiticeiros, chamados *pajés* ou *caraíbas*, os quais levavam vida solitária no recesso das matas, nas cavernas das montanhas distantes." — A substituição de *mbaí* pela forma *paí* não deve estranhar, pois é análoga à de *porahéi* por *mborahéi*, que tive ensejo de observar repetidas vêzes no falar dos índios. Note-se, ademais, que uma tribo Tupi do Brasil setentrional, os Tenetehára, empregam às vêzes o nome de seu herói civilizador *Maíra* como sinônimo de "poderoso pajé" (Wagley e Galvão, 1949, pág. 100, nota 3). E os Tupinambá da Ilha do Maranhão, que usavam *paí* para dizer "profeta", recorreram ao têrmo para designar os missionários europeus, como, aliás, também se deu no Paraguai.

(Veja-se Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, pág. 88 *et passim*.) O emprêgo de *pai* como designativo de médico-feiticeiro foi discutido no vèrbête "Pajé", de minha autoria, inserto na obra de von Buggenhagen, 1951, págs. 129-131.

2. Nimuendajú, 1914, pág. 337.

3. Müller, 1934-1935, pág. 606.

4. Montoya, 1879, pág. 106.

5. Nimuendajú, 1954, entre págs. 52 e 53.

CAPÍTULO VIII

ELEMENTOS FUNDAMENTAIS DA RELIGIÃO E DA CONCEPÇÃO DO MUNDO

1. *Caracterização geral da religião Guarani em face do Cristianismo*

No estudo antropológico da religião, no sentido em que se procura realizá-lo aqui, interessa menos descrever o sistema religioso como tal do que determinar as conexões e influências que ligam a existência humana, individual e coletiva, a uma determinada interpretação do sobrenatural, isto é, de que maneira a religião se revela responsável por certas características de outras esferas culturais e pela formação de traços dominantes da personalidade.

Elemento fundamental de tôda religião é a atitude valorativa em face da vida terrena com referência ao destino de homem. Os sistemas religiosos diferem uns dos outros primordialmente na medida em que as suas doutrinas divergem nessa interpretação da existência humana, interpretação que está em conexão com a natureza que se atribui aos deuses e às diferentes categorias de sêres sobrenaturais, com a maneira de se conceber a origem da vida humana e, em especial, de se encararem as múltiplas relações entre o homem e as divindades nas mais variadas situações da existência do grupo e do indivíduo.

Religião, o domínio do "sagrado", se confunde não raro com magia e com moral. De fato, são numerosos os pontos de contacto entre essas três categorias da realidade sócio-cultural, que, não obstante, no plano teórico se distinguem radicalmente uma das outras, embora se apresentem sempre de algum modo interdependentes. Uma das características essenciais da moral é a valoração das ações humanas, inclusive sentimentos e pensamentos; é a noção do bem e do mal. Por sua vez, o que distingue o rito mágico da cerimônia religiosa é — bem o salientaram Max Weber e outros — a sua

natureza de "técnica"; a atitude e vivência religiosas, ao contrário, se colocam muito mais na esfera emocional, onde o indivíduo reconhece a sua dependência em face de podêres, pessoais ou não, que lhe são superiores [1].

Por que há sempre relação estreita entre o domínio religioso e o moral? E' que as ações humanas — boas ou más — são consideradas como tendo influência direta sôbre o destino humano — feliz ou infeliz —, influência esta que se pode dar de duas maneiras. Primeiro, como simples causalidade natural: ações más resultam em desgraça final, assim como alguma substância venenosa pode causar doença ou morte. Ou então pode, em segundo lugar, haver a idéia de as ações boas ou más (metafisicamente), decorrentes do livre arbítrio do indivíduo, serem julgadas por uma divindade, isto é, ponderadas em relação com determinados valores.

O Guaraní distingue ações boas e más, indivíduos bons ou maus, mas em sua doutrina original não reconhece, a não ser vagamente, responsabilidade moral. O indivíduo é bom ou mau por natureza, como que por "fatalidade". Não há pròpriamente livre arbítrio, porque o "gênio", a índole, as qualidades inatas, o obrigam a agir de determinada forma. Exemplo típico: João Samuel, Nandéva de caráter impulsivo (Bananal), explica as suas reações violentas através da "natureza ruim" que diz possuir, mas ao mesmo tempo se considera "pessoa muito boa". O destino humano não depende — a não ser em casos mais ou menos manifestos de aculturação — de atributos morais; não há, no sentido rigoroso do têrmo, sanções, castigo ou condenação, prêmio ou recompensa — o que pode haver é infelicidade, especialmente do "espírito" ou *anguéry* dos que morrem de feitiço — mas no fim de tudo, todos se encontrarão no Além, salvo em situações especialíssimas. E se há os que depois da morte não alcançam a bem-aventurança do céu, em virtude de seu procedimento anti-social ou "reprovável", não é dêles a culpa, mas do gênio de que são portadores.

A atitude da religião Guaraní em face da vida terrena é mais negativa do que positiva. Para o cristão, a vida na terra oferece pelo menos oportunidade para poder merecer o céu, i. é, para o indivíduo praticar virtudes de que dependerá a sua sorte futura. O Guaraní não precisa merecer o céu, pois todos são destinados à felicidade eterna. Não se liga a êle a idéia de remuneração, mas simplesmente a de um ideal que se procura alcançar — e que todos alcançarão se a sorte não lhes fôr demasiado adversa e se, no caminho para o Além, a alma não se tornar vítima dos múltiplos perigos que a espreitam na jornada.

Diante do fato, certamente indiscutível, de o sistema religioso de quase todos os grupos Guaraní da atualidade por mim estudados encerrar muitos elementos de origem cristã, tanto no que respeita à doutrina, quanto ao ritual e aos apetrechos de culto, impõe-se um problema capital, que é o de identificar, na medida do possível, o sentido e o alcance das transformações trazidas pelo trabalho missionário de séculos passados. Interessa descobrir até que ponto os ensinamentos jesuíticos deixaram de sê-lo, sofrendo reinterpretação em têrmos da velha doutrina tribal, e até que ponto os jesuítas conseguiram realmente, se é que o conseguiram de maneira durável, mudar a mentalidade religiosa de seus tutelados. Quanto a êste ponto, é preciso não esquecer a existência de concepções fundamentais inconciliáveis, irredutíveis e, por conseguinte, mùtuamente exclusivas no Cristianismo e na religião Guaraní. Dentre elas a mais importante talvez seja a da ligação entre o destino da alma e a responsabilidade moral do indivíduo. Ao passo que a doutrina cristã não é concebível sem a noção de que, no Além, a alma será julgada — e, por conseguinte, recompensada ou condenada — segundo a culpabilidade ou o merecimento, isto é, de acôrdo com o valor moral dos atos livremente praticados nesta vida, a religião Guaraní não reconhece, a não ser excepcionalmente (Ñandéva de Jacareí), ligação direta entre livre arbítrio e as condições *post mortem*. Ademais, o Guaraní odeia o que quer que se lhe afigure como cerceamento de sua liberdade, que preza acima de tudo [2].

Além dos pontos contrários, como o que se acaba de mencionar, outros há, evidentemente, em que uma aproximação entre os sistemas religiosos se torna possível ou até fácil sôbre a base de elementos comuns, de semelhanças ou meras analogias. Do ponto de vista sociológico, destaca-se aí o fenômeno da liderança religiosa, aspecto em que a organização do estado jesuítico vinha de encontro à tradição tribal Guaraní. No campo da doutrina pròpriamente dita, por sua vez, não teria sido muito difícil sequer escamotear a contradição existente entre o politeísmo primitivo e o monoteísmo adventício: aos diferentes espíritos da religião tribal corresponderiam, de um lado, os anjos e os santos e, do outro, os atributos de Deus, apresentados pelo missionário, que seriam fàcilmente personificados, um a um, levando a um desdobramento em outras tantas divindades independentes: o Criador, o Onisciente etc. De igual forma, a doutrina das inclinações boas e más da alma ou levaria a uma identificação com duas almas, uma boa e outra má, ou iria de encontro a primitivo dualismo ou pluralismo da alma humana. Nem sempre

se poderá, por isso, distinguir hoje entre fenômenos de simples convergência religiosa e outros, de influência direta.

O certo é que, pelas circunstâncias diversas em que se processaram, a aculturação religiosa dos Guaraní do tempo das Missões e a da atualidade se distinguem radicalmente uma da outra. No primeiro caso houve realmente uma conversão, se bem que secundàriamente, após a expulsão dos jesuítas, viessem a fundir-se os dois sistemas em um todo sincrético pelo encontro de pontos de contacto (*ethos* do Cristianismo como religião redentora e a convergência total da vida do Guaraní para os problemas do Além), ao passo que no segundo, pela ausência de doutrinação sistemática, se foram assimilando elementos isolados, sem ao mesmo tempo se apreender o seu significado religioso, razão pela qual lhes cabem funções diferentes, quer sejam mágicas, medicinais, recreativas ou de distinção social.

Um fato que dificulta não pouco a descrição exata da religião Guaraní dos grupos hoje existentes no Brasil, quer no tocante à doutrina, quer ao ritual, é a extraordinária variabilidade observada de aldeia em aldeia, de um médico-feiticeiro a outro, ou ainda entre os representantes de um mesmo grupo. A sistematização dos elementos daria por si só margem para extensa monografia. As divergências e contradições, mesmo no interior dêste ou daquele subgrupo, desta ou daquela aldeia, são tão numerosas e de tal modo acentuadas que se torna pràticamente impossível apresentar a religião tribal em formulações "dogmáticas" ou peremptórias. Duas parecem ser as causas disto:

Primeiro, o caráter individual, ou melhor, individualista, da religião Guaraní. Por destacada que seja a importância social das cerimônias religiosas e, vice-versa, o significado religioso das manifestações principais da existência comunitária, cumpre não menosprezar o extraordinário papel da vivência religiosa individual, pois em qualquer circunstância pode a pessoa entrar em contacto com o sobrenatural, recebendo consolação, conselhos e revelações das divindades ou dos espíritos protetores, isto é, cada qual tem as suas experiências religiosas próprias, de acôrdo com o caráter e os pendores místicos de sua personalidade. Assim, no decorrer dos anos, vai formando — sôbre o fundo doutrinário comum, evidentemente — a sua própria concepção do mundo, o seu sistema interpretativo, com inovações ou "aberrações" mais ou menos "heterodoxas", de acôrdo com as suas tendências e experiências pessoais. Segundo León Cadogan, que encontrou dificuldades semelhantes em suas pes-

quisas entre os Mbüá do Paraguai, há fixidez e uniformidade notáveis no conjunto das doutrinas secretas, privativas dos médicos-feiticeiros, ao passo que as representações religiosas públicas estão sujeitas a grande variação.

Em segundo lugar, a multiplicidade de idéias e crenças deve ser interpretada em têrmos de incongruências decorrentes de contactos com a religião cristã, de um lado, e da fusão das diferentes doutrinas subgrupais produzida pelas migrações, que levaram à formação de aldeias em que se reúnem, em uma mesma comunidade de vida e de culto, famílias de dois ou até mesmo dos três subgrupos.

2. *A teoria da concepção e reencarnação e o conceito de alma*

Segundo a doutrina Guaraní, a natureza da alma humana é por si só suficiente para tornar o indivíduo apto não sòmente para a vivência religiosa, mas também para levá-lo ao destino que lhe cabe. A noção da alma humana, tal qual a concebe o Guaraní — isto é, a sua primitiva Psicologia — constitui, sem dúvida alguma, a chave indispensável à compreensão de todo o sistema religioso, razão pela qual merece destaque neste trabalho.

Por sua vez, a noção da alma se torna compreensível com maior facilidade a partir das crenças relativas à concepção.

São obscuras as idéias sôbre a dependência existente entre a concepção e as relações sexuais. Em todo caso, aquela é atribuída antes de mais nada a causas sobrenaturais, realizando-se para o Ñandéva de preferência por intermédio do sonho, explicação, aliás, aceita também por aborígines de muitas outras regiões do globo [8]. Segundo Poýdjú, do Arambá, hoje em dia muitos Ñandéva já admitem que as crianças são "feitas pelo pai", mas "a crença antiga é que são mandadas por *Ñanderuvutsü* e *Ñanderykeý*". Todavia sempre se reconheceu também — disse-me êle — a necessidade das relações sexuais para a concepção. E eram necessárias simplesmente porque *Ñanderykeý* quis que assim fôsse. A criança é, pois, enviada pelos deuses. O pai a recebe em sonho, conta o sonho à mãe e ela fica grávida. Quando a mãe concebe sem que o pai tenha sonhado é que o *ayvú(kué)* (alma) já vinha procurando a mulher para por meio dela nascer ou renascer. Também a mulher pode ter o sonho, quer de menino ou de menina, mas sendo menino, a criança é considerada filho do pai, i. é, veio de *Ñanderú(vutsú)* e *Ñanderykeý* para o pai. A criança masculina é filha do pai, a feminina

o é da mãe. Isto apesar de na estrutura da família o parentesco ser considerado bilateral e não bilinear e de, por exemplo, ser o pai sujeito à *couvade* também quando lhe nasce uma filha [4].

Tinha morrido o filho mais velho de Poýdjú. Mais tarde os outros dois também morreram: Poýdjú ficou muito sentido e quase louco. Andava de noite no mato, sòzinho, sem saber o que fazer. Uma noite, em sonho, ouviu alguém dizer: "Não chore mais, não, que êle vem trazendo outra vez para você os dois, todos os dois". Era o falecido pai de Poýdjú que os vinha trazendo, e era o irmão finado, Avákaudjú (pai adotivo de Nimuendajú), que estava falando. Falou mais: "Abra bem a porta para êle entrar". Em sonho Poýdjú abriu a porta e foi receber os dois. O pai os entregou. Poýdjú pegou-os e o pai falou: "Entregue para a mulher de você". A mulher respondeu (em sonho): "Eu podia pegar, mas não posso criar, porque não tenho leite". E ela não os pegou. "E eu cá no sonho imaginei como ia fazer com êsses dois. E aí garrei a chorar e já rezando. Com isso me acordei. Aí eu rezei até amanhecer. Nesse dia mesmo de manhã contei meu sonho para minha velha e nisso à enteada. Então ela disse: 'Ah, você sonhou assim? Pois eu crio!' E pegou os peitos e disse: "Dando para mim, dou um peito para um e outro para outro' ". Depois de algum tempo ela ficou grávida. E nasceram gêmeos. São o Cândido Rondon e o Nicolau Marcolino. Têm agora três anos. "Daqui é que fiquei acreditando o que o *ñanderú* contava. Antes eu não rezava. Não "abusava", mas às vêzes duvidava. Agora não duvido mais". Antes disso, Poýdjú, ao que afirma, não tinha reza, isto é, não recebera em sonho inspiração individual neste sentido. Diz que ficou velho sem reza. Depois recebeu mais duas rezas. Quando o conheci, tinha três. Alguns, como veremos, têm mais rezas. A mulher de Poýdjú, chamada Takuáporã, tem quatro. Por ocasião das minhas visitas, o primeiro filho de Poýdjú não havia renascido ainda, mas já mandara uma reza (a terceira) para o pai, pelo sonho. A outra reza (a segunda) foi mandada pelo irmão, Avákaudjú. Êste também ainda não renasceu.

Poder-se-ia suspeitar da existência de contradição no relato do informante: dizendo primeiro que as crianças eram enviadas por *Ñanderú* e *Ñanderykeý*, depois se refere a pessoas falecidas como portadoras de "almas", respectivamente "rezas". Mas é que as divindades nem sempre aparecem pessoalmente em sonho; às vêzes mandam os defuntos trazerem as rezas aos que estão sentidos aqui na terra. E nota-se mais um fato importante na explicação de Poýdjú: há, em certo sentido, uma identificação mística entre as al-

mas enviadas à terra para se (re)encarnarem e as rezas, *porahéi*, que o indivíduo recebe como dádiva do mundo sobrenatural e que lhe servem para, em quaisquer situações, se pôr em contacto com as divindades e ter consolação religiosa.

A doutrina da concepção e reencarnação ensinada por Fernando Tapari, chefe religioso da aldeia Ñandéva de Jacareí, se resume no seguinte: Pode *Ñandedjára* ("Nosso Senhor") mandar aos pais uma criança que ainda não viveu neste mundo. E' por ocasião do nascimento que lhe é conferida a alma, *ñeẽ* ("fala"). Em caso de reencarnação, é sempre o espírito duma criança falecida que renasce pela mesma mãe, dando-se a concepção ou no momento da morte ou mais tarde, sem necessidade de relações sexuais. E se a criança não se reencarna logo após a morte, há o recurso de se realizarem vários *djeroký* (danças religiosas) com tal fim, semanas ou meses após. Depois dessas cerimônias, o *ñanderú* vai "em sônho" à região celeste de *Tupãsý* ("Mãe de Deus"), que então reúne tôdas as crianças que se encontram com ela. A escolha fica a critério do *ñanderú*, que pode trazer a mesma ou outra, mesmo de sexo diferente.

Do ponto de vista social, a teoria da reencarnação dos Ñandéva desempenha função importante pelo fato de garantir a continuidade entre as gerações passadas e as futuras [5]. Ao lado dos que acreditam haver crianças com almas que nunca estiveram na terra (como Poýdjú, que também admite a hipótese de nem tôdas as pessoas renascerem, e um quase hereje, o *ñanderú* Fernando Tapari, de Jacareí, que só conhece o renascimento de crianças, mas não de adultos), há os mais radicais, que insistem (como o fazia o *ñanderú* Bastião, do Araribá) em que tôda pessoa é portadora de um "espírito reencarnado" e em que todos os "espíritos" já viveram nesta terra. Assim se fortalece outra função importante, a da comunhão perene entre êste mundo e o Além, que para a mentalidade Guaraní constituem um todo indissolúvel.

Entre os Mbüá, na medida em que pude desvendá-la, a teoria da concepção é pràticamente idêntica à dos Ñandéva, com apenas uma diferença importante, a de não se admitir o renascimento de pessoas falecidas, quer adultas, quer crianças. "Se não gostou, não acostumou ao mato, à terra, voltou", exprimiu-se um informante da aldeia do Rio Branco, "não é para voltar mais; quando uma vai subindo, outra desce". Quem manda as crianças, é Deus, *Ñanderú;* não obstante, as crianças femininas "vêm" da mãe, as masculinas do pai [6].

Os Kayová, segundo os ensinamentos de Paí José Bourbon e de outros entendidos, ligam a concepção à idéia do *djasukávy*, um

como que princípio filosófico através do qual a religião dêsses Guaraní explica a origem de tôdas as coisas. O *djasukávy* não é pessoa, não é um deus, mas um princípio de emanação. Do *djasukávy* partem todos os deuses e a própria humanidade. Tal noção mítica — uma quase geração espontânea — dispensa de um lado, no conjunto das representações coletivas, o mito da criação dos primeiros homens e do outro (como tôda idéia mítica genuína) tem função exemplar, aplicável aos casos concretos e isolados, isto é, a cada aparecimento de embrião humano. E contribui, enfim, para a identificação mística da humanidade terrena com a celeste — isto é, os *tavýterã* —, tema constante das canções religiosas Kayová. Por meio da concepção se encarnam as crianças celestes (*tavýterã*), enviadas pelo herói civilizador *Paí Kuará*, e vindas principalmente duma região do firmamento, o *yrukútýtétã*, situada na direção de sul-sudoeste. A criança que morre volta ao *yrukútýtétã;* pode reencarnar-se, renascendo pela mesma mãe, caso a família sinta muito a morte do pequeno. Adultos, porém, não voltam à terra, nem o desejariam. (Isto principalmente segundo explicações de Paí Tomás, de Dourados.) Quanto às relações sexuais, são tomadas, ao que entendi, como fatór coadjuvante, nem sempre estritamente indispensável à concepção.

*
* *

Com exceção de dois médicos-feiticeiros Ñandéva, Fernando e Hilário, da aldeia de Jacareí, e talvez um ou outro Kayová, todos os conhecedores da doutrina Guaraní com que trabalhei admitiam como certa a pluralidade da alma humana. Aquêles dois especialistas, porém, insistiam peremptòriamente em que o homem tem uma alma só, *ñanéñeẽ* (*gué*), que fica no peito. Talvez êles estivessem mais próximos dos conceitos dominantes na época pré-jesuítica.

A doutrina mais característica é a dos Ñandéva, para os quais, salvo a citada exceção, a alma se compõe de várias unidades, em número de duas ou mais, mas em todo caso pertencentes a duas categorias básicas, as tendências espirituais, de um lado, e as vitais e instintivas, do outro. A concepção pluralista da alma não é, evidentemente, privativa dos Guaraní e muito menos do subgrupo Ñandéva, pois tem sido registada inúmeras vêzes entre tribos indígenas sul-americanas. Mas a redução dessa pluralidade à oposição entre as manifestações espirituais e as tendências vitais do indivíduo parece constituir caso excepcional, que talvez corra por conta da cateque-

se jesuítica. Certo, os missionários não ensinaram aos Guaraní que o homem é portador de duas almas, mas a idéia das boas e más inclinações em constante oposição e luta no interior de cada um, aliada à exigência moral de se vencerem as paixões pela oração e pela prática das virtudes, fàcilmente levaria o índio a personificar as duas fôrças ou tendências, tomando-as como entidades, em analogia, aliás, com a maneira pela qual a personificação das diferentes fôrças da natureza origina a pluralidade de deuses na teogonia tribal dêsses e de outros índios. Na concepção psicológica do Ñandéva se trata em última análise da luta entre o bem e o mal transferida para o interior da vida psíquica de cada homem: uma alma boa, de origem divina, que após a morte vai para o céu, e outra, que se tornará má ou perigosa, tanto pior e mais perigosa, quanto mais o indivíduo em vida se tenha deixado levar por suas inclinações anti-sociais. Isto em que pêse a contradição com idéias expostas páginas atrás.

O fato de alguns Ñandéva falarem em três almas ao invés de duas parece não ter muita importância. E' que as almas são visíveis em forma de sombras: *ñané ã*, nossa sombra, de três tamanhos diferentes. Uma cai para a frente ou para trás, outra para a direita, outra para a esquerda. A que cai para a frente ou para trás (*ayvú-kuê-porãvê*) é a que depois da morte vai para o céu pròpriamente dito (*yváy*), situado acima do *yvýñomimbyré* (ou paraíso mítico), a da esquerda fica vagueando pelo chão, vai morar no cemitério, é "ruim" e chama-se *anguéry* (em vida, *atsýyguá*); a da direita fica vagueando pelos ares, "é mais melhor e não faz mal a ninguém" (*ñanderú* Sebastião), chama-se *avyú*(*kuê*) [7].

Ayvú significa pròpriamente linguagem; às vêzes também se ouve dizer *ñeẽ*, fala. O *ayvú* — ou: os *ayvú*, conforme o caso — é de origem divina, isto é, participa da natureza dos espíritos sobrenaturais. E' responsável pelos desejos, sentimentos e manifestações mais nobres do indivíduo. A função primordial, básica, da alma é a de conferir ao homem o dom da linguagem; daí a designação. E' fato interessante por mostrar que se coloca em primeiro lugar a idéia da comunicação inter-humana, em consonância, aliás, com a filosofia da vida, característica das sociedades tribais, que encara o ser humano antes de tudo como animal social, como fragmento do grupo. O indivíduo vale socialmente na medida em que é parte da comunidade e em que se comunica com os companheiros. A par disso, o "psicólogo" Ñandéva procura explicar o jôgo das inclinações e tendências individuais. Como nesse jôgo se podem isolar tra-

ços distintos e por vêzes contraditórios, nada mais natural do que considerar a alma dividida em várias unidades componentes.

O *atsýyguá*, constituindo antes a base da existência biológica e das manifestações hórmicas, corresponde sempre à natureza ou índole de determinado animal; representa, pois, o caráter animal da pessoa ou, como também ouvi dizer, o "gênio encarnado". Talvez os psicólogos do mundo ocidental empregassem no caso o têrmo temperamento ou o que modernamente lhe venha a corresponder. Companheiros de tribo bondosos e pacíficos têm o *atsýyguá* de borboleta, de beija-flor ou outro passarinho delicado; pessoas más, o de cobra venenosa; bravas, o de marimbondo; indolentes, o de lagarta (*mando rová*); traquinas, o de macaco. Ao passo que a sede do *ñeẽ* ou *ayvú* é o peito, a do *atsýyguá* é a parte inferior do rosto, compreendendo os maxilares, mas especialmente a região bucal. A semelhança com êste ou aquêle animal, que às vêzes se acredita descobrir na formação da bôca dêste ou daquele companheiro de aldeia é expressão de seu *atsýyguá* [8]. Daquilo que a pessoa come alimenta-se também o *atsýyguá*. Considera-se, por isso, manifestação da alma animal a vontade, que às vêzes nos sobrevém, de comer determinado prato — ora peixe, ora carne de vaca ou de porco, ora um frango.

Não sòmente o *ñeẽ* ou *ayvú*, que é dado por *Ñanderú* e que depois da morte se vai reunir a êle, mas também o *atsýyguá* "já vem pelo nascimento", segundo as palavras do *ñanderú* Sebastião, "mas nas crianças é ainda muito pequeno"; existe apenas como germe [9], porque ela "não cometeu pecado, é inocente" (recurso a conceito cristão para explicar idéia tradicional!); o *atsýyguá* vai-se desenvolvendo com os "pecados", as "extravagâncias" praticadas pelos adultos. Assim, há *atsýyguá* mais ou menos desenvolvidos; os dos "desordeiros" e "valentões" são os mais perigosos depois da morte, quando transformados em *anguêry*. O *atsýyguá* do indivíduo, insistia Sebastião, se revela no fato de êle se parecer com êste ou aquêle bicho, macaco, rapôsa, cobra, bugio, cachorro, gato, "gente feia" e assim por diante; "quando morre, fica isso mesmo, a andar pelo chão". E' então o *anguêry*, que às vêzes se ouve gritar de noite, ao longe, com voz chorosa. E' o que se desprende do corpo, quando êste está decomposto. Mata crianças e mesmo adultos. Para tanto, basta vê-lo. Vagueia pelas estradas e outros lugares em certas horas: mais ou menos das onze da noite à uma da madrugada; depois volta ao lugar dêle, no cemitério. *Anguêry oguatá pÿtũmbyté oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý*. Só anda nos lugares em que o corpo andou como vivo. De dia, o *anguêry* "não anda".

Poýdjú me disse haver duas espécies de *anguêry*, uns como fantasma de forma humana, outros como cachorro pelado [10], chorando e gritando como criança, uns e outros "assombração" de alguém que morreu. Ora se ouve o *anguêry* falar com voz humana, ora se lhe ouve o chôro, mas não se vê ninguém. Segundo Poýdjú, o *anguêry* anda de noite e ao meio-dia, opinião que também encontrei entre os Ñandéva do litoral.

Preocupação constante de todo Guaraní, qualquer que seja o subgrupo a que pertença, é o receio de se entrar em contacto com algum *anguêry*. Quando de noite uma família anda pelo mato, as crianças caminham na frente. "Tenho mêdo", diz a velha Ermelina, "tem *anguêry*"; por isso também não deixa andar as crianças "por aí". Todo *anguêry* faz mal; traz doença e às vêzes, como vimos, a morte. Pode-se fazê-lo retirar-se para outro lugar por meio de rezas; *pede-se* a *Ñanderykeý* que o faça ir-se embora; isto, entre os Ñandéva. Recurso religioso, portanto, e não mágico.

O *anguêry*, que vagueia desesperado pelo mato, temido por todos, lembra a um tempo as "assombrações" e as "almas penadas". Mas não é alma "condenada" no sentido próprio da palavra, mas simplesmente infeliz em extremo. A não ser em casos excepcionais, dificilmente viria ao Ñandéva a idéia de considerar o "mau espírito" (como nós talvez diríamos) moralmente responsável pelo seu fado. Tanto mais significativas são as exceções como a representada pelas idéias do velho Pedro Pires, do Itariri, que, embora professe a religião dos antepassados, já sofreu muita influência pelo contacto com a população cristã do litoral paulista. Disse-me o seguinte: "*Anguêry* é alma de gente, de pecadores, que não têm salvação; ficam no mundo como assombração, fazendo 'visages'. Os que não têm pecado, êsses vai o espírito dêles lá no pé de *Ñanderuvutsú*, que é Deus. Não fica nada aqui neste mundo, ou se fica, é muito pouco. Êste pouco que fica, pode também incomodar um pouco, êste pouco alma" (*sic!*). São palavras que mostram bem o sentido em que se dá a transformação das antigas idéias. Já se perdeu a noção da pluralidade da alma humana, ainda viva na quase totalidade dos índios da tribo. Assim mesmo, também para Pedro Pires a substância da alma se divide na parte boa e na parte má, esta desenvolvendo-se no decorrer da existência terrena do indivíduo, de acôrdo com os atos reprováveis que pratique. E' como se houvesse uma porção pura e outra impura, não merecedora do céu.

Em mais um ponto essencial o *anguêry* se distingue do nosso "mau espírito": não o movem más intenções e não há de sua parte nenhum desejo de provocar a perdição de quem quer que seja.

Não é Mefisto, mas o "pobre diabo", que talvez até sinta pena do mal que cause. Assemelha-se, pois, como já indiquei, à "alma penada", que sofre no purgatório, merecedora da compaixão dos que vivem cá na terra.

As relações que a parte divina da alma do defunto mantém com os companheiros sobreviventes são análogas às que ligam os espíritos protetores (*yvyráidjá*) aos seus protegidos. Aparece em sonho aos membros da família, traz-lhes rezas, dá-lhes bons conselhos e até, como vimos há pouco, lhes pode entregar crianças que deverão nascer ou renascer no seio da família.

Com o renascimento do defunto, explica Sebastião, volta não só o *ayvukuê*(*porãvê*), mas também o *atsýyguá* correspondente. Quer dizer que o *anguêry* desaparece e não há mais assombração. Diz-se então: *"Oñimangá djevý kó yvýpy"*, renasceu, isto é, morreu e voltou para esta terra. A idéia interessante que merece ser assinalada aqui é a de uma espécie de involução por que passa o *atsýyguá*, a fim de retomar a sua forma infantil, embrionária ou apenas potencial, com que reinicia a sua carreira na superfície da terra. A despeito, pois, da teoria psicológica das qualidades inatas, o Guaraní faz depender o caráter individual das experiências por que passa no decorrer da vida, das coisas que pratica e pelas quais o seu *atsýyguá* se desenvolve menos ou mais. Em última análise, o comportamento não decorre do caráter, mas o caráter do comportamento.

* *

Apesar do fundo comum de representações coletivas que formam o arcabouço da doutrina psicológica dos Nandéva, vemos que seria ilusória qualquer tentativa de descrição categórica e rígida, uma vez que o esquema básico é passível de elaboração e variação mais ou menos individualista, segundo a experiência religiosa de cada sacerdote ou o vigor de sua maginação. De aldeia em aldeia, o pesquisador nota, assim, a existência de novas idéias e a falta de outras; de aldeia em aldeia, registra transformações e acréscimos peculiares, devidos à unicidade da situação histórica dos contactos interétnicos a que o grupo tenha estado sujeito.

O mesmo vale evidentemente para os demais subgrupos. Assim como a doutrina psicológica Nandéva aqui exposta se afasta, ora em um, ora em outro sentido, da que nos deixou Nimuendajú, a dos Mbüá não concorda — ou já não concorda — com a que Cadogan encontrou entre os índios do Guaira paraguaio [11]. A que se apre-

senta nestas páginas é a da aldeia do Rio Branco, colhida principalmente da bôca do meu amigo, o Capitão Francisco, que, embora não use o título *ñanderú*, é chefe-de-família de vida religiosa ativa e intensa.

Para o Mbüá, segundo a fonte indicada, o ser humano se divide em *txeretê* ("meu corpo") e *txeñeẽ* (meu espírito ou, em tradução literal, "minha língua" ou "fala"). Apesar dessa designação sumária da alma, há a idéia da pluralidade, conseqüência, podemos dizer, dum esfôrço de compreensão analítica de *txeñeẽ* do ponto de vista de suas qualidades e inclinações. Em oposição ao que se dá com os Ñandéva, as tendências bióticas do homem não constituem alma "animal" do indivíduo para o Mbüá, como também observou Cadogan no grupo por êle estudado [12].

Admitem os Mbüá (Rio Branco) a existência de três almas em cada indivíduo, duas boas e uma ruim, as quais se manifestam através da comunicação, i. é, por meio da linguagem e de um processo que diríamos comparável à telepatia. A alma ruim e uma das boas produzem boas representações ou manifestações relativas a outras pessoas, que tanto podem encontrar-se na proximidade como a grandes distâncias. Trata-se, por conseguinte, da pessoa em suas relações com outros sêres humanos. À terceira alma humana, espécie de espírito protetor, incumbe a segurança do indivíduo, vigiando-o, por exemplo, quando êste dorme sòzinho na floresta. Não é, como poderia parecer, um ser distinto do homem, como o Anjo da Guarda cristão, mas parte integrante de seu eu (quase como o demônio de Platão) e chama-se igualmente *ñeẽ*. E' até a primeira das três almas enviadas por Deus, como que o núcleo inicial da personalidade.

Embora se tenha insistido, linhas acima, em que a designação *ñeẽ* é nome adequado por colocar em primeiro plano a faculdade de comunicação, é evidente que também para o Mbüá a alma não se reduz a isso. Enfim é preciso haver alguma coisa que se comunique, sobretudo as inclinações e impulsos do indivíduo, os seus desejos, que para todo Guaraní parecem constituir o essencial da alma. Divide-os o Mbüá em duas categorias, os bons e os maus, falando, por isso mesmo, de almas boas e más. Neste sentido, os têrmos bom e mau não traduzem valoração ética, mas distinção puramente naturalista, mais ou menos como forte e fraco, ou benéfico e perigoso. E, tendo-se em vista a mentalidade comunitária do homem primitivo, não admira que êsse dualismo se refira especialmente às atitudes e ao comportamento do indivíduo em face dos companheiros de tribo.

A sede da alma — ou seja, das almas — não é determinada parte do corpo, mas o corpo todo. Ademais, os *ñeẽ* se caracterizam por existência relativamente livre e autônoma, isto é, existem independentemente do corpo, podendo deixá-lo, uma a uma, e retirar-se para regiões distantes. Se em dado momento, por exemplo, no longínquo Mato Grosso alguém pensa em mim, agastando-se comigo ou até me querendo mal, é que a minha alma ruim se encontrou lá no mato com a dêle, irritando-a. Inversamente, a inopinada recordação de um amigo índio que me tenha acompanhado nalguma viagem pelo sertão outra coisa não é senão uma visita com que me distingue a sua alma boa (ou seja, uma de suas almas boas).

As três almas saem e entram pelo vértice, movimentando-se livremente pelo espaço; na hipótese, porém, de abandonarem o corpo tôdas a um tempo, a pessoa morre.

Por ocasião do nascimento, aliás, já está determinado o dia da morte. Cada qual vem ao mundo trazendo o seu destino. Assim se explica, também, que o melhor dos médicos-feiticeiros nem sempre consegue salvar a vida do paciente. Os "pecadores" não entram logo no céu. O seu "espírito" fica vagueando numa região intermediária até a decomposição total do corpo. Sòmente então a parte boa tem permissão de ingressar no céu, enquanto a parte má fica andando pela terra como assombração. Vê-se, pois, que "pecado" é simplesmente manifestação da parte má da alma humana. Na morte, a parte má da alma, a que os Mbüá chamam *mbogué* (Francisco emprega também o têrmo *anguêry*, mais usual nos dois outros subgrupos da tribo) passa a morar no cemitério; "de noite, não sabe onde dormir, sai e anda por aí".

De tudo isso se depreende que, apesar da tripartição de alma — oriunda talvez, como a noção de "pecador", de um Cristianismo mal-compreendido —, trata-se aqui, como acima já se explicou, de um genuíno dualismo psicológico. Pois, compreendida como faculdade de exteriorização do homem dentro do contexto da comunidade, a alma se reparte, para o Mbüá, em inclinações sociais e anti-sociais. Maldade ou ruindade equivalem a tendência para brigar, a espírito de rebelião. Um traço, porém, que parece distinguir a psicologia Mbüá (e a Kayová) da dos Ñandéva é que nela se relaciona menos a parte negativa da alma à vida instintiva do ser humano.

A teoria psicológica acima foi registrada, como vimos, entre os Mbüá da aldeia do Rio Branco. Dela divergem explicações obtidas em outros grupos. Assim, o chefe religioso dos Mbüá do Itariri

admite a existência de quatro almas em cada pessoa, uma situada na cabeça, outra no coração e duas que ficam de fora, cuidando do indivíduo. Segundo as palavras textuais do informante: *Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry arekó; petein arekó txepyáre, petein arekó txeakãre, mokõi arekó okápe, oñãgarekõva txerehé.*

* * *

Infelizmente os dados que tenho sôbre a "teoria psicológica" dos Kayová são demasiado díspares e incongruentes para se poder tentar uma sistematização. O certo é que também os Kayová professam de modo geral a doutrina dualista, mais ou menos no sentido Ñandéva. A parte sublime da alma, de origem celeste, é o *ñeẽ* ou *ayvú*, respectivamente *ñeẽguê* ou *ayvúkuê*. Para a parte menos boa me deram o nome *anguéry* (também com referência ao indivíduo vivo, o que tenho por duvidoso). Os *ayvú* são encarnação de *tavýterã*, sêres celestes ou espíritos ("*ñandedjára*") que, na esfera religiosa, se identificam com a própria tribo Kayová; há, aliás, várias categorias de *tavýterã*, uma delas denominada *verándydjú*. Depois da morte, o *ayvúkuê* do adulto vai ao encontro de *Hyapúguasú*, deus do trovão. Dirige-se também ao *yvóyñemondehé*, onde se veste com trajes resplendentes; o lugar também se chama *kañinguéry rupá* ("lugar das almas dos mortos"), o que, entretanto, não significa morada, uma vez que as almas não passam a ter estada num ponto fixo do céu, percorrendo, ao contrário, tôdas as regiões celestes em companhia dos deuses. Para o estado de bem-aventurança dos finados deram-me a denominação *ñemyrõ*, têrmo que no Guaraní comum significa "ofender-se". — O *ayvúkuê* da criança, em oposição ao que se dá com o do adulto, se transforma imediatamente em uma ave (chamada *guyrdrovádjú*), a fim de voar sem demora para a presença de *Ñandesý* ("nossa mãe"), que parece ser a senhora da região celeste chamada *yrukútýtéiã*. A parte menos boa da alma, a que se torna *anguéry*, se vai formando durante a existência terrena do indivíduo. Como a criança é "inocente" e "não percorreu lugares" (como ouvi dizer no Amambai), ela não tem *anguéry*.

3. *A reza, traço de união entre o mundo dos vivos e o sobrenatural*

O recurso sempre à mão de que dispõe o Guaraní para provocar e ao mesmo tempo dar vazão a suas vivências religiosas é o

porahêi ou reza. O *porahêi* é sempre cantado e requer acompanhamento de *mbaraká* e *takuápú* para marcação do ritmo da dança. Canto, dança (*djiroký*) e som instrumental constituem assim uma unidade. O *porahêi* ora é comunitário, contando com a participação de tôda a aldeia ou, pelo menos, de um grupo de vizinhança, ora doméstico, limitado à família, isto é, aos moradores de uma cabana. Neste caso pode ser executado apenas pelo chefe da família, mas em geral conta com a ajuda da mulher e dos filhos.

Como tantas coisas na cultura Guaraní, o *porahêi* é a um tempo expressão de individualismo e de coletivismo. De um lado faz parte de tôdas as cerimônias coletivas, das quais é inseparável, e de outro cada indivíduo em particular tem ou pode ter os seus *porahêi* próprios e inalienáveis, recebidos pessoalmente, em sonho, de algum espírito protetor. Isto entre os Ñandéva e os Mbüá. Já os Kayová não conhecem rezas de posse individual, recebidas por inspiração, mas apenas as transmitidas por ensinamentos, havendo também, ao que me disseram, certa liberdade de composição, em especial da parte do *pai*.

Cada *porahêi* consiste, como vimos, em texto e melodia, ligados a movimentos rítmicos de dança. Muitos dos textos são incompreensíveis, havendo uma série de notas alongadas e algumas palavras, mais ou menos conexas, referentes à esfera sobrenatural. O importante não parece ser o sentido das palavras em sua seqüência lógica, mas o seu poder evocativo no domínio das vivências religiosas, portanto afetivas. Durante o *porahêi* intensifica-se o sentimento religioso, a ponto mesmo de se produzir estado de êxtase. Alheios a tudo o que se passa em tôrno dêles, os participantes experimentam profundo arrebatamento, ficando, não raro, com o rosto transfigurado, e chegando a chorar de emoção.

O que de mais valioso um indivíduo possui são os seus *porahêi*, a que se refere com orgulho e até com alguma reverência. O receio de se abusar ou fazer uso inadequado das rezas é um dos motivos da relutância que o pesquisador depara quando pede que o Guaraní lhe ensine as que possui ou conhece. No Araribá apareceu certo dia um admirador da chamada música folclórica; aproveitou as rezas Guaraní para algumas composições "típicas", que, segundo parece, foram depois tocadas no rádio. Sabendo do fato, os índios tomaram-no como profanação e um dêles depois se negou terminantemente a ensinar-me as suas rezas, dizendo: "Eu não quero que você as ponha no rádio" [18].

Não é fácil descobrir qual seja, na opinião do Guaraní, a natureza do *porahêi*. Tem-se por vêzes a impressão de que se trata

de algo quase-material, um como que objeto, que se pode ou não possuir. Pensando em sua reza, o índio procede evidentemente a uma espécie de reificação, o que se nota, por exemplo, quando fala no recurso de "tirar" uma reza de alguém (quando "possesso"). De outro lado, é, por assim dizer, personificada, como se fôsse uma espécie de espírito ou alma que se vem encarnar no indivíduo, enriquecer-lhe a vida interior e manifestar-se através dêle. A êste respeito, é bom lembrar mais uma vez que "alma" se traduz *ñeẽ* ou *ayvú*, isto é, língua ou fala humana. Alguns se referem à "fôrça" da reza, querendo com isto significar, ao que tudo indica, o poder mágico que lhe é inerente e além disso talvez a maior ou menor intensidade do sentimento religioso por ela desenvolvido; uma reza pode "vir" mais ou menos "forte", o que em parte depende, como me disseram no Araribá, do comportamento religioso dos companheiros de tribo. Há aí profundo sentimento de participação religiosa entre o conjunto de indivíduos que se consideram uma unidade social: se houver no grupo um ou outro que, reagindo talvez às críticas e zombarias dos "nacionais", já não leve muito a sério as cerimônias e crenças dos antepassados, esta sua atitude se refletirá na maior ou menor eficiência das rezas e, por conseguinte, das cerimônias religiosas realizadas na aldeia. O *porahéi* é também *identificado* com o "caminho" da alma pelo céu, pelo menos entre os Kayová. Enfim, numerosas são as representações ligadas ao *porahéi*, de que o indivíduo e o grupo precisam para entrar em comunicação com o Além.

O *porahéi* individual, presente dos deuses ou espíritos, como o conhecem os Ñandéva e Mbüá, é transmitido através do sonho. Afirmou-me o *ñanderú* Fernando, de Jacareí, que em sonho *Ñanderú* lhe revela a sua vontade e lhe ensina rezas, transmitindo-as ou pessoalmente ou por meio de *Koarahy* (o sol), que lhe faz as vêzes. As rezas que constituem parte integrante das festas religiosas dirigidas pelos médicos-feiticeiros, são mais ou menos conhecidas por todo o grupo. Quanto às individuais, são recebidas às vêzes já na puberdade, outras só na idade madura. Repetidamente ouvi dizer de maneira categórica entre os Ñandéva que não há duas pessoas com a mesma reza, o que parece valer também para os Mbüá. Pode, porém, a pessoa ter certo número de rezas, fator importante de distinção social. E' entre os Ñandéva que as rezas individuais ocupam provàvelmente lugar de maior destaque. Em geral, a espôsa e os filhos acompanham a reza do marido, mas há também mulheres com reza própria. De noite, quando o chefe da família "tem aviso", isto é, "algum sonho bom", êle se levanta, pega

o *mbaraká* e começa a cantar, "ajudado" pela espôsa, que maneja o *takuá*.

O *ñanderú* se distingue dos demais principalmente pela quantidade de rezas de que é portador ou dono [14]. Cada uma delas pode ter, como vimos, "fôrça" maior ou menor, passível de intensificar-se ou não com as atitudes dos companheiros e com a conduta e as precauções do próprio rezador. Para as suas curas terem efeito — "para não esquecer tudo", no dizer do índio Zizi, do Bananal —, deve o *ñanderú* alimentar-se exclusivamente de comidas "leves" e evitar acima de tudo carne de caça.

Várias vêzes participei das rezas e danças dirigidas pelo *ñanderú* Miguel, que trouxera um grupo de Mbüá em longa peregrinação do Paraguai até o Itariri, junto ao Oceano Atlântico. Durante o *porái* (nome da reza no dialeto Mbüá), o chefe religioso parecia inteiramente transfigurado e dizia ter entendimento direto com *Ñanderú Tenondé*, a divindade suprema, que o informava de tudo o que se iria passar na terra. Uma noite, interrompeu a certa altura a reza e a dança estafante para comunicar-me que acabava de receber um aviso de que no dia seguinte terminariam as chuvas que se vinham prolongando havia algum tempo.

Rezas que se cantam em cerimônias coletivas são passíveis de instrução. O *ñanderú* se faz tanto por inspiração como por instrução: além de receber umas tantas rezas por via direta, é bom que faça curso com algum especialista. Em Dourados, Vicente Jerônimo (que não era *paí* e nem sequer tinha "altar" perto de sua casa), tomado de crise mística, que o fazia esquecer-se de tudo o mais, reunia diàriamente alguns de seus vizinhos e rezava com êles — "instruindo-os", no dizer de Marçal. Com seus "discípulos" aparecia, rezando, no *oká* (terreiro de danças) de Paí Tomás e junto à casa do curador Pascoal. Em Amambai, Paí José instruía o sobrinho, que se declarava discípulo muito devotado: "Aonde vai êste meu tio, eu também vou".

Pelo menos entre os Ñandéva e os Kayová a aquisição das qualidades de líder religioso requer também certa continência na vida sexual. Qualquer Guaraní pode tornar-se rezador — disse-me o *ñanderú* Fernando, de Pôrto Lindo — contanto que não se case e seja reservado: é preciso, explicava, não ter ambições com as mulheres. A exigência da castidade se refere à fase de aprendizagem, ao período em que se esperam as revelações sobrenaturais e os podêres curativos. O mesmo vale para mulheres que desejem tornar-se curadoras (*ñandetsý*, "nossa mãe"); começam a apren-

dei desde criança e só casam depois de terem os conhecimentos e as faculdades requeridas pelo exercício das funções a que se destinam. Disse-me o velho Fernando: À geração nova, que se casa cedo, *Ñanderú* não revela com facilidade. Êle próprio, Fernando, que se orgulha de ter estudado com um grande mestre, afirma ter adiado o casamento para a velhice, a fim de poder tornar-se *ñanderú*.

Tinha por sua vez um fervoroso discípulo. Hilário, que, casado, dizia contudo viver em matrimônio de José. Hilário, criado no Paraguai, entre paraguaios de vida pouco religiosa, foi submetido por Fernando a "cerimônias de purificação" (analogia com a confissão cristã!), para se tirar tudo o que nêle fôsse reprovável, mormente as idéias que aprendera com os civilizados. O candidato tornou-se religioso e passou a dedicar-se ao exercício do *poruhéi*. — E' interessante notar que o fato de ter sido necessária uma espécie de "conversão" mostra claramente haver consciência do conflito de ideais de vida.

Há rezas para tudo. Os Ñandéva têm-nas para conseguir que chova e para fazer o sol aparecer. Também os Kayová têm rezas contra a chuva, contra a sêca, contra a tempestade, para curar mordedura de cobra e quaisquer doenças, para conquistar mulher e outras coisas mais. São rezas que qualquer pessoa pode empregar no tempo oportuno, usando *mbaraká* e *kurusú*. Entre os Kayová está especialmente desenvolvido o ciclo de rezas relativas ao milho: quando as plantas estão para pendoar, fase em que há o perigo de serem atacadas pelo "besouro", que lhe come a raiz; quando as fôlhas do milho amarelecem (ferrugem?); quando se quer apressar o amadurecimento (reza esta perigosa para os homens, que não devem entrar em roça "benzida" com ela, pois poderiam morrer), e assim por diante. — Os textos dessas rezas, coletivas, são em linguagem arcaica, bem diferente da atual, mas compreensível aos conhecedores [18].

Um meninote de seus oito anos de idade, filho de meu amigo Vicente Jerônimo, Kayová de Dourados, me ditara uma das rezas do pai, isto é, das que o pai sabia e costumava cantar. Como o Guaraní respeita sempre a personalidade alheia, inclusive a infantil, Vicente não se imiscuiu no assunto, embora ficasse apreensivo ao ver as "suas rezas" serem postas no papel. Não obstante, consegui persuadi-lo a que depois êle próprio por sua vez me ditasse mais algumas de suas rezas. Fê-lo, como explicou, na certeza de que depois "voltariam" para êle. Semelhante foi a atitude de Paí Tomás diante do sonógrafo com que eu gravara algumas canções cantadas

por êle: "Agora a máquina vai levar as minhas rezas". Isto lembra a expressão Ñandéva de que o espírito protetor *traz* (não: ensina) a reza ao indivíduo. Bem se vê que o *porahêi* é tido a um tempo como fôrça e como *substância*, que pode ligar-se à pessoa e, de certo modo, desprender-se dela. Daí também o fato de prestar-se igualmente para ações mágicas. Entre as rezas dos Kayová uma há de que se lança mão para matar animais daninhos. Liquida as raposas, as jaguatiricas, os gambás e outros inimigos do galinheiro; é tão forte, disseram-me, que chega a matar os cachorros da casa. Mostra êste exemplo também que a idéia de *porahêi* ou "reza" nem sempre se limita necessàriamente ao domínio das vivências religiosas: o seu emprêgo pode transformar-se em simples técnica de magia. Assim como outras culturas, a dos Guaraní tende enfim a confundir as duas esferas — religião e magia — embora se baseiem, como sabemos, em duas atitudes fundamentalmente contrárias do espírito humano.

Ainda uma observação final com referência à função das rezas. Comparando-se, do ponto de vista da desorganização social, as explicações dadas em uma aldeia e em outra no tocante aos males que afligem o mundo e aos perigos que sôbre êle pairam, há uma diferença significativa em que os grupos de maior coesão e relativa eunomia social atribuem a culpa a estranhos, ao passo que os de maior disnomia a procuram em seu próprio meio. Os primeiros jogam com argumentos etnocêntricos, como, por exemplo, os Ñandéva de Jacareí, onde me disseram que o mundo hoje vai mal por serem os brancos pouco religiosos; que para rezar, para louvar a Deus, o Guaraní não tem dia marcado, o domingo, mas que o louva (*ñemboeté*) todo dia; que para êle tôdas as danças são religiosas, não como para o branco, que possui "danças que até são pecado". A assimilação de conceitos estranhos à cultura tribal se põe, destarte, a serviço das próprias doutrinas tradicionais. À medida que aumentam as dissensões internas, êsses mesmos conceitos, como se esclarece em outra parte dêste trabalho, servem para responsabilizar o próprio grupo pela impossibilidade de se realizarem ideais de cultura a que, não obstante, todos continuam a aspirar. Expressões concretas dessa impossibilidade são, em primeiro lugar, a redução e o final desaparecimento das festas com danças e rezas coletivas, em segundo, o abandono progressivo da reza individual como manifestação de religiosidade. Pode-se dizer, sem exagêro, que o Guaraní deixa de ser Guaraní quando deixa de sentir a necessidade de entregar-se a suas devoções religiosas, isto é, ao *porahêi*.

Quando a desorganização social das aldeias atinge o ponto de não tornar mais exeqüíveis as festas com danças e rezas coletivas, ainda continuam os chefes de família a realizar o culto doméstico, o último a extinguir-se. No Bananal encontrei poucas casas em que ainda se rezava; em Dourados não ouvi nunca um Nandéva cantar o seu *porahêi*. E' estado a que não chegou nenhuma das comunidades de Mbüá ou de Kayová por mim visitadas.

4. *Idéias sôbre as doenças e a morte*

Poder-se-ia dizer que, em última análise, se reduzem a dois os perigos, os grandes males que preocupam e atormentam o espírito do Guaraní: as numerosas doenças, que o afligem, e, mais ainda, a idéia mítica do fim do mundo, cada vez mais próximo.

Detenhamo-nos um pouco com a noção das moléstias, que de fato grassam assustadoramente entre os pobres Guaraní e que — não é difícil verificá-lo — se encarregam de fazer que na realidade não estará longe o dia em que, para essa tribo, terá chegado o fim do mundo.

Entre os índios sul-americanos a opinião mais comum sôbre a origem das enfermidades é a de que indivíduos maus, especialmente feiticeiros de tribo estranha ou até da própria gente, abusam de suas faculdades e fôrças extraordinárias para fazerem entrar, por via mágica, no corpo de outrem um objeto ou substância responsável pela moléstia, o *quid malignum*. Essa teoria é aceita também pelos Guaraní, entre os quais todavia não é exclusiva, pois existe ao lado de outras etiologias, nascidas diretamente das doutrinas religiosas.

Em todo caso, também entre os Guaraní predomina a crença de que as enfermidades, pelo menos em sua maioria, encontram a sua explicação nas más intenções de pessoas conhecedoras e portadoras de recursos mágicos. O aparecimento duma epidemia ou de apenas uma série de casos de moléstia na mesma aldeia e em curto espaço de tempo pode, por isso, acarretar consideráveis conseqüências sociais, gerar a desconfiança, a desunião ou até inimizades e lutas abertas no seio do grupo local, pondo em ação fôrças disruptivas da vida social existentes em estado de latência. E' possível afirmar mesmo que o senso místico de solidariedade, o qual, se bem que não una a tribo tôda e nem sempre os indivíduos de determinada horda, torna coesa a população das diferentes aldeias, raramente sofre solução de continuidade que não seja pela atmosfera de insegurança e descontentamento que domina a todos em situações dessa natureza.

Suposição feita, naturalmente, de tratar-se de aldeias que, pelo contínuo contacto com a civilização, não se encontrem já em estado de franca desorganização social. Passada a epidemia, não tarda a restabelecer-se o equilíbrio normal, e a autoridade do médico-feiticeiro, que tenha lançado mão de recursos mágicos e religiosos, ou a do capitão, que tenha feito valer a sua autoridade policial para normalizar a situação pelo combate às fôrças contrárias, sofrem então incremento considerável.

Uma das fôrças diruptivas mais características da sociedade Guaraní é a constante suspeição de práticas de magia negra no seio do grupo. Não há muito exagêro na afirmação de que o mêdo de se tornar vítima de práticas dessa ordem é preocupação cotidiana de todo Guaraní. Alguns grupos da atualidade alcançam neste sentido, em certas épocas, um estado de profunda exasperação coletiva, em que todos se acreditam ameaçados por todos, situação que se explica em grande parte pela crise aculturativa, e, em especial, pelo estado de "deprivation" e de miséria, como pelas deploráveis condições de saúde em que vivem.

As práticas de magia negra entre os Guaraní são encaradas como técnicas racionais com vistas a determinado fim, não havendo nelas nada de místico nem de sobrenatural, a não ser no tocante à origem de certos podêres. E não se deve esquecer que êsses índios em geral se distinguem de seus vizinhos — dos Kaingáng, dos Terêno etc. — precisamente pelo seu extraordinário misticismo. Parece-me elucidativa a êste respeito a singela explicação dada pelo Capitão Alberto, chefe Kayová de Amambai, quando lembrava haver gente — referia-se por certo a civilizados — que não acredita em magia negra. Argumentava em contrário, afirmando existir feitiço contra tudo; assim, contra os passarinhos o bodoque; contra o macaco, o quati e outros animais a flecha; contra o tatu o mundéu. Explicação, pois, de cunho francamente naturalista e tecnicista. Em geral, o médico-feiticeiro tende — conscicnte ou inconscientemente — a estimular as idéias e preocupações relativas à magia negra no seio do grupo. Quando não seja por outro motivo, pode só-lo, por exemplo, para encontrar e apresentar razões satisfatórias que expliquem a falta de êxito de seus métodos de cura. Dizia-me José Bourbon Catalan, famoso curador de Amambai, que seus pacientes morrem sòmente quando atingidos por feitiço; num caso dêsses haveria necessidade de pegar o feiticeiro para se desfazer o feitiço, providência de que se deve encarregar não êle, mas o capitão da aldeia.

Não é fácil obter explicações sôbre as práticas de feitiçaria e muito menos analisá-las, pois ninguém quer que sôbre êle recaia

[P 128-A]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[P. 128-B]

[illegible]

cair a suspeita de lançar mão dessa ordem de recursos. Os mais retraídos neste sentido são os Mbüá.

Entre os Kayová, a magia negra parece invadir, de algum modo, o domínio da religião: possuem êles uma "reza de fazer mal", chamada *ñeïgaraí*, que o indivíduo canta sòzinho (ao som do maracá, segundo Marçal); para neutralizar-lhe o efeito malífico, existe uma "reza boa". Possuem cantos mágicos, a que se chama *ñembóiraí* ou *ñeïápapá*; são cantados (em voz baixa e sem *mbaraká*) diante do resto, da roupa ou de qualquer objeto da pessoa que se queira atingir; esta adoece e morre. O defeito dêsses cantos é que "não pegam em civilizado"; de outro lado, há sempre o perigo de que êste as possa empregar contra os índios. O branco é considerado imune contra feitiço indígena em geral. O nome *ñeïgaraí*, acima referido, usam-no também os Kayová (ao lado de *mbóiraiñi ivai*) para designar uma reza a que se recorre para "aquentar a terra" e destruir os *mbaríjoxaj*, isto é, os maus espíritos que a povoam (Pai José). Talvez tenha sido com *mbóiraiñi ivai* que Pai Chiquinho, do Panambi, quis destruir o mundo, quando realizava com seus companheiros de aldeia a dança furiosa por ocasião do loteamento oficial das terras ocupadas pelo seu grupo. Mais de uma vez, aliás, ouvi o nome *mbaríjoxaj* para designar algum branco malquisto pelos Kayová.

Na opinião dos índios, as "rezas de fazer mal" não constituem ainda feitiço. Disseram-me que "feitiço" propriamente dito é *mokõi vai*, feito com restos de comida (casca de banana, de laranja etc.), e de ação mais lenta. Não me quiseram ensinar a técnica.

Entre os Kayová do Amambai fala-se muito em morte por feitiço. Tende-se a atribuir neste sentido a pessoa que tenha feito a última visita ao doente. Vinga-se a vítima por meio de práticas de contrafeitiço. (Disse-me o senhor do antigo encarregado do Posto Indígena Benjamim Constant que se corta a machado o cadáver antes de enterrá-lo; assim, o autor do feitiço morrerá também.) Para neutralizar o contrafeitiço, o matador desenterra o cadáver na pedaço dêle, jogando-o ao rio. O índio Vicente, da mesma aldeia, explicou-me a morte do capitão, dizendo: "Este meu filho não poderia carregado no caminho". A técnica do contrafeitiço, tal como me foi explicada pelo Capitão Alberto, é mesmo mundana. Tira-se um chumaço de algodão do defunto e joga-se uma coisa que se foi matar; depois dêsse chumaço, mesmo fugindo para o seguinte, queima-se, vira a coisa, que se entrega com o defunto. Caso o autor da morte não consiga desenterrar o defunto e lançá-lo à água, êle morrerá, "porque coisa é que é venenosa".

Singular prática ritual de contrafeitiço dos Kayová, a que, entretanto, também não tive ensejo de assistir, me foi relatada por Marçal de Souza. Quando baixa à sepultura o corpo de pessoa vitimada por feitiço, um rapaz escolhido pelo médico-feiticeiro traz um sapo e outro uma cobra venenosa. O médico-feiticeiro manda então cortar dois espetos finos e compridos, com os quais atravessa o corpo do sapo, do ano até a bôca e de lado a lado, formando uma cruz; enquanto isso, os dois rapazes fazem como se fôssem êles as vítimas das espetadas: contorcem-se, pulam, mordem-se, gritam, puxam o cabelo, fingem estar comendo brasa e outras coisas que provocam dor. Depois o médico-feiticeiro pega a cobra e fá-la dar várias mordidas no sapo morto. Os rapazes repetem a pantomima e "confessam" terem sido êles os autores do feitiço que vitimou o defunto. A seguir, tornam a repeti-la, enquanto o médico-feiticeiro mata a cobra a pedradas e pronuncia uma espécie de maldição, falando aos bichos mortos: assim como vocês morreram, morra também o autor do feitiço. Finalmente enterram-se os dois animais mortos junto com o cadáver humano. *Jimdlie simdlhar curantar.*

E' notório que o fenômeno da desintegração cultural, enquanto produto de contactos interétnicos, se manifesta, entre outras coisas, através da aceitação paralela de duas ou mais soluções para o mesmo problema, de vários elementos concorrentes com a mesma função, cabendo ao indivíduo de caso em caso decidir-se em favor dêste ou daquele. E' nesse relação às doenças e ao seu tratamento que na vida Guarani tal estado de coisas se revela com especial nitidez. Isto deve em primeiro lugar por causa da localização cada vez mais acentuada que a moléstia, real ou imaginária, vem tendo no espírito Guarani, em consequência, sem dúvida, duma fuga pelaqueles diante de uma realidade insuportável, fruto dum estado de constante frustração. E como os padrões tradicionais da cultura não proporcionam elementos considerados suficientes para se fazer face ao problema assim criado, recorre-se também a outros, de procedência estranha. Ao lado dêles: cosmologia e etiologia das doenças, como dêles métodos de cura, dizíamos, assim, de construir um todo integrado, para formarem um conjunto de elementos por assim dizer disparatados. A cultura parece perder até certo ponto seu de uma função polarizadora, e de formar os grupos e aos indivíduos em particular os recursos de criarem seguro e satisfatório dêles fenômenos que ultrapassam a simples relação biológica. Idéias, crenças e explicações de diversas origens, e transitam em consonância cultural de diferentes tipos, chocam-se no espírito dessa pobre gente, produzindo um estado mental

de insegurança e às vêzes quase de desespêro. O Capitão Bento, antigo chefe da aldeia do Bananal, sofria de malária (sem, naturalmente, identificar a moléstia) e julgava a enfermidade devida a distúrbios fisiológicos provocados de maneira "natural" por algum *quid malignum*, que de uma forma ou de outra tivesse penetrado em seu corpo. A mãe se firmava na hipótese de magia negra praticada por algum inimigo pessoal com auxílio de um retrato que lhe houvesse caído nas mãos. Por seu turno, Samuel, irmão do enfêrmo, acreditava mais na possibilidade de "algum espírito invocado nêle", idéia de origem talvez amerínd ia, mas reforçada possivelmente pelo contacto com o espiritismo de moradores civilizados do litoral. Como não pode deixar de ser, a mesma insegurança se observa na escolha dos métodos de cura, mágico-medicinais como religiosos, e dos especialistas, que ora são médicos-feiticeiros da própria tribo, ora curandeiros civilizados ou, ainda, médicos portadores de diploma oficial.

O *quid malignum* causador da moléstia pode ser qualquer corpo estranho ou substância venenosa ou de outra forma prejudicial à saúde, como sejam pedrinhas, grãos de semente, bichinhos feios ou até fogo. Se de fato tiver entrado no corpo em consequência de magia negra, o médico-feiticeiro nada consegue fazer enquanto não descobre o responsável, a fim de atacá-lo por meio de contrafeitiço. Isto, pelo menos, entre os Kaiowá. Se, porém, o *quid malignum* entrou no corpo por via natural, isto é, sem que houvesse propósitos inconfessáveis de indivíduos mal intencionados, quer seja por descuido, pela infeliz conjunção de circunstâncias adversas ou pela manifestação de certas divindades cujo aparecimento se ligue a determinados épocas do ano, a remoção pode ser feita ou pela técnica do médico-feiticeiro, pelo emprêgo de medicamentos apropriados, por meio de práticas executadas pelo próprio paciente ou, finalmente, com auxílio de ritualismo religioso.

A atitude dos Guarani atual, especialmente a dos Ñandéva das aldeias litorâneas, em face das enfermidades e da morte se caracteriza por singular combinação de fatalismo e — digamo-lo com a devida reserva — resignação cristã. A filha do Capitão Bento estava enferma; o pai a levou ao Dr. Millán, médico de São Vicente em Itanhaém, que lhe receitou uma série de remédios. Mas afinal a criança morreu. "É porque tinha de morrer mesmo", foi a explicação simples de Bento. E a mãe do Bento acrescentou: "Quando a gente vai de morrer, remédio não vale nada; quando a gente não vai de morrer, *Ñandejára* mesmo levanta a gente. Quando não é o mandado de Deus, nem o médico nem o curandeiro não dão valia". Po-

lavras altamente esclarecedoras, pois deixam bem patente que o que predomin não é a atitude mágica, mas a religiosa. No tratamento dos doentes, a eficiência dos recursos mágicos e medicinais é apenas condicional — o que despe a magia de uma de suas características essenciais a saber, a causalidade natural. Quando o falecido médico-feiticeiro Arnaldo — disseram-me — via que uma criança enfêrma "tinh cura", dava-lhe um remédio e ela ficava sã. Mas quando via que nda se poderia fazer, êle o diria logo; mandava preparar um chá e erva, mas não tinha esperança. *Fiat voluntas tua.*

Vê-se, pois, que o poder do médico-feiticeiro está sujeito a limitações consideráveis, decorrentes da vontade divina. Não fôsse isto, êle sesmo não ficaria doente e não morreria. Ao contrário, diz o Rudêva, as suas faculdades sobrenaturais podem facilmente tornar-se sua desgraça, de vez que ser portador de conhecimentos e fôrças mágicas extraordinárias é um estado perigoso. Se o médico-feiticeiro quem o espírito auxiliar comunicou a reza ou canção mágico-medicinal não vive de acôrdo com as prescrições a elas ligadas, êle mesmo se torna causador de sua morte. Acontece que êle já morre dois ou três meses após a decisão do espírito protetor, "porque a religião dos índios é muito forte e muito fina também", segundo as palavras de João Samuel. Foi por isso que Arnaldo morreu. E é nesses, se bem entendi as explicações do velho Pedro Pires, meu transitório do médico-feiticeiro que não seja capaz de empregar convenientemente as suas fôrças e o seu saber e de viver segundo a exigências dos descrentes. "O rezador tem de morrer, quando eu." Mas torna a ressuscitar, o que se dá no temperatado. — Não vês aquela morte passageira, tema constante da mitologia header de tão o mundo, morte que no seio tribal também atinge vítimas vêzes mais desejadas dos gêmeos? Como quer que seja, admite-se possibilidade de o indivíduo ser culpado de sua própria morte, de onde, por outro lado, não podemos fazer a conclusão precipitada de a morte do médico-feiticeiro ser devida a culpabilidade social e é por conseguinte, se tratar de castigo ao pena compatível, digam, à perda da imortalidade pelo pecado no Paraíso. Pois é muito bo possível o, a meu ver, provável que no espírito do Guarani não mais se estabelecer de que uma simples relação natural de causa e efeito.

A mas, convém frisá-lo, não estava no mundo porque se arrependeu de tivesse tomado culpado por um motivo ou por outro. Ele liga à própria natureza da existência humana, ao destino do homem. Pesa por isso dentro de constituir problema para o

inteligência do Guaraní. A mitologia, é bem verdade, o resolve fàcilmente através da fórmula eficaz do precedente mítico, mil vêzes experimentada. A morte é um fato, um acontecimento que se repete, como simples episódio, na existência de cada um de nós e que, como tudo o que se descarola em forma de cadeia, se "explica" por meio da determinação do ponto de partida. *"Ñanderú omanó* (Deus é que deu a origem", isto é, a sua morte é a origem de nossa morte. assegurou-me Pai Chiquitho, o médico-feiticeiro da aldeia Kayová de Panambi, *"Ñanderú kuitinguéra ombó ypý"*, "a destruição de Deus é que deu a origem", isto é, a sua morte é a origem de nossa morte. Deus surgiu com a finalidade de morrer. — Não é preciso grande perspicácia para se descobrir que nessas frases há qualquer coisa dos ensinamentos ministrados pelos padres jesuítas no século dezessete. Mas a doutrina da morte de Cristo se tornou pagã; sofreu reinterpretação, para adaptar-se à concepção do mundo guaranítica.

Diante da morte o Guaraní tem atitude ambivalente, cujas raízes se encontram no misticismo da religião tribal. De um lado, temos naturalmente o medo instintivo e muito humano da morte, responsável, entre outras coisas, pela existência de ritos especiais para afastar o perigo da morte próxima. Do outro, o desejo profundamente religioso de morrer, comparável talvez à tanatomania dos Eskimó. Observa-se de fato entre os Guaraní que o indivíduo morre pelo desejo de ir para o Além, simplesmente por acreditar que deve morrer, não em virtude duma perfídia, mas sôbre a base de suas vivências pessoais. Foi o que se passou com o *Ñanderú Tekwaídio*, o médico-feiticeiro de Aracitá, que um belo dia se deitou no jirau de sua casa, recusando todo e qualquer alimento, e não permitindo em outra coisa senão na reunião com os deuses. Dali a duas ou três semanas foi levado ao cemitério.

Se há ritos para ampliar vida longa, há-os também para pedir a morte. Tal se encontra pelo menos entre os Kayová. Onde eram ainda se chamam *ñeripyrõ*, o palavra indica a subida do alma para o céu com o fim de apresentar o náufrago. Entre os Kayová, além, a existência ou pelo menos grande parte dos ritos tem a finalidade de se obter o *ñeripyrõ*, ou seja, de deus-saber *Pai Kuaxiry*. É bem, dizem, que alguém tenha tido uma vez o gosto de ver o *kiry* para que não tenha o medo, levado pelo desejo de vê-lo sempre.

De modo inesperado resulta de tudo isso que morte não equivale necessariamente a desgraça. Já sabemos que o falecido continua a viver e, entre os Ñandéva, pode até renascer. A morte, como simples acontecimento, como coisa que pode dar-se com qualquer pessoa, não

faz em geral periclitar a sua existência real. Não há, por isso, necessidade de nenhuma acrobacia mental para se afirmar que *Nanderú* (Deus) morreu e a êle referir-se como estando vivo no céu.

Não obstante, o Guaraní conhece também uma segunda categoria de morte — e a esta êle teme. Não a explica de maneira satisfatória, mas parece tratar-se de uma espécie de aniquilação. Diz que é a "morte da alma", que ameaça não sòmente o falecido em sua perigosa caminhada para o Além, mas também aos infelizes que se encontrarem sôbre a terra quando esta fôr destruída. No dia em que sobrevier o grande cataclismo, não haverá quem possa fugir. Das quatro regiões do céu, dizem os Kayová, avançarão cavalos voadores, lançando-se sôbre os homens, a fim de destruí-los. Macacos munidos de flechas incandescentes alvejarão e matarão a quem quer que tenha a velocidade de escapar. Dessa morte mítica o Guaraní tem mêdo incomparàvelmente maior ao que tem da morte biológica. E qual a origem da crença? Devemos interpretá-la como simples sobrevivência de ensinamentos jesuíticos ou como fusão do Apocalipse com a idéia da condenação eterna no inferno cristão? Não o sabemos. Importante é, em todo caso, a verificação de que, integrada no sistema doutrinário Guaraní, ela se transformou em representação pagã. Pois a idéia dessa morte assustadora reavivou a antiga mitologia tribal e talvez seja o fator decisivo da intensidade incomparável da ethica Guaraní, que hoje impregna tôdas as manifestações culturais da tribo.

• • •

Um dos assuntos de conversa mais difícil com um Guaraní — qualquer que seja o subgrupo a que pertença — é o que se refere à morte e às práticas funerárias. Tal é o mêdo dos defuntos que os informantes em geral emudecem logo que a conversa toque nesse domínio. Quanto aos Mbyá, sem sugerir que foi proibido, em nenhum dos grupos visitados, permaneceu-lhes o que me indicaram algumas seguidas.

Guerras tribais não eram comuns entre os Guaraní e nenhuma era uma de fôrça. Na atualidade não existem mais práticas funerárias em conflitos dos últimos que pude visitar. Se existe, o seu desaparecimento se liga, por certo, à intensificação do conflitismo de fôrça, responsável pelo declínio da economia, de que hoje um dos não subsistentes sendo tolerantemente assistido.

Também o entêrro no interior das cabanas, segundo as minhas observações e os informes colhidos, não se observa entre os Guaraní da atualidade.

Entre os Mbüá, todavia, continua viva a memória de que outrora tiveram tal prática. Hoje as sepulturas se encontram no mato, a alguns quilômetros da aldeia, distantes umas das outras, havendo sôbre elas pequeno monte de terra, uma choça de guaricanga e uma cruz de madeira fincada aos pés do defunto (êste último pormenor, aliás, encontrado não só nos três subgrupos Guaraní, como também entre os Kaingáng do Rio Grande do Sul). Faz-se o entêrro no dia imediato ao do falecimento, cabendo ao *kandéwi* plantar a cruz e dirigir as cerimônias que, aos sons do *mbaraká* e do *takuapú*, se repetem durante vários dias junto à sepultura. As mesmas cerimônias se realizam por ocasião da morte de crianças.

Os Nandéva do Baranal, talvez os mais aculturados, levam os seus defuntos aos cemitérios públicos de Peruíbe e Itanhaém; enterram-nos em caixão de tábuas revestido de pano e sôbre a sepultura fincam uma cruz; por outro lado, o morto baixa à cova com a "devoção" (*djaruá*, adêrêno religioso) no corpo, indício (se outros não houvesse) de que àquêles fenômenos aculturativos não corresponde a radical transformação religiosa que, à primeira vista poderia revelar. Bem ao contrário, o fato de transportarem a uma distância de muitas léguas o companheiro falecido se coaduna bem com o mêdo que o Guaraní tem do *angaíry*.

No sul de Mato Grosso, os Nandéva recordam ter havido entre êles o costume no interior da habitação; abandonavam a casa, sem queimá-la, e iam morar a alguma distância; hoje não se observa mais tal prática.

Quanto aos Kaiowá, não pude saber se em tempos idos faziam sepulturas no interior das casas; mas ainda hoje muitas abandonam ou queimam a habitação em que tenha morrido alguém da família, quer adulto, quer criança. No Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, um dos meus informantes (líder) dormia a uns 200 m, construindo outra a certa distância, porque no antigo "morria muita criança"; talvez se tenham o explicação no mêdo de a casa abrigar substâncias nocivas.

De modo geral, o contato Guaraní abandona pouco a pouco tradicionais, pois o contato está no mesmo sentido, orientado das populações rústicas com que os índios entraram em contacto.

E, como não podia deixar de ser, as práticas relíquias de algumas formas de culto relativas ao destino da alma do defunto. Sôbre a sepultura encontrei — Mbüá, Nandéva e Kaiowá — pequenas lagoas,

especialmente na noite do entêrro. Dizem os Kayová que o fazem para a alma encontrar o caminho para o Além, usança que poderia ser tomada como reinterpretação, em têrmos indígenas, de prática originàriamente cristã, se não fôssem, como testemunhos em contrário, os informes contidos em fontes antigas relativas a outros Tupí-Guaraní [14]. A fogueira é acesa logo após o sepultamento; quando se trata de criança, às vêzes se contentam com uma ou duas velas. O fogo sôbre a sepultura dos adultos considera-se indispensável. Marçal, meu principal e melhor informante, me deu a conhecer a explicação Nandéva, acrescentando ignorar se é válida também para os Kayová: o *ñéngue* do defunto, levando a recordação de todos os lugares percorridos em vida, sente necessidade de revê-los a todos após a morte, só depois é que vai para o Além; o fogo lhe serve de iluminação. Disse-me o mesmo informante que, para o Nandéva, o defunto às vêzes se "manifesta" aos sobreviventes por meio de gritos, choro ou de outra maneira; é que o *ñéngue* está necessitando de luz. Vai então alguém ao cemitério acender uma velinha ou um fogo sôbre a sepultura. Note-se, de passagem, que, segundo essa explicação, é o *ñéngue* (originàriamente apenas a parte sublime da alma humana) que precisa da luz, enquanto a pessoa que "não tem entrado no céu", isto é, que, não sendo aceita por motivo de vida desregrada, volta para vaguear na terra sem descanso, transformando-se em *angaéry*. Deveríamos que, evidentemente, já leva em conta concepções menos primitivas, pois substitui a crença na dualidade da alma humana pela noção cristã da recompensa e da condenação.

No Pôsto Indígena Caré Nimuendajú (Araribá), onde o cemitério ainda não foi feito em ruínas (a não ser que o administrador do pôsto levanta um cercado de madeira), enfeitam as sepulturas no Dia de Finados da mesma forma como o fazem os criollos, mas de outro lado conservam o uso de colocar sôbre o túmulo os objetos que pertenceram ao falecido, especialmente se se tratando de criança. Quando morre uma criança, põem sôbre a sepultura os brinquedos dados por ela e seus dois sobreviventes vão levando os outros que ainda encontram; sôbre os túmulos de adultos colocam o pote que o defunto — ou melhor: a defunta — usava para carregar água, além de outros objetos de uso pessoal.

Os "tornam" que permanecem no falecido, e que não são enterrados com êle, ficam sôbre o túmulo por tempo limitado. No cemitério do Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant havia uma infinidade de coisas: garrafas, pneumáticos, velas, tapetes, sêrra, pratos, potes e cuias por demais. Depois de tempo, tudo objeto se vão

estragando; acontece também, ao que me disse o Capitão Alberto, que os melhores são "roubados" por algum interessado. De fato, a tentação deve ser grande. No pude saber se há realmente a idéia de que o "espírito" (*angwiry*) do morto possa utilizar-se dos "tarecos" que lhe serviram em vida[17]. Entre os Mbüá disseram-me que os bens materiais do defuntocontinuam sendo propriedade do seu *mbogual*, razão pela qual ninguém os pode herdar. O *mbogual* viria buscar a quem dêles se apropriasse. Confessou Pablo Vera, de Yrojyá, que às vêzes algum cilho fica com os objetos do morto, porque de qualquer jeito terá le morrer dentro de curto prazo.

Nos cemitérios Kayová, a medida em que os conheci, as sepulturas ficam bem próximas uma da outra. O enterro se faz em rêdes, tendo a cova a profundidade de "sete palmos" (Capitão Alberto). Sôbre a sepultura é costume deixar também a vara utilizada para carregar a rede com o defunto. De modo geral, o sepultamento se realiza no dia imediatoao da morte[18].

Apesar da resistência dos indivíduos mais avessos às inovações, a nova geração Kayová dos dias mais-prosaicos adotou o chamado "velório da cruz", uma cerimônia após a morte de crianças e jovens. E' uma festa, comum no Paraguai e entre os colonos da região sul-mato-grossense, que: realiza na casa enlutada, entretém-se pela noite afora: músicas violão, acompanhando canções em Guarani ("polcas paraguaias" bailes (principalmente quando se trata de criança) e fogueira, tudo regado com muita pinga. A cruz, acompanhada de velas acesas, ca na casa até acabar a festa; no dia seguinte, pela manhã, vão-se ao cemitério, plantando-a sôbre a sepultura. Reúne-se a urna na cerca, convoca na vizinha população paraguaia e antiga oficial da religião Guarani, de que a criança, ao morrer, se torna-angelito" e vai diretamente para o céu, não havendo, pois, sentimento tristeza e luto. Disse-me o Capitão Alberto, da Amambai: "Ainda não penso, porque o pessoal fica contente; pois do lado não morto, devem o todos vinam ao cemitério levar o defunto". Estando assim, fica a impressão de que a festa do "velório da cruz" ou do Kayová não é acompanhada de modificação profundamente séria, o que interessa ao lado é o aspecto recreativo e de sociabilidade. — Não deixa significamos que fica oportunidade de dizer — o dono criança falecida em Amambai — bem as parcelas sendo vinam as provas da família, com, de outro lado, não havia-alguma manifestação de luto. E mais de uma vez me disseram ao cemitério de que aldeia V. D. Guarani[19] — que é antigo ou: muito pouco chôro e sentimento

gritaria. Durm, admitais, os Kayová que enterravam originàriamente os defuntos, quer crianças ou adultos, sem qualquer cerimónia fúnebre — afirmação todavia pouco verosímil. Para as crianças conhecem, em todo caso, rezas de "recordação triste", cantadas ou no dia da morte ou em época posterior.

Como tantas outras religiões, a dos Guaraní, em suas diversas modalidades, fornece aos crentes a esperança de reverem no Além os entes falecidos. A isto se liga o uso de se enterrarem os mortos em posição deitada, com os pés para o nascente, "para o espírito encontrar o caminho do sol" (Capitão Alberto). Na realidade trata-se de ida para o *yvý marã ey*, o paraíso mítico dos Guaraní, que muitos acreditam estar situado na direção de leste. Segundo a explicação de Marçal, a viagem dos mortos para a Terra sem Males se realizaria pouco antes de ser destruído o mundo, que será vítima do fogo.

5. *O sentido da acculturação religiosa*

Não há dúvida de que o principal obstáculo à acculturação Guaraní é o extraordinário apego ao sistema religioso tribal. O problema da aceitação ou rejeição de elementos estranhos situa-se no domínio do sagrado e o sentido de lealdade à herança social do grupo tende, *per se*, a traduzir-se em atitudes geralmente religiosas. Por outro lado, as frustrações da vida religiosa, como no caso da magia, se explicam em geral como consequência da aceitação de elementos alienígenas, que põem em perigo a eficácia dos ritos e dos antepassados. São encarados quase como profanação. Se não surtem efeito os pedidos dirigidos a produzir chuva na hora tempo e se, apesar de todos os esforços e prolongadas cerimónias, não chega o dia da partida para a Terra sem Males, é porque o "fogo" do estudar no colégio-internato está diminuindo. É que bebeu muita pinga, comeu muito pirulito de pouco e outros alimentos estranhos, participou de alguns bailes de colonos ou assistiu ao, decerto, que teve o desgosto de assistir a um jogo de futebol.

Compreende-se que tais explicações surjam de problemas nos grupos de Dourados ou bitola de bastante positiva, que, em virtude das frequentes ausências e mesmo do sumiço sem grande sacrifício, estão [illegible] em todos os aspectos de sua vida os diversos efeitos da desorganização social. Sobretudo os Dourados do Rancho e do Jacaré, na faixa de desbrabamento que atravessam, se veem a braços com o problema da bebida nos modos de vida dos antepassados.

Para efeito externo, porém, êsses e outros Guaraní, como os do Araribá, se consideram cristãos. Ao visitante indiscreto, interessado em saber qual a religião que professa, o Randéva responde prontamente: "Todos os Guaraní são católicos". Para fugir às críticas da parte de moradores brancos, sujeita-se a umas tantas práticas cristãs que não entende, nem quer entender. A missão capuchinha que no século passado existiu no grande aldeamento de Itaporanga não parece ter tido efeitos muito duradouros. Hoje os Guaraní raramente entram em contacto com sacerdotes católicos, mas sem a menor relutância fazem batizar os filhos e às vêzes até aceitam o casamento religioso. Nos cemitérios, as cruzes de madeira podem ter, por sua vez, a função de testemunhar um Cristianismo de realidade inexistente.

Essas concessões à religião dos brancos em geral não lhes abalam as primitivas convicções. As crianças são primeiro "batizadas" no *mongaraí*, ou *mainendy*, isto é, na correspondente sorte religiosa permitida pelo *Randéva*, "e depois, para os civilizados não falarem de nós, dos índios, batizamo-las também na igreja", segundo os pais-santos do velho Popéjá, do Araribá. No Pinto do Araribá não conseguiu criança que não tivesse passado pelo *mongaraí* e que, por conseguinte, não pertencesse a uma nome índio, mas todas foram batizadas também na igreja católica. No entanto do Popéjá, tal modo de proceder revela o espírito superior dos Guaraní em confronto com a atitude dos civilizados: "Eles não respeitam a nossa religião, coitados, mas nós respeitamos a deles". E "para acompanhar os civilizados" que não se trabalha aos domingos e raramente nos dias santos, e pelo mesmo motivo não se fazem festas e bailes na aldeia. No Araribá aconteceu ocorrer que alguns homens e mulheres vão à missa na povoação próxima, sem tomar a menor noção do seu significado.

A assimilação dos hábitos civilizados, comum entre os Randéva, como entre os índios do Rio Branco, vem de encontro também a tendências ancestrais. Escolhem-se padrinhos civilizados, que se vê na obrigação de dar um vestido ou outro presente à criança. No Araribá conheci vários Randéva que se haviam batizado sucessivamente vários. Constância, a filha do Capitão Silvino Rodrigues, tinha três padrinhos, pois filha batizada três vêzes, uma em São Paulo, outra em Itaporã e outra em São Gonçalo.

É claro que a assimilação religiosa é muito rápida e muito profunda nos casos de miscigenação mesmo. O homem que se casa com mulher índia, principalmente o religioso, não consegue conservar não

fir o casamento religioso, mas, além disso, familiariza a mulher, os filhos e outros elementos da comunidade com muitos conceitos do catolicismo. Hermínio, um pernambucano que vive no Bananal, casado com uma índia, é pai de meia dúzia de filhos mestiços. Ele próprio batiza as crianças e dá-lhes alguma instrução religiosa. Entretanto, como não podia deixar de ser, os elementos cristãos que dessa maneira se vão infiltrando na cultura Guaraní cedo se modificam em seus significados e em suas funções. Volta e meia, as crianças se apresentam ao visitante ou a pessoas adultas da família para lhes pedirem a bênção; é simples gesto de etiqueta e, em parte, apenas pantomimo. Entre os Mbiá de Palmeirinha e os Kayová do Panambi e de Dourados, onde igualmente crianças pedem a bênção aos pais, tios e estranhos, o pedido equivale mais ou menos a respeitoso cumprimento.

Para a aculturação religiosa concorre naturalmente a rápida desorganização social. Em consequência de rivalidades, desentendimentos e cisões internas, a aldeia do Bananal perdeu quase que de vez a tradição dos cerimoniais coletivos segundo os costumes da tribo. Em 1948 houve uma tentativa de se fazer um *mangaral*, que, ao contrário, por divisionismo e falta de espírito de cooperação, não chegou a realizar-se. Quando, há alguns anos, morreu Arnaldo, capitão e vereador principal dos Ranchos do Bananal, Ermelino, o mais moderno chamar Comprador Gorgeiro, convidou o capitão da parentalidade, para "tomar uma minha" na "taperá" de defunto. Por ocasião de sua viagem do Aceitbá ao Bananal, Arnaldo conhecera a grande cerâmica do Aceitbá, que lhe agradara muito. E no dia de sua morte, a alma, pensando pela sua de um cavalo colorido de São Vicente, teria gostado uma minha cerâmica [illegible]. Ermelino deu vinte cruzeiros ao cavalo para pagar a minha. Todo isso se refletiu em parte da tradição de tratar os "mortinhos", mas deixou entrever também profundas chaga sofridas pela solidariedade geral. Na aldeia havia índios, como o vereador Engelgum, que se pediu que ter incumbido de dirigir os ritos segundo o sistema tribal. Mas [illegible] não houvesse possibilidade de chegar a um entendimento. Engelgum, por exemplo, não teria um bom relações com o [illegible] de Arnaldo, que lhe dispensou, havia anos, o parente de [illegible] da aldeia. Assim a desorganização social [illegible] a aculturação religiosa. Em dá o direito de se "tomar [illegible] entre" segundo dos cerimoniais da cultura não importa, é claro, que [illegible] dos velhos costumes, mas pergunta o direito para o seu [illegible] [illegible].

Fato muito significativo é o de que os elementos católicos sintetizados com maior facilidade são os que se referem ao culto dos santos como é concebido pelas populações rurais vizinhas. Nas casas dos Nandéva não são raras as imagens ou estampas de santos. No Ibatimirim, um jovem Nandéva abriu em sua casa uma vendinha ou "biboca", mas, como o movimento fosse demasiado fraco, desistiu do negócio e transformou o balcão num altar, guarnecendo-o com velas de cera e imagens de santos colocadas num nicho; tinha o cuidado de não beber pinga à vista das imagens, para não decepcioná-las e não lhes tirar a "força". Na casa de João Samuel, Nandéva que morava alguns anos em São Vicente, havia um aparador com muitas imagens de santos. Havia-as "trocado" de um "santeiro", negociante de artigos religiosos. (Imagens de santos não se "vendem", nem se "compram", mas "trocam"-se por dinheiro, uma galinha ou outra coisa qualquer.) No altar de João Samuel vê-se uma imagem de Santo Onofre, que "faz muito milagre, mas é preciso dar a ele um vidrinho com água ou de água com vinho, para ele não fugir". Havia uma igrejinha com o Bom Jesus de Pirapora, diante dela o dono da casa punha pequena moeda como "promessa". Ao lado, Santo Antônio, "com o filhinho dele". E outros santos. João Samuel acendia uma vela para todos e ia vinda colocava no altar, para se tornar mais eficazes, o sacrifício que algumas pessoas da casa iria tomar.

João Samuel tem especial simpatia por São Gonçalo, "santo casador e farista". Disse-me que já viera em Guarani realizar a dança de São Gonçalo. Quando no período chuvoso mais, fazer "promessa" para ele parar a chuva. "A primeira moda é dele, o violeiro tem de cantar primeiro o modelo dele, o sanfoneiro fica no meio da moda, entre duas filas. Um velho e uma velha vira, dançando, beijar o santo três vezes. Ai acaba o modelo dele. Tirar-se então e colocar-se em seu lugar, no aparador. E a brincadeira vai para o forro." Nas paróquias do Samuel, onde fazem o "promessa", São Gonçalo realizava o milagre de parar a chuva.

Embora na realidade professe a religião oficial, João Samuel se gaba de ser "vacinado de vida", como o pai e filho, e "ser vacinado" é receber os santos. Certa ocasião, um "doutor", filho de Sta. Catarina, apareceu na casa de João Samuel, aparou-se com as imagens, acendendo-lhe diante de "adorar como santos de fazer, de papel e de madeira". Diante de tal manifestação, que lhe pareceu idolátrica, João Samuel lembrou o fato de que o pai já lhe ensinara o "já vinha algumas coisas nessa religião".

Nem sempre o Guarani, principalmente quando se trata de indivíduos velhos, se refere sem inibições às práticas e apresentações cristãs ou pseudocristãs adotadas em época mais ou menos recente. Na casa de Poydjú havia uma imagem de São Bosco se não me engano, mas que diziam ser de São José; no quarto dianteiro, cercado, havia pequeno oratório com crucifixo e outras imagens de santos. As imagens eram tidas providas de um *djeusuá* feito d'linha de algodão, e diante delas colocavam-se moedinhas para prevenir doenças. Poydjú não gostava de que se fizessem referências a isso coisas e parecia mesmo envergonhar-se delas. E para a seta, valor devocional, se existia (como talvez se possa inferir do *djeusuá*), era em todo caso insignificante em confronto com a função mágica das imagens e do crucifixo.

Tudo parece indicar, enfim, que o aspecto mais o menos mágico do culto aos santos, tal como é concebido e praticado pela maioria dos cabocloes, é o único realmente assimilado pela tutorial, e de preferência pelas gerações mais novas. Demais, parecerá o "santo" não é nada além da imagem; esta algumas vezes nem aspecto ou ser sobrenatural que não cessa mesmo no fetiche material da própria imagem.

Apesar disso, fica é necessário que a religião tutorial não tendem a inflexível de concepções geralmente cristãs. Sobretudo naqueles setores, é claro, em que a experiência religiosa anterior já teria amadurecido favorável à adoção dessas concepções. Isto, situações em que disso vêm corresponder a uma necessidade do grupo.

Assim, a noção do "pecado" e as idéias correlatas de responsabilidade e culpabilidade, mesmo necessárias ou pelo menos de peso sobre os corpos das representações coletivas do grupo. Elas chegam ao Tutorais, por exemplo, como no Sonho do Tutorial problema pela necessidade de se explicar os acontecimentos traumáticos experimentados com a inflexibilidade dos antepassados para à Terra sem Males. Não havia na doutrina tribal nenhum elemento capaz de explicar a inflexibilidade, necessidade próprio e que lo sentia pensar adequadamente a consulta cristã do pecado-culpa. Com os do antepassados, diz-me o velho Pedro Pires: "Quando é não anda para o não sempre pecadores, por isso não podem chegar". E explicava: "Mas tanto no mundo sabe o não ignorá, e no não sabendo sabe não ignorá. Mas não não podem chegar não, porque não sempre sabe pecadores".

Não sempre aconteceu que a idéia de "ser pecado" idéia de primeiro ser tomada na sentido apenas coletivo. Pois não sabe

pecadores"), devia, para integrar-se na mentalidade Guarani, ser reinterpretada em termos de experiências anteriores. "Ser pecador" não podia, evidentemente, referir-se à bigamia ou ao desrespeito a qualquer um dos mandamentos mosaicos. A significação do termo tinha de decorrer de vivências próprias, de um estado subjetivo próprio a que viesse corresponder. Este estado subjetivo era a consciência de que os fenômenos de desorganização social, criando dificuldades cada vez maiores, e fazendo por vezes perceber a própria sobrevivência da coletividade, resultavam do fato de já não se viver rigorosamente segundo os padrões tradicionais. A vida estruturativa da vida grupal bem organizada do passado em confronto com a crise do presente favorecia a aceitação da idéia de pecado ou de culpa moral, que pôde firmar-se com relativa facilidade, porque vinha de encontro à exigência de se explicar a frustração. A *par disso*, havia um elemento formal favorável a essa adoção: a analogia ou correspondência entre melhoria dos *tiers* e a desaparição crônica de que o pecador não entra no céu.

A religião Guarani não conhece, em sua forma original, castigo pelo *morrer* ou condenação eterna, um dos motivos pelos quais, *primeiramente* com a dúvida lançada no começo da conversação (perceber ao subgrupo dos Bandeiras), não há motivo de pavor ou desrespeito diante do estado final. Certo, o *angaipy*, em que se transforma o *avaiguá*, é sofrido; mas, além de não o ser em consequência de alguma culpabilidade, não se trata propriamente da pessoa do defunto. Esta, representada pelo *ayvokué*, encontra-se em condição (e é um dos da idéia de redenção que guarda toda a religiosidade Guarani) acima do sofrimento ou, de forma definitiva, pelo *opyrúpi*, ou seja, a não à Terra sem Males. No entanto, o sabor da idéia central de "pecado", novamente ligado à de culpabilidade individual, tende a abalar essa crença. Assim, o velho Rufino, capitão dos Bandeiras do Iguaçu, depois de ter negado o seu conteúdo de que no final dos contas todos hão de encontrar o caminho do céu, teve a coragem de acrescentar, o título de exemplo: "Só os que não pecaram chegam à que não para o inferno".

Dentro mesmo, a não para o inferno este sempre deverá acompanhamento dos atos experimentados pelos indivíduos. Entre os Bandeiras de Dourados, o mais grupo Guarani que já não se apega de seus livros ou de seus ao não da Terra sem Males, existem dois representações muito diferentes a isto respeito: a que, segundo informações de Bruno, também sustentava entre os Bandeiras do Iguaçu antigo. Do lado, aquelas, que recordo de Dourados, se na crença não respeitam pelo menos um certo dualismo, julgam-se antes que

espécie de marulho, que se atribui à fervura da panela do diabo (*obá*). E' que o diabo pega as almas, jogando-as vivas em grande panela, onde as ferve, para depois comê-las, reminiscência talvez de antropofagia. Tida alma de defunto corre o risco de parar na cozinha do diabo. Como medida educacional, para prevenir a desgraça, nunca se permite às crianças passarem por cima duma vida estendida pela cabana, mas só por baixo dela. Isto porque, após a morte, na caminhada para o outro mundo, tida alma deve atravessar o rolo de *obá*. Além das almas "tendendo", o diabo quer pegar também as "inocentes". Tem armada transversalmente sôbre o caminho das almas uma série de rôdes; quem procura passar por cima, corre perigo de tropeçar, podendo ser apanhado. Campos, portanto, aconselha aos crianças o hábito de sempre passarem por baixo do rôdo, pegando-a por sôbre as costas. A prescrição é, pois, em primeiro lugar, medida de prudência e não prohibição moral. E a coisa no panela do diabo, embora tratado talvez de Cristianismo medieval, foi primeiramente combinada com o "secreto de abóbadas" que o mitologia Ramírez e Kayová exigem de tida alma de defunto.

Mas não há dúvida de que as concepções aciada vão gradualmente sumindo. Há no que falam no julgamento da alma por *obá*, dizendo que foi o Sol quem por sôbre o rôdo para ver se tropeça e assim descobrir se é culpada ou não. Uma das falas mais graves consistia pois possível é o desrespeito ao desobediência aos pais. Aqui já não se trata, é evidente, duma questão de habilidade, mas de culpa. A distinção entre o bem e o mal começa impor-se.

Não é difícil perceber, portanto, que a religião Guarani, quando de repente e constante confronto com a doutrina cristã e, até mesmo, de crítica dos "racionais" ou "civilizados", não parece vai desmoronar de ser tomada pelos seus adeptos como coisa absolutamente inatacável e evidente. Pelo menos em alguns casos, a desorganização religiosa já atingiu o mesmo de coisas, criando a mesma situação patogênica de se fundamentar o Ó com argumentos racionais. Ou pensar que, por exemplo, um índio Kayová de Panambi não se lembrava mais de discutir, diante dos antropólogos ou mesmo de estudiosos, a verdade de seu discurso, de tal que não foi constituído problema, mantendo mesmo assumindo atitude bem diversa. Perguntado, até, talvez não a sabe, ou pensaria muito com estranhamento sôbre as circunstâncias sociais e de seus antepassados, mais do que em discutir a verdade atingida pela fala tida como verossimilhança e que, a seu ver, permite que a religião Guarani é a verdadeira. Um exemplo: Em 1973 os índios do Dourado foram chamados para participar da Revolução Constitucionalista. Perguntado, filho de Pajagua

ainda não havia recebido a sua reza; recebeu-a poucos dias antes da partida e na mesma noite teve, em sonho, "aviso" de que poderiam ir sem mêdo, pois nada lhes aconteceria e todos voltariam são e salvos. Foi o que se deu.

Os representantes do mundo civilizado, assistindo a quaisquer cerimônias da religião aborígine, não conseguem, na maioria dos casos, abster-se de observações jocosas ou, mesmo, de ingênuas tentativas de doutrinação cristã. A primeira reação dos Guaraní é a de não permitirem que os brancos assistam a suas cerimônias religiosas. Hoje, os mais zelosos a êste respeito são os Mbüá; nas visitas que lhes fiz, sòmente dois médicos-feiticeiros dêsse subgrupo (Itariri e Xapecó) não tiveram relutância em realizar rezas e danças cerimoniais em minha presença e até de permitirem a minha participação; todos os outros se negaram terminantemente a fazer demonstrações dessa ordem durante a minha permanência na aldeia. Tanto mais estranhei que Alcides, um dos chefes da aldeia do Rio Branco, me declarasse certa vez ter a intenção de ir ao Rio de Janeiro, a fim de promover no carnaval carioca um *ñemongaraí*, com exibição de todos os petrechos rituais. Dos Kayová também se afirma que outrora se abstinham de fazer o *porahéi*, quando na proximidade houvesse algum branco, e ainda hoje a *kunumí piéta*, a perfuração dos lábios dos meninos, é feita com exclusão rigorosa de quaisquer estranhos (embora, como sabemos, por outro motivo). No tocante às rezas comuns, porém, os Kayová já não revelam na atualidade a menor inibição diante de espectadores brancos; ao contrário, nota-se-lhes certo grau de exibicionismo, cujas raízes psicológicas parecem ser a necessidade de compensação: constantemente menosprezados pelo branco, que lhes ridiculariza os costumes tribais, acentuariam êstes aspectos no convívio com o branco, para superarem o sentimento de inferioridade que os assalta diante do estranho.

Um dos fatôres responsáveis pela infiltração de elementos novos no sistema religioso dêste ou daquele subgrupo é o convívio, nas mesmas aldeias, de famílias pertencentes a dois dêles ou a todos os três. As discrepâncias doutrinais e rituais abrem caminho para a infiltração de idéias alienígenas, sobretudo cristãs, de que os índios tomam conhecimento através de suas numerosas peregrinações e viagens e de outras formas de contacto com gente caboclа.

Exemplo curioso de aculturação religiosa intratribal, de troca de elementos entre indivíduos de um subgrupo e outro, é o do índio Pascoal, Nandéva desarraigado, de "algum ponto" da fronteira paraguaia, que em 1949 eu conhecera entre os Kayová de Amambai

e que daí a úm ano vivia como curador no pôsto de Dourados, gozando grande prestígio e contando numerosa freguesia entre índios e caboclos. Significativa era a sua atitude ambivalente em face dos Kayová: de um lado acentuava o que dêles o distinguia e do outro procurava dar as suas explicações em têrmos da religião e da organização social Kayová. Estabelecia, ademais, conexão entre conceitos indígenas e os do catolicismo rural da região e outros elementos do mundo civilizado.

Resumo aqui algumas das explicações de Pascoal: Eu sou curador e rezo um pouco. Tiro o "espírito" da doença com reza de *mbarakd*, assim como o médico civilizado o tira cortando a barriga. Mas também dou chá de erva. Tenho o meu "ángelo", que me ensina as coisas do futuro quando rezo. O *djeatsaá* é a minha defesa; basta pô-lo para não me acontecer nada. Na reza, uso o *mbarakd* e o *djeatsaá*; não uso a cruz, "para mi no carece". Não faço como os Kayová, que também rezam de dia: eu só rezo de noite. As minhas rezas não têm palavras, não falam em *Randedjára*, *Kurusú* etc.; canto simplesmente. Não posso rezar com os Kayová, porque não consigo combinar a voz; êles rezam mais "alto" (com voz mais forte). — E, mudando de assunto, em resposta a perguntas que lhe fiz: O cordão umbilical das crianças corta-se com tesoura ou com *takudrembó*. Fá-lo a parteira ou o parteiro, parente ou não, que passa a tornar-se compadre ou comadre: "es una ligación grande para el Kayová". Quem dá o nome é o "sabedor", a quem o revelam as estrêlas. Faz água de casca de cedro, molha a mão na água, asperge a criança em forma de cruz e depois "conta o nome". O batismo é feito na casa do "sabedor", na presença de pai e mãe, "depois de quarenta dias", enquanto o padrinho segura a criança. Precisa ser uma cerimônia "fina", feita com muito cuidado, em data fixada com dias de antecedência, "para segurar el espíritu, el angelito de él". O "sabedor" faz uma vela grande de *vorá* (abelheira do mato), que se acende quatro noites seguidas em que se reza pela criança; no último dos quatro dias é o batismo, em que o "sabedor" descobre o nome. *Pai Kuará* é quem manda o "angelito", o espírito, da criança. — Quando morre alguém, o "sabedor" reza, "para se salvar la ánima", que vai para *Hyapáguasú*. Se não rezar pela alma, ela "se perde, fica no escuro".

Hóspede dos Kayová, Pascoal usa com a maior naturalidade os nomes dos deuses dêstes em substituição aos das divindades de seu grupo. De outro lado, já é velho para substituir o comportamento ritual aprendido em criança, razão pela qual não pode participar das cerimônias dos Kayová, alguns dos quais, entretanto, é

estimam bastante e aparecem amiúde em seu terreiro para dançar e rezar em sua homenagem. E quando insiste na importância atribuída ao parentesco social estabelecido, fora dos laços familiais, entre compadre e afilhado, por certo não se refere, embora o diga, aos Kayová, entre os quais, em oposição aos Ñandéva, parece nem haver a instituição do compadrio. Desligado de qualquer comunidade religiosa, e privado por isso da intensificação das vivências religiosas obtida pela participação em cerimônias coletivas, Pascoal já insiste mais no aspecto mágico de ritos e petrechos religiosos. Ao passo que os Ñandéva do litoral chamam o *djeatsaá* de "minha devoção", êle o chama de "defesa", tal qual entre aquêles o faz o velho Pedro Pires quando se refere à cruzinha de cedro que lhe pende sôbre o peito. As cerimônias do "sabedor" por ocasião do "batismo" tendem a ser explicadas como práticas mágicas, à maneira do que se passa no catolicismo rural da região. Com habilidade, aliás, Pascoal combina êste último com a doutrina de seus antepassados: o *yvyráidjá*, espírito protetor, se identifica com o Anjo da Guarda; a alma da criança recém-nascida passa a ser "angelito"; e se a alma de defunto "se perde", se não encontra caminho que a leve para o Além, é que o sacerdote deixou de rezar por sua salvação.

* * *

Concluindo: Se é verdade que a religião constitui o núcleo de resistência da cultura Guaraní em face das fôrças desintegradoras, isto não significa, em absoluto, que não se observe aculturação nesse domínio. Esta, porém, se processa, de forma mais lenta e em várias, talvez três, fases relativamente distintas. Na primeira, aceitam-se elementos religiosos de origem estranha, integrando-os na configuração cultural não com função e significado religiosos, mas dando-lhes um cunho mágico, medicinal ou mesmo econômico. Na segunda fase, elementos religiosos são aceitos como tais, isto é, com referência aos problemas do sobrenatural, mas reinterpretados em têrmos do sistema religioso da tribo, através do estabelecimento de analogias de forma. Na terceira fase, final e decisiva, o sistema religioso tradicional é abalado em seus fundamentos pela predominância de elementos estranhos nêle integrados. Esta última fase dificilmente é alcançada por alguma comunidade Guaraní enquanto mantenha um mínimo de coesão social, e por indivíduos isolados sòmente após a sua destribalização total[29]. Para o elevado grau de resistência da religião Guaraní, mesmo após a

destruição de grande parte dos laços de solidariedade grupal, contribui sem dúvida o fato de que, embora altamente coletiva em boa parte de suas manifestações, ela é também uma religião eminentemente familiar e mesmo individual, em virtude da importância atribuída às experiências e vivências sobrenaturais do indivíduo para a consecução de seu ideal de vida.

NOTAS

1. Discutido inúmeras vêzes por antropólogos das mais diferentes orientações, o tema é demasiado geral para ser retomado aqui. Tudo se resume na possibilidade de se encontrarem critérios de distinção, teòricamente válidos, entre o mágico, o religioso e o moral — embora se reconheça, de antemão, não dispormos de recursos de análise satisfatórios para estabelecer as linhas divisórias no tratamento do material concreto. Com referência ao problema, encontramos perspectivas particularmente promissoras no artigo de A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, bem como em alguns trabalhos de Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

2. O depoimento do Padre Müller, que trabalhou entre os Guarani do Rio Monday, é por demais significativo para que se não citem pelo menos algumas passagens: "A sua primeira e maior paixão consiste na liberdade e independência absolutas, que não se restringem por coisa alguma dêste mundo ou fora dêle. Só à fôrça reconhece para as suas ações norma que não seja a da sua própria vontade. Dos seus caprichos, que mudam diàriamente, é que depende o fazer ou deixar de fazer qualquer coisa. (...) As superstições, a desconfiança e o horror a tudo o que os pudesse levar a um estado de dependência com relação à Missão a princípio os mantinham longe de nós. 'Não quero aprender nada com vocês, nem quero saber nada de seu modo de vida; isso talvez seja bom para vocês, nós seguiremos o nosso regime. A vocês Deus fêz brancos e limpos, a nós fêz-nos sujos, para no mato vivermos à nossa maneira e no mato ficarmos. Eu não quero ser instruído. Nada quero saber dos seus remédios, nem quero saber nada de seu Deus, nem de seu batismo. Não quero morar aqui com vocês. Que importa a você que calejamos doentes e morramos, que dia a dia fiquemos menos numerosos? Não se preocupe conosco'. — Assim mais ou menos falavam a nós, depois de vencerem o receio que nos tinham e de perceberem que éramos inofensivos. Suave advertência, feita a um velho malandro, teve como eco: 'Ora, se você quer viver só com gente boa, não venha ter conosco; nós somos assim mesmo. Se não pudermos permanecer como somos, não poderemos viver com você. Que é que você fala de ser bom? Pois eu não quero ser bom'". Müller, 1919.

3. "... em algumas tribos primitivas, como, por exemplo, os aborígines australianos, é o homem quem concebe a criança, sonhando com ela e narrando o sonho à espôsa. Dessa forma então lhes nasce ocasionalmente um filho, sendo que a mulher desempenha apenas a função de chocadeira, chocando o ôvo que aí chegou devido às boas graças do marido" (Montagu, 1952). E assim muitos exemplos.

4. Apesar da impressão diferente proporcionada pela leitura de várias fontes relativas aos Tupinambá, é possível que êstes tivessem a mesma noção da descendência bilinear. Lembro como significativa, a êste respeito, uma passagem de Jean Fonteneau (conhecido como Alfonse de Saintonge), segundo a qual as filhas dos prisioneiros, consideradas como de natureza igual à da mãe, não eram submetidas à execução ritual, ao passo que os meninos deviam morrer no mesmo dia em que se matasse o pai. *Apud* Métraux, 1928 b, pág. 137. E' verdade que Gandavo (1924, pág. 52) por seu turno se refere ao consumo antropofágico das crianças de um e outro sexo.

5. Embora não se enquadre nos objetivos dêste ensaio o estudo comparativo da cultura Guaraní com as de outras populações tribais, é preciso abrir exceção com referência a êste ponto, para citar um trecho que mostra profunda semelhança da doutrina da reencarnação Guaraní com idéias dos Eskimó do Golfo Coronado: "Muito enigmática parecia a maneira de falarem com crianças. Às vêzes ouvia êle (o explorador Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) a uma mulher Eskimó dirigir-se a seu próprio filho do sexo masculino com o nome "avô". Em outra ocasião chamava o filho de outra mulher de "pai". Deriva isto de curiosa crença dessa tribo. Quando na aldeia morre uma pessoa (quer do sexo feminino ou masculino), a alma do falecido paira aí perto no ar por algum tempo, sem corpo e à espera do reinício de vida em corpo. Depois, ao nascer a primeira criancinha, ela é logo possuída pela alma que perdeu o corpo pela morte. A criancinha recebe o nome do defunto ou da defunta, e é reconhecida como sendo dela a rêde de relações de parentesco anteriormente pertencentes ao que morreu. — Tal estado paradoxal dura sòmente os anos de infância. Pouco a pouco, o nôvo menino ou a nova menina adquire personalidade nova, que lhes é própria em sua vida. Êle ou ela recebe nome próprio, sendo classificada, no locante ao parentesco, segundo os novos fatos. Depois disso ninguém mais parece incomodar-se com a alma ou personalidade da pessoa falecida. A sua carreira como ser distinto está como que encerrada e terminada. Já não precisa ter existência à parte, de vez que o tempo de vida é passado para adiante, de uma mão a outra, e a mão anterior pode retirar-se para o não-ser, sem transtôrno e sem prejuízo". Dodge, 1948. E' resumo e in-

terpretação bastante feliz do que se lê a págs. 395-403 de Stefánsson, 1951.

6. Sôbre a teoria da concepção e o conceito da alma humana entre os Mbüá do leste paraguaio, encontra-se material extraordinàriamente valioso no volume *Ayvu Rapyta*, de León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. E' manancial riquíssimo para o estudo da mitologia da religião e da organização social Mbüá. A obra oferece numerosos pontos de apoio novos para se retomar o estudo comparativo dos subgrupos da tribo — inclusive no que respeita a grande parte das questões abordadas no presente ensaio.

7. Poýdjú me explicara que a alma-sombra da direita se chamava *okáña ã vaé*, sendo portadora de doenças a quem a encontre após a morte do indivíduo. Depois, Sebastião lhe contradisse enèrgicamente, dizendo que "êsse ser é gerado aqui na terra mesmo; não é alma de gente, é o saci". Poýdjú aceitou a retificação, admitindo que, na qualidade de *ñanderú*, Sebastião era mais competente. Poýdjú, que afirma ter-se tornado rezador depois de velho, confessa, aliás, espontâneamente a sua ignorância em muitas coisas de doutrina religiosa. Muitos outros, principalmente homens de meia idade, se declaram incompetentes em assuntos de teologia e liturgia.

8. "Por outro lado, escreve Nimuendajú, conheço uma jovem mulher da horda dos Oguauiva, chamada Potá; é viva e um pouco maldosa, e tem-se por provado ser ela portadora do *ocyiguá* de um saí. E' que certa vez, quando Potá era pequena, uma velha médica-feiticeira, sobremodo competente nestes assuntos, ouviu desprender-se de sua nuca, sede do *ocyiguá*, o assobio característico daquela espécie de macaco" (Nimuendajú, 1914, pág. 305). Tal doutrina relativa à sede do *atsýguá*, em desacôrdo com os dados por mim colhidos, talvez se coadune melhor com certas crenças dos antigos Tupinambá.

9. Poýdjú, embora defenda a teoria das três almas em cada ser humano, tem idéias heréticas quanto ao *atsýguá*. Para êle todos são portadores de *ayvú*, mas nem todos de *atsýguá*; e não admite a palavra portuguêsa "alma" para designá-lo. "Só gente ruim que tem, é a ruindade dêle." Se alguém vem bravo, brigar comigo, e daí a algum tempo fico doente, diz-se "*Aé yatsýguoma*", foi êle que fêz mal. Por meio de "benzinho", o *ñanderú* pode tirar o *atsýguá*. — Esta interpretação, em que o católico percebe logo a analogia com a absolvição dos pecados, não a endossam os Ñandéva mais versados na doutrina ortodoxa, na medida em que é possível usar esta expressão. Marçal, por exemplo, me disse: "O *ñanderú* não pode tirar o *atsýguá*, porque senão a pessoa morre". E contou o caso de uma criança que chorava sempre e não queria mamar. O *ñanderú* receitou à mãe que pendurasse ao pescoço da criança um bico de papagaio (*parakáu*); êsse bico vedava a vista

do *atsýyguá* da mãe, que era uma cobra enrolada no peito dela. — Pode-se tirar, isto sim, as rezas mandadas pelo *atsýyguá*, quando já transformado em *anguéry*. A alma que, depois da morte, fica vagueando pelo chão (*anguéry*, assombração), explicou-me o *ñanderú* Sebastião, "às vêzes dá reza também, mas não é boa; a pessoa não deve pegar a reza, senão fica variada e fala asneiras". O João Américo do Itariri, quando morava no Araribá, "pegou" uma reza dessas, andou meio louco e ficou doente. Sebastião, certa madrugada (pelas quatro horas; disse-me que é a hora em que os espíritos costumam entrar em contacto com os homens) foi à casa dêle e "tirou"-lhe a reza. Na manhã seguinte êle já amolou a enxada e foi trabalhar. No processo de "tirar" a reza má, *ñanderú* é auxiliado pelos *yvyráidjá;* as mulheres batem o *takúapú;* o *ñanderú* dá apenas a ordem para retirar a reza; então os espíritos dos *yvyráidjá* pegam o espírito ruim e mandam-no para o lado de onde veio. — Também o *ayvú* e o *ayváporóvé* mandam rezas, mas boas. Sôbre as rezas falar-se-á mais adiante. Aqui é preciso, porém, atentar para a identificação pura e simples de "reza má" com "espírito ruim", provável raiz da concepção de Poýdjú. Ver também a nota 5.

10. Aliás, também os animais têm *anguéry*, como se depreende de um mito intitulado *mboré-odjépolá*, que tive ensejo de colhêr no Araribá.

11. Cadogan, 1952.

12. Cadogan, 1952, pág. 33.

13. Lembre-se, de passagem, que isso dificulta o trabalho do antropólogo entre os Ñandéva crentes, quando se trata de estudar-lhes a religião. Tidos como sagrados, os conhecimentos não se devem transmitir a qualquer pessoa cuja conduta moral e cuja mentalidade religiosa não se conheçam bem. Os meus informantes de Jacareí me confessaram ter mêdo de serem mortos por *Ñandedjára*, se êste descobrisse que me revelavam o que sabiam. "*Ñandedjára tzedjuká*", dizia Hilário. Entre os Mbüá do Rio Branco, ao contrário, afirmavam-me haver o perigo de os estranhos abusarem dos conhecimentos transmitidos, para "fazer mal" (magia negra?) aos índios.

14. Interessante a analogia entre o *ñanderú* Guarani e o *pajé* dos Tenetehára. Ao passo que o primeiro é tanto mais poderoso quanto maior o número de rezas de que disponha para pôr-se em contacto com o mundo sobrenatural, o segundo cresce em importância e poder com o número de espíritos malignos, portadores de doenças, que seja capaz de "chamar", para por êles ser possuído e depois afugentá-los. Wagley e Galvão, 1949, págs. 109-110.

15. O mesmo se dá, aliás, com os cantos de chicha (*guahú* e *guahúvai*). Num texto de *guahúvai* canta-se, por exemplo: "*Takurú*

pβtãva ñesyrã; em Kayová moderno se diria: "*Takurã pβtãva ryepβ*", o que significa: cupins vermelhos enfileirados.

16. Das três recomendações que os Tupinambá faziam aos mortos, a primeira era a de não deixarem apagar o fogo (d'Evreux, 1929, pág. 167). Também outras tribos afins acreditavam na necessidade de iluminação para a alma fazer a perigosa viagem para o Além e não se perder nas regiões escuras que lhe cumpre atravessar. Veja-se, por exemplo, Métraux, 1928 b, pág. 122.

17. Não se deixa nenhuma cuia sôbre a sepultura, a não ser as que tenham pertencido ao defunto ou defunta, ao contrário do que afirma V. D. Watson, 1944, pág. 40.

18. Caso extraordinário, referido por antigo administrador do P. I. Benjamim Constant, foi o de uma índia atacada de fogo-selvagem, que, não tendo cura, foi enterrada ainda com vida; fizeram uma cova bem funda, para que não saísse.

19. V. D. Watson, 1944, pág. 40.

20. Sôbre êste ponto ver também Schaden, 1955, trabalho em que se discutem igualmente, de modo sumário, alguns outros aspectos da aculturação religiosa Guarani.

CAPÍTULO IX

OBSERVAÇÕES SÔBRE A MÚSICA E O FOLCLORE

E' conhecido desde os tempos jesuíticos o *amor* dos Guaraní pela arte musical. Os missionários souberam aproveitá-lo hàbilmente no trabalho da catequese. Por outro lado, é surpreendente a pobreza de instrumentos musicais integrados na cultura tribal, alguns dêles simples marcadores de ritmo.

Os mais importantes são o chocalho de cuia ou *mbaraká* e o bastão-de-ritmo ou *takuá(pú)*, usados em tôdas as cerimônias religiosas. Nos três subgrupos da tribo, os homens marcam o compasso das danças religiosas e das rezas com o *mbaraká*, enquanto as mulheres as acompanham com o *takuapú*. Em uma única aldeia, no Itariri, participei de danças religiosas dirigidas por um *ñanderú* Mbüá que substituíra o *mbaraká* de cuia (ou também *mbaraká I*) por um violão de origem industrial (*yvyrá mbaraká* ou simplesmente *mbaraká*), que em outras aldeias se conhece apenas para tocar músicas profanas. O referido *ñanderú* sòmente feria as cordas para marcar o ritmo. O uso cerimonial do maracá pelos homens e do bastão de ritmo pelas mulheres se inclui entre os inúmeros traços de união que prendem os Guaraní a culturas chaquenhas. Parece mesmo que todos os instrumentos musicais guaraníticos são encontrados no Chaco e mais para o oeste [1].

Como instrumento característico dos Mbüá merece menção o *mbarimbáu*, monocórdio que consiste em um arco de quase um metro de comprimento, provido de corda feita de uns quatro ou cinco fios de linha; uma das pontas se põe na bôca; sopra-se com intensidade variável e toca-se a corda com os dedos. A própria cavidade bucal faz as vêzes de caixa de resonância. Instrumento existente também no Chaco, bem como entre patagônios e Araucanos, é considerado de origem pós-colombiana e proveniente da África [2]. De fato, a semelhança do nome com a palavra africana *marimba* e a do

próprio instrumento com outros existentes na África são bem significativas. Parece não ter havido, originàriamente, nenhum instrumento de corda nas culturas ameríndias.

Os Mbüá se divertem também, individualmente, com pequenas flautas de taquara, de 5 furos na face superior e 2 na inferior. Aos orifícios da face superior correspondem o dedo indicador, o médio e o anelar da mão direita e o indicador e o médio da esquerda: aos da inferior, os polegares.

Instrumento característico dos Kayová é o *mimbý*, espécie de flauta-assobio, talhada na maioria dos casos de *arasá rapé* (raiz de araçá), raramente de *yvyrákatí* ou de outra madeira. E' dos poucos objetos que muitos homens Kayová levam sempre consigo[8]. Apesar de reiteradas tentativas, não pude saber com exatidão o fim a que se destina; disseram-me apenas servir para acalmar espíritos enfurecidos e chamar uma divindade protetora quando o indivíduo se encontra em situação de perigo (trovoada etc.).

Outro instrumento por mim observado sòmente entre os Kayová é o arco musical duplo, *guyrapá I*. São dois pequenos arcos cruzados, um "masculino" e outro "feminino", e tocados um contra o outro. O arco feminino é de *yvypó kopí ré-ỹ* ou de *katygua*, com corda de casca de *pindó* (pode se usar também casca de *takuarí pará*, taquara fina, de casca manchada). O masculino é de *yrukú ỹ* (ao que me disseram, considerada planta masculina) ou *yvyrá rákuá I*, com corda de *pindó ryvi* (torcida). Sem soprar, toca-se com o arco feminino (*embirekó*) sôbre o masculino (*iména*) (ao contrário da posição comum nas relações sexuais). Põe-se na bôca uma extremidade do arco macho; a colocação de quatro dedos da mão esquerda (do indicador ao mínimo) produz a diferença de sons. A bôca serve de caixa de ressonância. Antes de tocar, molha-se com os lábios a corda do arco macho.

O *guyrapá I* tem o seu "dono" (espírito), o *guyrapá I djáretá* (o final *retá*, que em geral indica coletivo, foi aqui dado como intraduzível). E' usado para magia sexual; quase sempre há receio de tocá-lo na presença das mulheres, porque ficariam "loucas" (demasiado amorosas); até se evita que elas o vejam. Segundo informe de Marçal de Souza, o *guyrapá I* teria sido usado outrora pelos Kayová nas festas religiosas, mas diante do "abuso" dos moços, empregando-o para "tirar as modinhas de farra", i. é, os cantos de chícha, os velhos, irritados com a "profanação", deixaram de usar o instrumento em suas cerimônias. Infelizmente não logrei obter dados mais precisos sôbre o fato, interessante talvez no tocante à aculturação.

Fenômenos aculturativos, no que respeita à música, são observáveis em quase tôdas as aldeias. Os moços tocam músicas paraguaias e cantam "guaranias" e, sobretudo nas aldeias paulistas, as mais recentes modinhas de carnaval. Possuir um bom violão é motivo de grande orgulho; adquirir uma gaita de fole, sonho irrealizável de muitos rapazes. Alguns meninos Kayová manifestam o desejo de possuir um violão ou cavaquinho, fazendo êles próprios, jeitosamente, violões em miniatura, guarnecidos de linha de coser. Talvez o gôsto, a quase-fascinação pela música exótica e pelas melodias estranhas devam ser apontados mais uma vez na história Guaraní como fôrças ativas na substituição de ideais de cultura, tal como se deu com o catechão dos jesuítas de há três séculos.

* * *

Em que pese às variações de subgrupo a subgrupo, o folclore da tribo se caracteriza por um acervo comum de crenças e narrações, cantos profanos e outros elementos, que de um lado lhe atesta a unidade e do outro o enquadra muito bem no conjunto das tradições folclóricas que representam patrimônio da família Tupí-Guaraní.

No contacto interétnico, o folclore se revela fator de permeabilidade cultural relativamente grande. Talvez se possa falar em maior independência do folclore em comparação com outros setores, cria o *corpus mythorum*, por exemplo, muito mais entrosado no contexto da cultura, sobretudo no que se refere ao cerimonial. De qualquer forma, êsse aspecto do folclore se afigura como apreciável fator de aculturação, pois não parece haver dúvida de que, juntamente com os elementos folclóricos pròpriamente ditos, transmitidos de um grupo para outro, se implantam também, aos poucos e sub-repticiamente, realidades mais sutis no que diz respeito à maneira de se interpretar o mundo, realidades que podem contribuir para a formação duma nova concepção de vida.

E' particularmente pitoresco o sincretismo folclórico dos grupos que em suas migrações conheceram o vasto mundo, incorporando ao cabedal pré-existente os mais díspares elementos. Quando, há mais de vinte anos, os Mbiá da atual aldeia do Rio Branco foram ter com o Presidente da República, a fim de obterem passagem marítima para Portugal, que julgavam ficar mais perto do Paraíso, o Govêrno resolveu enviar o bando para o aldeamento de Pancas, no Espírito Santo. Decorrido algum tempo, voltaram, porém, ao

litoral paulista, depois de longas peregrinações, nas quais também atravessaram partes de Minas Gerais. Assim foram colhendo muita coisa nova no convívio com a população rural das áreas percorridas. Falaram-me, entre outros, no *avá poipé*, "índio" que mora no óco duma rocha, que não tem flecha e não dispõe de arma senão das unhas e duma pedra com que bate, não sai do óco da rocha, não anda pelo mato, vive em todos os sertões, fala uma língua muito difícil, é provido de peito de aço resistente à bala, não tem juntas nos joelhos e quando cai, não se levanta mais. — Em Minas, disseram-me, há gente com pé em forma de fundo de garrafa e que vive só aos casais; quando tem muitos filhos, mata-os e come-os. Chupa o sangue de suas vítimas e deixa só o couro. Não sai do mato, não é civilizado, é de côr escura, tem língua estranha e é "bicho mais feroz do que gente". Contou-me o índio Francisco ter sido chamado uma vez no mato por tão perigoso ser — ignora o nome, "pode ser algum curupira" —, mas não atendeu e fugiu. "*Tupã*" não deixou que lhe acontecesse algo de mal. Em Minas, acrescentou, a polícia e caçadores saíram para matar o pé-de-garrafa, mas êle lhes chupou o sangue [4]. — Outra figura é a do "índio morcêgo", de pé humano e côr clara; emerge só de noite e chupa o sangue como o pé-de-garrafa, mas distingue-se dêle por aparecer em grupo de muita gente.

Não me cabe aqui discutir essas e outras crenças, em parte familiares aos nossos folcloristas. Quero apenas acentuar que a circunstância de em suas freqüentes migrações atravessarem terras de tribos estranhas e, não raro, hostis, deve ter dado aos Guaraní especial sensibilidade no tocante a essa ordem de componentes do espírito objetivo. Na própria mitologia tribal está vivo o pavor e o menosprêzo aos grupos estranhos, e freqüentes são as referências, na conversa comum, aos "índios bravos", demônios ou *avá potxý*.

No convívio dos Guaraní com os caiçaras, o folclore vai tomando o colorido local; passam a falar muito em "encanto", "poço de ouro" e coisas semelhantes. Pela maneira, porém, de se referirem a essas representações dão a impressão de que o ciclo dos tesouros escondidos não se prende, para êles, preponderantemente a nenhum sonho de riqueza, mas tende a reduzir-se a idéias puramente míticas, no sentido amplo do têrmo; a miragem econômica estaria no segundo plano.

Da mesma forma, se difundem entre os Guaraní umas tantas idéias caboclas (e quase universais) relativas a agouros, idéias que, aliás, encontram símiles ou pontos de contacto na própria tradição da tribo. No Bananal é comum falar em bichos que "agouram" a

gente. Quando uma cobra venenosa — especialmente a jararacuçu ou *mbói-parádjú* — aparece dentro de casa, é que foi "mandada" por alguém, para "agourar" uma pessoa da família; mesmo sem picar, traz doença e causa a morte. Certo grito do anu é agourento. Também o da galinha que no terreiro parece imitar o canto do galo [5]. E o galo que, subindo no poleiro fora de hora, se ponha a cantar, prenuncia por sua vez desgraça ou morte para um membro da família. Na cidade, comentava o meu amigo Bento, os galos cantam a tôda hora, mas lá também morre gente a tôda hora. — O galo que "adivinha" o futuro até já entrou na própria mitologia Kayová, como se vê por um texto colhido no pôsto de Icatu [6].

Setor importantíssimo da influência do folclore caboclo na cultura Guaraní é o da defesa mágica contra dores e influências nefastas de qualquer natureza. O interêsse pelas práticas de magia defensiva e protetora decorre, por sua vez, do lugar de relêvo ocupado pela magia negra na vida mental dos Guaraní. O Capitão Bento, de Bananal, usava ao pescoço uma sacola com a cópia duma "oração" a São Jorge, para livrar-se de "Coisa Ruim" e dos inimigos; uma cruzinha de alumínio devia curar-lhe a maleita e afastar perigos. O velho Pedro Pires, igualmente Ñandéva do litoral, tem, entre os penduricalhos que usa ao pescoço, uma cruzinha de cedro, como "defesa" contra inimigos e "outras coisas"; para proteger-se contra "coisa ruim", possui um colar de semente de capiá-mirim [7].

Às vêzes é difícil saber se o penduricalho mágico é ou não de origem caboclo. Assim, outra peça da guarnição do mesmo velho: um pedaço da pata dianteira do tatu, "para ter fôrça; o tatu tem a fôrça dêle na mão". A velha Ermelina (Bananal), que está longe de desprezar o gaiacol e outros "remédios de farmácia" contra a dor de dente e que, na falta dêles, recorre a defumações com couro de jacaré queimado num cachimbo, usa, suspensa ao seu colar de miçangas, uma bolsinha retangular com um pedaço de queixo de jacaré, também contra dor de dente. No mesmo colar observei pequena medalha de Nossa Senhora de Montserrate, sem finalidade definida: "Arrumei aí à-toa; eu creio muito em santo". Parece haver a tendência de considerar os objetos de culto católico como portadores de qualidades médico-mágicas em geral, isto é, não especificadas. Com exceção de São Gonçalo e, talvez, de São Jorge, ao que pude verificar, não se atribui a nenhum santo tarefa definida ou poder especial.

De proveniência evidentemente caipira são também os sinais, como cruzes e hexagramas, pintados a carvão na porta de algumas casas Ñandéva das aldeias litorâneas e do Araribá. Quando neste

último núcleo perguntei a Poýdjú pelo sentido dêsses desenhos, êle primeiro ficou visìvelmente envergonhado, mas explicou depois que se tratava de desenhos aprendidos com os "nacionais" e usados pelos índios para o *anguêry* e o *atsýyguá* (ou "saci", segundo a tradução do informante) não entrarem dentro de casa. A identificação do *atsýyguá* com o saci, feita por Poýdjú e outros índios da aldeia, é significativa, além do mais, por exemplificar bem o fenômeno da convergência e conseqüente fusão de idéias indígenas e caboclas.

A figura do saci, outrora encontrada também entre os Tupinambá litorâneos e de há muito integrada no folclore rural brasileiro de todos os quadrantes, registei-a entre os Ñandéva e os Kayová. Os primeiros, no Araribá, chamavam-no de *atsýyguá*, por causar doença ou dor a quem o encontre; ninguém o vê, ouve-se-lhe apenas o assobio, que mete mêdo; não fala com ninguém, tem aparência humana e é provido de duas pernas, mas pequeno, pretinho (por isso também conhecido por *kambá i*); não fuma. — A variante Kayová, colhida em Benjamim Constant, parece já ter sofrido influências culturais brasileiras ou paraguaias. Aí o nome é *xaxim-tatere*, sendo o ser descrito como meninote de seus cinco anos de idade, duas pernas e tal qual uma criança, até nas feições. Manifesta-se por um assobio penetrante, que dá arrepios e faz estremecer a quem o ouça; não é ouvido no meio do mato, mas sòmente nos caminhos (*numen viarum!*). Quando o *xaxim-taterê* assobia, não se deve arremedá-lo, nem duvidar de sua existência; do contrário, êle aparece, armado de um pau, a fim de castigar a quem não creia nêle e a quem dêle faça troça. Há *xaxim-taterê* de pele branca e outros de côr preta; não se fala em *xaxim-taterê* de pele bronzeada. E' tido como espécie de guarda da noite, *pyharê rupiguá*. A sua fôrça mágica está no bastãozinho que leva consigo. Tirando-se-lhe o bastãozinho, perde a fôrça que possui. Gosta muito de fumo e de pinga. Se a gente quer vê-lo, basta pôr uma garrafa de pinga e um pouco de tabaco no lugar em que se ouve o assobio. Embebedar o *xaxim-taterê* é o recurso para se lhe tirar o bastão. — E' evidente que a primitiva representação indígena aí se transformou em conseqüência dos contactos culturais. Não obstante, não chega a identificar-se com o saci corrente na região, entre a população rural de origem ibérica, que, segundo me contaram, é um negrinho monópodo, assobiador, de chifrinho na testa, e ladrão de crianças louras.

Seria por certo tarefa interessante para um folclorista a de recolher e analisar os contos populares incorporados ao patrimônio

dos vários grupos Guaraní. Registrei apenas alguns exemplos, em parte do idioma aborígine. Desejo discuti-los em outro trabalho. Entre os Ñandéva do Itariri tive oportunidade de observar a extraordinária atenção com que os índios ouviam as histórias caboclas contadas pelo mestiço Leocádio de Oliveira, e a insistência com que o obrigavam a levar avante a narração, quando por acaso interrompida.

Cumpre mencionar também, antes de concluir estas notas, a função aculturativa do folclore no processo de parcial homogeneização, observado no contacto entre os Guaraní das diferentes subtribos. Ao passo que, por exemplo, no Itariri poucos indivíduos Ñandéva se mostravam propensos a deixar influenciar-se pelas idéias religiosas dos Mbüá recém-vindos do Paraguai, parecia haver pouca relutância, mormente na juventude, no que respeitava à aceitação de cantos mais ou menos profanos dêsses últimos. Assim como conheciam as mais recentes modinhas de Carnaval, os moços cantavam as estrofes trazidas pelos ádvenas. Reproduzo aqui alguns exemplos:

1. *Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piéta.* (Traga uma cadeira para o seu irmãozinho sentar-se. Ele que ande. Acabou-se a festa.)

2. *Kutxára ñomíaré, kutxára ñomíaré, roritoridjú rori týimã; arakáre nde yguáryrú riré.* (Roubou a colher, roubou a colher... perna, no galho do pau, na vasilha de água.)

3. *Pétýguá miri djaroguatá(va)* (ou: *eroguatá*), *yvyrá-i, mbaraká katk.* (Andamos fumando o cachimbo pequeno, bengala e *mbaraká katú.*)

4. *Txeretã mombyrý; ndavýdi. Avaká porã repoti ndaútzéire; djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré.* (Meu lugar é muito longe; não me estou acostumando. Não quero comer estrume de boi bonito; o brasileiro quer enganar a gente.)

5. *Edjú, txeirũ ĩ, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú kái, ityryrú kái.* (Vem, meu companheiro, vamos brigar, é mentira minha: urupé, urupé, fígado de macaco.) A julgar pelas explicações, trata-se de orelha-de-pau.

6. *Oré oroópotá pará ovái; oró ú ãuã takuarý-porã.* (Queremos ir para o outro lado do mar, para chupar cana.)

7. *Djaterel katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djirodjý, djaá yvý reé.* (Vamos nós dois juntos, meu sobrinho, atravessar o mar, vamos inclinar-nos, vamos embora — da terra — juntos.)

8. *Éguedjý, tũpã raý; djadjapó piéta porã, djadjapó piéta, overá.*

(Desce, filho de Deus — do trovão —, vamos fazer uma festa bonita, vamos fazer uma festa, está relampejando.)

Êsses textos, cuja análise lingüística não cabe aqui, lembram, em seu feitio sincopado, os cantos *guahú* comuns em tôdas as festas de chicha dos Kayová. Para o nosso estudo, porém, o que de mais importante revelam é a preocupação, expressa em vários dêles, de se atravessar o mar para encontrar a felicidade do Paraíso, assunto a que se dedica o capítulo seguinte.

NOTAS

1. E' elucidativo, a êste respeito, o estudo de Nordenskiöld, 1919, págs. 164-183. Sôbre o bastão-de-ritmo, veja-se Métraux, 1927 e 1928a, págs. 215-216.

2. Nordenskiöld, 1919, págs. 168-169.

3. Para comparação com o Chaco, v. Nordenskiöld, 1919, págs. 179-180.

4. Sôbre o pé-de-garrafa veja-se, por exemplo, Barroso, 1932, págs. 254-257.

5. E' crença bastante difundida. A título de exemplo: Entre os índios Otavalo, Equador, registou-a Elsie Clews Parsons. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" (Parsons, 1945, pág. 213). — "Galinha que canta como galo, é sinal de desgraça em casa" (Brandão, 1949, pág. 182).

6. Quando o herói solar atribuiu a cada animal a tarefa que lhe caberia na terra, disse ao galo: "De madrugada, você vai adivinhar, você vai cantar". Schaden, 1947, pág. 114.

7. E' o mesmo que se usa para fazer o *djeatsoá*, a variedade de semente alongada, que dizem ter trazido do Paraná. Segundo Pedro Pires, o capiá-mirim "é muito melindroso, não é para tôda mão que êle nasce, é preciso escolher a mão". Quanto ao *djeatsoá*, defini-o alhures: "as enfiadas peitorais de semente preta de *gma á*, que os homens usam em cruz sôbre o peito, durante as práticas religiosas e em outras situações de sua vida; a palavra se traduz 'cruzar-se'". Schaden *apud* Nimuendajú, 1954, pág. 53. A título de retificação, desejo lembrar que no Araribá também se vêem mulheres com *djeatsoá*.

CAPÍTULO X

O MITO DO PARAÍSO NA CULTURA E NA VIDA GUARANÍ

Parece indiscutível que o espírito místico dominante em todos os setores da vida Guaraní pode ser compreendido em seus devidos têrmos sòmente quando se considera o lugar da cataclismologia no conjunto das representações míticas. Os mitos do Dilúvio, do Incêndio Universal e de outros cataclismos do passado são histórias de função exemplar que se projetam no porvir como perigos, pairando assustadores sôbre o destino da humanidade. A terra em que vivemos está condenada à destruição em futuro mais ou menos próximo, expectativa que não pode deixar de ser motivo de pânico para os que nela vivem. Daí a necessidade psíquica de procurar uma tábua de salvação, que o Guaraní veio encontrar no mito da Terra sem Males, hoje elemento genuíno de sua cultura [1]. Assim, o espírito Guaraní oscila entre o sentimento de pavor que lhe causa o inelutável cataclismo e a esperança de alcançar o Paraíso antes que seja tarde. E é talvez por isso que a idéia de redenção se tenha tornado tão relevante na religião tribal.

Veremos que os Guaraní imaginam a Terra sem Males como terra ideal, em que se realizam os desejos que neste mundo não são satisfeitos. Mas é de notar a insistência com que na atualidade, ao descreverem a vida que os espera no paraíso prometido, se referem ao restabelecimento dos costumes tribais em sua original pureza, atitude análoga, por exemplo, à dos profetas da *Ghost Dance religion* norte-americana, que por sua vez pregavam o retôrno às condições de vida anteriores à vinda do homem branco. Êste traço revela que a situação de penúria cultural decorrente dos contactos culturais já se firmou como problema na consciência coletiva.

Em seu famoso trabalho, publicado há quarenta anos, narra Curt Nimuendajú [2] como o pavor da iminente destruição do mundo, aliado à esperança de se encontrar refúgio no Paraíso, deter-

nina do princípio ao fim da vida o pensar, sentir e agir dos índios Guaraní por êle estudados. Sob a direção de médicos-feiticeiros, que, apoiados em sonhos e visões, diziam estar próxima a destruição do mundo anunciada pelo mito, muitas hordas dessa tribo se puseram a caminhar, por volta de 1820, de suas aldeias do sul de Mato Grosso em direção do sol nascente, a fim de alcançarem a Terra sem Males, que devia existir além do Oceano Atlântico. Só parte dêsses índios alcançou o litoral, onde, mais dia menos dia, se via obrigada, afinal, a admitir a impossibilidade de atingir o país de suas aspirações. Parte dos descendentes são os atuais Randéva do litoral de São Paulo. Nas imediações da capital do Estado, Nimuendajú encontrou em 1912 alguns remanescentes de um bando de Guaraní paraguaios, que não se deixaram persuadir a abandonar o plano de prosseguir na marcha até o mar. O próprio Nimuendajú acompanhou-os então até a Praia Grande, onde, noites a fio, realizavam danças religiosas, a fim de tornarem o corpo bastante leve para voarem até a terra prometida.

De tudo isso resultam problemas altamente significativos, que foram o ponto de partida para o presente trabalho. Que fim teriam levado afinal os índios cujo sonho não se realizara? De que maneira o seu espírito se teria conformado com a experiência da frustração? A crença no Paraíso mítico continuaria viva entre êles e quais as modificações que teria sofrido? — Ainda hoje, como vimos, prosseguem os movimentos migratórios, pelo menos entre os Mbüá. Tenho, aliás, a impressão de que são agora os únicos que procuram a Terra sem Males a leste, ao passo que os outros grupos a procuram de preferência no zênite.

Na mitologia de todos os grupos Guaraní hoje existentes no Brasil ocorre um Incêndio Universal e um Dilúvio Universal, que teriam destruído uma terra anterior. Provàvelmente estas representações fazem parte da antiga tradição mítica da tribo. A crença numa destruição do mundo no futuro, porém, que em sua forma atual encerra elementos indubitàvelmente cristãos, dando mesmo, em algumas de suas variantes, a impressão do Juízo Final, possìvelmente seja devida aos ensinamentos transmitidos pelos missionários jesuíticos dos séculos 17 e 18. Em abono dessa hipótese é cabível citar o fato de que aquêles Guaraní que em tôda a sua cultura não apresentam elementos de origem indiscutìvelmente cristã — como, por exemplo, os Mbüá do Paraguai oriental, estudados por León Cadogan — ignoram por sua vez a angustiante ameaça na destruição do mundo, embora a sua mitologia expressamente não exclua a possibilidade [8]. Se estiver certa a suposição, já indicada também cau-

telosamente por Nimuendajú, de que a crença na destruição do mundo no futuro remonta aos dias da catequese jesuítica, tendo-se originado talvez de uma reinterpretação do Apocalipse de São João [4], deveremos admitir que ensinamentos cristãos mal compreendidos seriam responsáveis por uma transformação radical da religião da tribo e que a concepção do mundo peculiar aos Guaraní da atualidade estaria longe de apresentar o caráter essencialmente aborígine que se lhe costuma atribuir.

A crença em catástrofes futuras [5] é fenômeno relativamente raro na mitologia do grupo Tupí. Métraux me comunicou tê-la encontrado entre os Txirigsáno. O Padre Albert Kruse registou-a entre os Mundurukú [6] e Nimuendajú assinalou idéias análogas entre os Tukúna (em cuja língua se verificou haver não pequena influência Tupí) [7]. Na tribo dos Tukúna, aliás, a crença aparece em relação com o herói civilizador *Dyoi*, que estaria ofendido pelo fato de se ter adulterado a tradição espiritual da tribo pelas influências culturais do mundo civilizado. A idéia deve ser anotada como significativa por causa de sua semelhança parcial com as representações Guaraní.

A crença no fim do mundo está longe de ter caráter uniforme nas diferentes populações Guaraní, como, ademais, se dá com a maioria de seus ensinamentos religiosos. Os Mbiá acreditam num Dilúvio iminente, num Incêndio Universal ou, ainda, numa prolongada escuridão. Para os Nandéva, a catástrofe que os ameaça consiste principalmente num incêndio geral seguido do desmoronamento da superfície da terra, representada como disco. Entre os Kayová, como já foi dito em capítulo anterior, se encontra a descrição duma cena, rica em pormenores, em que se fala em cavalos voadores, macacos flechadores e outros tipos de monstros.

O certo é que na atualidade a representação do Paraíso aparece em estreita ligação com a cataclismologia. Antes que sobrevenha a inelutável catástrofe, espera-se alcançar a Terra sem Males. Já nos tempos dos jesuítas, a crença aborígine no Paraíso ou na bem-aventurança no Além (em geral sem a passagem pela prova da morte) se mesclou com elementos cristãos e, em virtude da frustração das tentativas de se alcançar a terra da felicidade, o mito sofre na época presente ulteriores transformações, em conexão, evidentemente, com o processo aculturativo geral.

Se afirmamos que o alcance da representação do Paraíso entre os Guaraní se liga essencialmente a suas relações com a cataclismologia, deve-se entender por alcance não tanto a função na vida religiosa, como, antes de mais nada, o papel que lhe coube desem-

penhor no destino histórico de tantas hordas da tribo. Muitas delas tiveram a sua sorte selada em parte pelo fato de se verem pelas de verdadeiro delírio religioso, abandonando tudo o que possuíam, e migrando com mulheres e crianças, através de terríveis perseguições de tribos inimigas, na direção da costa marítima, e em parte por não dispuserem dos elementos culturais e físicos necessários à vitória sôbre os obstáculos encontrados no mundo civilizado.

A concepção fundamental de que deriva a crença no Paraíso é o *ayvujá*, que se pode traduzir por bem-aventurança, perfeição e vitória. Montoya já deu ao conceito a devida atenção, pelo menos do ponto de vista lingüístico*. Para o Guarani o *ayvujá* corresponde ao próprio fim e objetivo da existência humana. Nesse sentido costuma ser concebido de maneira concreta como felicidade paradisíaca no mundo sobrenatural, que todos almejam alcançar sem antes morrer e cuja obtenção depende principalmente do cumprimento de certas tantas prescrições religiosas, "morais" ou simplesmente mágicas. Em sua origem, a representação mítica propriamente dita se reduz a uma espécie de Ilha da Felicidade no meio do longínquo oceano, sendo se chega com o auxílio duma grande canoa ou de outra forma, e onde não se conhece a morte. Essa ilha se procura alcançar para uma vida em comunhão espiritual com as divindades e para atingir a imortalidade, mas não para fugir a algum castigo iminente, ao contrário do que se nota após a transformação escatológica do mito.

Para se fazer noção da labilidade inerente à representação do Paraíso Guarani, basta atender, por exemplo, à variedade de denominações que lhe correspondem. Consideremos, com alguns exemplos. Os Rondônia consideram o Paraíso como a terra do herói civilizador *Rondonyhoj*, designando-a como *yvý-dondyvé*. Como tradução para esta palavra dizem-me no sítio do Roosevelt a expressão "terra em que a gente se escorrega", ao passo que no Aripuanã a traduziam como "a terra fartada". A primeira interpretação se refere ao lugar em que se espera encontrar refúgio por ocasião da catástrofe, ao passo que a segunda recorda a destruição do primeiro mundo no passado mítico, ocasião em que o herói civilizador fartou um pedaço da terra em desmoronamento, levando-a para as regiões celestes. As denominações *yvý-mará-ey* ("terra sem morte") ou simplesmente *yvý* (só) são igualmente usadas entre os Rondônia, tendo sido por mim registradas no sítio de Itariri e na P. I. Francisco Horta, no sul de Mato Grosso. Entre Guarani paraguaios ouvi o nome *Mbaéverá-yvyrá*.

Caráter fundamental da concepção do Paraíso em cada um dos três grupos em que se divide a tribo é tratar-se de um lugar de segurança, cujos moradores estão livres sobretudo das doenças e da morte. Mas tampouco precisam temer a fome, a miséria e a pobreza econômica. A isto, porém, não corresponde necessàriamente a ausência do trabalho para se obterem os meios de subsistência. Assim, os Mbüá do Xapecó, chegando ao Paraíso, esperam receber de seu herói civilizador boas terras para a lavoura, sinal de que não passaram ainda a classificar o trabalho como sofrimento. De outro lado, a maior parte dos Ñandéva, cuja cultura apresenta fenômenos de desintegração em geral mais profundos e que, entre outras coisas, perderam a sua primitiva noção do trabalho, sem terem chegado a substituí-la satisfatòriamente pelos padrões que a ela corresponderiam no mundo civilizado, sonham quase todos com um "dolce far niente" como parte essencial da felicidade paradisíaca.

Tanto dos dotes espirituais e da conduta do médico-feiticeiro, como do fervor de seus fiéis depende o êxito da comunidade que almeja entrar na Terra sem Males. Se outrora a direção política da comunidade Guaraní estava sempre nas mãos do sacerdote incumbido de conduzir os crentes à costa do Atlântico e de lá para o Além, hoje o poder do capitão ou chefe civil cresce na medida em que se abandonam as tentativas de alcançar a Terra Prometida.

Em virtude da diversidade de situações históricas por que passaram os três subgrupos da tribo, parece preferível estudar a cada um dêles isoladamente com referência ao mito do Paraíso.

1. *Os Ñandéva*

Cabe-nos aqui distinguir entre os Ñandéva que não viram coroada de êxito a empêsa de irem à Terra sem Males e os que ainda não procuraram conseguir tal objetivo.

Entre êstes últimos estão os Ñandéva do sul de Mato Grosso, da aldeia de Jacareí. Acreditam êles, é verdade, que o mundo vai caminhando para o seu fim e que a sua destruição, que se dará por meio do fogo, deverá ser interpretada como conseqüência da maldade dos homens, mormente dos brancos. Mas tudo parece indicar que o perigo não está iminente. O lugar de refúgio é o Paraíso, situado no mar como ilha da felicidade. Contanto que os fiéis da religião Guaraní se submetam às prescrições de jejum e castos com freqüência e fervor, em vez de se preocuparem demais com as coisas dêste mundo, determinados cantos religiosos (conhecidos como *ñandé-ayoyuhí*), chegarão à ilha sem princípio passarem pela

morte. Conta-se que há muitos anos tôda uma comunidade de índios, enquanto se dedicava àqueles exercícios religiosos, foi boiando por sôbre as águas do mar junto com a casa e o chão em que estava construída, como se se tratasse da arca de Noé. A ilha que assim se formou é hoje o Paraíso, e lá vive *Avámbuéknaé*, "o conhecedor das coisas", juntamente com o grupo que dirige. — Deve-se notar, porém, que na aldeia de Jacareí os índios têm condições de existência bastante satisfatórias. Não têm grande dificuldade em conseguir o seu sustento e, em geral, o ritmo de sua vida não é perturbado pela interferência de elementos estranhos. Certo, também para êles existe o sonho do Paraíso, mas não há fatôres ativantes suficientemente decisivos para transformá-lo em obsessão.

A título de comparação com o que se acaba de referir, é interessante chamar a atenção para uma história relativa ao mito do Paraíso, colhida por Nimuendajú no Araribá, entre índios, portanto, que já haviam feito a migração até a costa marítima: "Certa vez, um jovem Guaraní viajou para o Rio, onde foi muito bem recebido. Pediu que o aceitassem como marinheiro. Acederam a seu desejo e mais tarde lhe foi confiado o comando de um grande navio. — Quando iniciou a primeira viagem com o navio, havia neste uma porção de italianos. Saiu para o mar, passando da água azul para a vermelha, e da vermelha para a preta. Aí o mar devorou o navio, o Guaraní e tôda a italianada. Mas 'no outro lado' todos saíram sãos e salvos. Aí avistaram uma ilha e navegaram em direção dela, mas a ilha ia recuando diante do navio e não podia ser alcançada. Por fim o Guaraní se lembrou da canção mágica de sua tribo e, depois de cantar por algum tempo, a ilha de fato ficou parada e o navio pôde aproximar-se. O Guaraní desembarcou, mas logo que algum dos outros lhe quiseram seguir, a ilha tornava a recuar. Aí mandou os homens esperarem até que êle voltasse e dirigiu-se para o interior da ilha, onde havia uma floresta de árvores frutíferas, umas com flôres e outras com frutos de tôda espécie. Ouvia-se o chilrido dos passarinhos e do mesmo da mata vinham as canções dos Guaraní, simultâneamente com as pisadas dos dançadores e os sons dos *tacuá*. Aí o Guaraní entrou na floresta e não voltou nunca mais. — Por muito tempo, os homens do navio ficaram esperando em vão pela volta dêle. Como êle, porém, não apareceu, e a ilha recusou a cada tentativa de desembarque, resolveram ir-se embora. — O Guaraní, no entanto, leva agora uma vida boa. Está outra vez no meio de sua gente, e não lhe falta nada, nem precisará morrer"[1].

Um dos traços notáveis dessa narração, além da curiosa analogia com a Ilha Afortunada dos Karaíb, é a distinção discriminá-

tória entre o irmão-de-tribo e os indivíduos estranhos, englobados sob a denominação de "italianada" e não destinados à felicidade paradisíaca. Ao estranho não se dá esperança de entrar na terra da promissão, pelo simples fato de que, não sendo membro da tribo, lhe é impossível ser admitido à comunidade religiosa Guaraní. Além disso, os que não pertencem à tribo não poderiam contar com o ingresso na Terra sem Males, uma vez que o seu pendor para a irreverência e as zombarias, bem como a vida desregrada que os distinguiria, são apontados como a principal causa da ameaçadora catástrofe. Não há dúvida de que tudo isso não vem mencionado na história acima reproduzida, mas repetidas vêzes tive oportunidade de ouvir tais explicações da bôca dos próprios índios.

Não é grande o passo que leva da acusação do estranho à autoinculpação. Todo Guaraní sabe perfeitamente que a desintegração da cultura em que vive é conseqüência direta do contacto com indivíduos e elementos culturais estranhos, mas não ignora tampouco que êle próprio não soube resistir às inovações tentadoras, aceitando-as em substituição de uns tantos elementos tradicionais. E' compreensível que os resultados do contacto cultural, entre êles a desorganização social, venham a constituir para êle explicação para o fato de que, apesar de todo o fervor religioso e dos mais intensos esforços, não lhe é revelado o caminho que leva ao Paraíso.

Antigamente, conta-se, o Paraíso era acessível a todos, e muitos encontravam o caminho porque rezavam confiantes para *Ñandery-keyi*, o herói civilizador, pedindo que os viesse buscar. Os Guaraní atuais, porém, — é vez corrente entre os Ñandéva — alcançarão a Terra sem Males somente após a morte, pois estão cheios de fraquezas e de vícios.

Hoje em dia a maior parte dos Ñandéva, cujas migrações terminaram há decênios, localizam o Paraíso no oriente, talvez também por analogia com o céu cristão. Dentre êles, os que vêem perto do mar e que em sua grande maioria já nasceram aí, não alimentam mais, como vimos, a ilusão de lá chegarem antes de sua morte. O mito, se bem que mesclado de elementos cristãos, continua, não obstante, a subsistir.

Como que extasiado, o *ñandevá* Sebastião, de Araribá, nos descreve as delícias do Paraíso. O *yvy ñamõndyvé* é "mais parecido com o céu do que com a terra". Lá existe uma grande lagoa; no meio desta, uma cruz bem alta, da qual todos os dias cai uma garoinha (*Okaruvaigui ovijaiyhi okÿ ndivi*); ao pé da cruz, um "caneirinho de ouro". (Evidente ligação com o bezerro de ouro da Bíblia e com o Cordeiro de Deus.) Há frutas em quantidade; quem lá se encontra,

ive só de frutas e sem trabalhar. Corta-se um cacho de bananas, viram-se as costas e já há outro em seu lugar. No *yvý ñomimbyré* não morre ninguém. Sebastião explica: "Quando fica velhinho assim, de repente fica mocinho, não morre". "Quem vai daqui para lá, não morre também", acrescenta a mulher do *ñanderú*. E êle completa: "Já se esquece dêste mundo". — Segundo a doutrina de Sebastião, o *yvý ñomimbyré* não é o reino das almas dos defuntos (*ayviporãgué*): estas passam por lá e vão adiante. No Paraíso vive gente sem roupa ("com corpo"), mas enfeitada com adornos de plumas, não fazendo outra coisa senão dançar as danças religiosas da tribo. Os "antigos" conseguiam ir até lá e ficavam; mas é que se abstinham de beber pinga ("bebidas de espírito") e não corinhavam as suas comidas com gordura, nem as temperavam com sal. Dizia-se: *"Idjáguydjé odjé ñivy yvý ñomimbyrére"*, êles foram para o Paraíso. Hoje se poderia ir lá de avião. — Do *yvý ñomimbyré* também vêm rezas. O *ñanderú* (rezador-chefe) do Paraíso manda-as por intermédio de espíritos que por acaso passem por lá.

Há alguns anos, os dois moradores mais velhos do Bananal — Pedro Botuca (hoje falecido) e Ermelina — ambos já naturais da costa, falaram-me longamente da viagem da geração anterior, que, sob a chefia do Capitão Guatsú, veio do Mato Grosso, "para ver o mar" e *fazer ñemonguraí* na praia. Dizia-se que o mundo ia acabar. Muitos ficaram na aldeia do Alecrim, outros voltaram ao Mato Grosso. Rezavam muitos *ñanderú* para que *Ñanderykeý* viesse buscá-los. De noite todos rezavam; de manhã iam para o mato procurar frutas e mel, mas nenhuma caça, para não ficarem pesados. Muitos subiam para a Terra de *Ñanderykeý*. Mas era preciso rezar com muita fé. O mar se abria a seus pés e formava uma ponte, por onde passavam, para, além, subirem para o *yvý ñomimbyré*. Os "velhos" queriam ir lá, "porque lá não morre gente"; é uma "terra sagrada". O falecido Arnaldo — que não fazia *ñemonguraí* na praia, mas só no mato — dizia que era muito fácil: o mar se tornava pequeno, "era uma aguinha". Mas Arnaldo não conseguia subir, "porque nós errávamos todos para êle". Hoje não é mais possível, "porque nós erramos todos"; muitos "não *potyý*, muito bravos", outros "querem sempre namorar".

Não menos significativa me parece a atitude do velho Silvino Rufino, Rondóva do Itariri. Em sua aldeia viveram algum tempo, como vimos, os Mbiá vindos do Paraguai em 1946. Rufino considerava-os "meio variados", pela mania, que tinham, de atravessar o mar. Punha-os na mesma categoria dos "cristãos" (protestantes), que, dizia, também ficam à espera de que Deus lhes mande "o ca-

minho que leva para o céu". Achava Rufino que a Terra sem Males existe, mas não acreditava que se possa ir lá. Argumentava: Se até Deus, quando estêve no mundo, e que não era pecador, teve de morrer antes de ir para o céu, quanto mais nós pecadores. Depois da morte, sim, iremos; o espírito vai. Mas então iremos todos. "O caminho é um só. E' verdade que há dois caminhos. Mas o outro, o que vai para o inferno, é para os que são muito pecadores demais." — Também em outro sentido as idéias religiosas de Silvino Rufino se haviam contagiado com as concepções cristãs. Ao passo que a maioria dos Randéva distingue entre o céu pròpriamente dito (*yvóy*, reino de *Randeruvutsú* com seu *yvyrádjá Mbaékuaé*) e, situada um pouco abaixo, a Terra sem Males (*yvý mará eỹ* ou *yvý Arimbyré*, onde governa *Randerýkeý*, filho de *Randeruvutsú*, assistido por seu *yvyrádjá Tyvýr*, filho de *Mbaékuaé*), para êle tudo era uma coisa só — um céu meio indígena, meio cristão, domínio daquelas divindades tôdas.

2. *Os Mbüá*

Hoje o grupo em que o mito do Paraíso desempenha papel mais importante parece ser o dos Mbüá. Dos trabalhos de Nimuendajú não se depreende com tôda certeza se em tempos passados esta subdivisão da tribo participou dos movimentos migratórios. Na atualidade, porém, os Mbüá são os únicos que se dirigem para a região litorânea.

Com referência ao assunto aqui focalizado, os Mbüá-Guaraní merecem atenção especial pelo simples fato de entre êles haver vários grupos que em suas tradições conservam uma infinidade de ensinamentos de origem cristã, ao lado de outros, especialmente os estudados por Cadogan e em parte por mim no Paraguai oriental (Guaíra), em cuja cultura não se conseguiu ainda percisar nenhuma influência jesuítica.

Parece que na relação dêstes últimos, isto é, dos Mbüá que em tempos idos não se encontravam no raio de ação das missões, subsiste hoje mais claramente do que em qualquer outro grupo a crença original, aborígine, do Paraíso na sua forma genuína de *ayuydjé*, ou seja, como perfeição espiritual e física. E' pelo menos o que se depreende do material colhido por León Cadogan. Tudo parece indicar que a combinação com o mito da destruição do mundo remonta às aulas de religião ministradas nas missões jesuíticas da era colonial.

De um lado, temos os referidos Mbüá de Guaíra, em cuja vida mental o papel da cataclismologia do futuro é nulo ou quase nulo e para os quais o ideal do paraíso continua sendo essencialmente religioso, identificando-se em última análise com um estado místico de bem-aventurança obtido em recompensa de um cultivo especial de vivências sobrenaturais e de uma conduta "virtuosa", estado que se refere menos a condições de existência física do que ao destino da alma; do outro, os que já chegaram ao litoral ou que estão a caminho do mar, e que encaram o Paraíso antes de mais nada como lugar de refúgio e segurança com condições de vida ideais. Êste sentido dado ao mito decorre da ativação da crença na destruição do mundo através das experiências religiosas de determinados médicos-feiticeiros.

Para os Mbüá em migração o Paraíso, a Terra Prometida — segundo a explicação do *Ñanderú* Miguel do Itariri — é um genuíno horto ou pomar, *kóógwy mini*, constituído de mata baixa ("mismo que capuera, pero no es capuera"), correspondente ao ideal da existência terrena: um país sem mosquitos e biriguis, sem cobras e feras, sem espinheiros e outras pragas, e rico em caça, árvores frutíferas de pouca altura e boa terra para a lavoura; país, enfim, em que se poderá caçar e plantar à vontade. Há abundância de caça: jacu, *kotý* porco-do-mato), tucano etc.; não há, porém, paca, nem veado, nem tatu. Há muita fruta: banana, *narã* (laranja), *txandjáu* (melancia), *manduí* (amendoim) e muitas outras — tudo nascido por vontade de Deus. Miguel vai enumerando as frutas, dizendo cada vez: *oguerekó* (há). As bananeiras, as laranjeiras e demais árvores frutíferas são muito baixas, mais baixas do que o homem, mas os frutos tanto maiores. As outras árvores, como a canela e o cedro, são igualmente de pouca altura, mas bastante grossas. A representação de um Paraíso em que não se precise de trabalhar, tal como foi descrito pelo *Ñanderú* Sebastião, é produto recente e não generalizado, fruto imediato da desintegração cultural. Por enquanto, predomina um sonho correspondente com o ideal de cultura aceito pela tribo, segundo o qual as atividades exercidas à maneira tradicional continuam fazendo parte integrante da felicidade, não sendo, por conseguinte, sentidas como coisa menos desejável. E dessa ventura faz parte também a possibilidade de se viver em todos os pormenores rigorosamente de acôrdo com o padrão da tribo: quer na alimentação, na indumentária ou em quaisquer outros setores da vida. Na "Terra de nunca acabar" todos andarão com o antigo traj. Mbüá e os homens usarão chapéu de *karandái*. *Ñanderú ndaipotái*, Deus não quer que usem chapéu de tipo civilizado. Todo e qualquer elemento que se reconheça provir

do mundo civilizado é banido do Paraíso. Enfim, a lealdade aos elementos da cultura tradicional já tomou sentido religioso. Isto significa ter o momento antiaculturativo invadido o terreno das representações míticas e influenciado a concepção do mundo.

Em linhas gerais, observa-se entre os Mbüá que o motivo pròpriamente religioso, a união mística com a divindade, tende a passar para o segundo plano, cedendo o seu lugar a cogitações ligadas às condições de vida inseguras ou pouco satisfatórias em que a comunidade se encontre. Isto por seu turno contribui para a desintegração cultural como para a desorganização social, porquanto se passa a negligenciar as atividades econômicas e, sobretudo, a não respeitar devidamente o ritmo ecológico normal do ano pelo simples fato de se estar sempre na véspera da partida. Muitos, afirma-se, já partiram antes de nós para a "Terra de nunca acabar"; à frente dêles todos, um velho médico-feiticeiro, *Ketxuíta* ou *Ketxú K'ritu'*. Vive êle agora no *yvýdjúporã*, na "bonita e santa terra", situada no longínquo oriente, de onde enviará um barco provido de banquinhos, em que os seus fiéis viajarão para lá. Serão recebidos pelo *Korá Rókê Pygué*, o porteiro do Paraíso, que os levará à presença de *Ketxuíta*. Êste lhes dará uma extensão de terras, onde poderão construir as suas casas e fazer roça. Lá não há doenças, nem a morte. E lá se tornarão a encontrar vivos os companheiros falecidos. No verão os anciãos voltam à infância e recomeçam a crescer. No fundo, portanto, o paraíso sonhado outra coisa não é senão a continuação da existência terrena, com a diferença apenas de lá não se passar pelas provações e dissabores que caracterizam a vida neste mundo. Tanto o nome do herói salvador como o fato de êle ter ido na frente refletem com tôda a evidência a recordação dos padres da Companhia de Jesus expulsos do Paraguai em 1767.

Ao contrário, pois, dos Ñandéva, cujas migrações se realizaram há muitos decênios, e que de há muito se conformaram com a inexeqüibilidade de seu plano, o mito continua presente como *objetivo* na vida dos Mbüá. Aquêles que chegaram ao litoral há anos ou mesmo há decênios insistem ainda hoje em permanecer na proximidade do mar, pois, se houver oportunidade de chegarem à outra margem do Atlântico, lá poderão sem mais nem menos subir para a terra prometida. De Portugal, acreditam, a coisa seria fácil; entretanto, o Presidente da República negou-se a fornecer-lhes a passagem de navio para Lisboa. Mas há de chegar o dia.

O certo é que a frustração não conseguiu ainda abalar a sua fé, e por isso continua firme também a confiança que depositam no chefe religioso. A segunda autoridade, o chefe civil ou capitão, tem

vez ativa entre os Mbüá sòmente no tocante a assuntos de secundária importância, sobretudo no que diz respeito ao trato com moradores civilizados. O *ñanderú* não toma conhecimento dessas coisas; em seus ombros pesam encargos de maior responsabilidade.

Dentre os fatôres que fizeram com que o mito do Paraíso continuasse tão vivo no espírito dos Mbüá cumpre destacar o fato de êles, apesar dos freqüentes contactos com o mundo civilizado, se terem aferrado aos usos e costumes dos antepassados e de não contarem ainda, em seu meio, indivíduos mestiços. E essas condições explicam, por sua vez, o fator decisivo: de os diferentes grupos constituírem ainda comunidades de culto fechadas, nas quais a influência bastante superficial do Cristianismo, experimentada nos últimos anos, não conseguiu subminar, por ora, a realização constante do conjunto de cerimônias ligadas ao mito.

3. *Os Kayová*

Das fontes bibliográficas existentes depreende-se que outrora, isto é, há vários decênios, os Kayová também empreenderam migrações em direção da costa atlântica. Para época recente não há indicações neste sentido.

Se bem que a representação do Paraíso sempre esteja presente como aspiração ou sonho na vida religiosa dos Kayová, pelo menos de forma virtual, a sua importância aumenta consideràvelmente em situações de crise. Isto se verificou pelo menos há poucos anos na aldeia mato-grossense do Panambi, na região de Dourados, quando o Govêrno mandou distribuir as terras dos índios entre colonos civilizados. À medida que se executava êsse projeto, as primitivas condições de vida dos índios começaram a periclitar e em parte foram mesmo destruídas. Dessa forma, o mito foi ativado e os índios passaram a executar danças religiosas com o fito de apressarem a destruição do mundo e receberem o mais depressa possível a revelação do caminho para a terra prometida. Em conseqüência dos conflitos com os colonos e os funcionários do Govêrno, o sonho mítico e a cataclismologia a êle ligada assumiram em pouco tempo o caráter de verdadeira obsessão. Quando, certa vez, entreguei a êsses índios algumas fôlhas de papel e lápis, pedindo-lhes que desenhassem qualquer coisa, logo se dispuseram a representar cenas do fim do mundo e o caminho que leva para o tão almejado Além.

Quanto à idéia do caminho, convém frisar o seu relêvo no conjunto das representações coletivas dos Kayová, como, aliás (em grau menos atenuado embora), das outras subdivisões da tribo. O

ñanderú poderia invocar para a sua posição a frase evangélica: "Eu sou o caminho, a verdade e a vida". E é especialmente a imagem do caminho que em situações de crise assume a feição de idéia obsessiva. No mito tribal ela se destaca, entre os Ñandéva, como o caminho da mãe-primária na procura do pai dos gêmeos. Entre êles, como entre os Kayová, toma expressão concreta no perigoso caminho da alma após a morte, bem como no caminho da alma em oração na sua passagem pelo reino celeste das divindades. Em todos os grupos, porém, a forma mais significativa é o caminho cuja revelação se espera para chegar ao reino da bem-aventurança. Os Kayová, convidados a desenhar, esforçaram-se por figurar com o lápis que lhes dei o caminho usado pelo médico-feiticeiro em suas freqüentes visitas ao céu. — Tudo isto nos faz lembrar que os Guaraní se caracterizam como *tapédjá*, como povo de peregrinos e viandantes.

Tôdas as diferentes orações que acompanham as danças religiosas e que se prolongam pela noite afora até o raiar do dia, outra coisa não são, ao que repetidas vêzes me disseram os Kayová, senão caminhos que levam à presença dos deuses. Tanto o *ayvú* como o *yvyráidjá*. "Sem caminho", disse-me um informante, "não se chega ao lugar que se pretende alcançar".

Enquanto, porém, a existência nesta terra se lhe afigure mais ou menos tolerável e enquanto não lhe apareçam sinais inequívocos da próxima destruição do mundo, o Kayová não se esforça por encontrar o caminho que o leve definitivamente para o mundo melhor. No decorrer de sua vida nesta terra não raro se lhe oferece oportunidade, por ocasião das danças religiosas, de admirar o esplendor, o brilho magnificente das divindades. Isto o satisfaz plenamente. Quanto à morte, concebe-a sòbriamente como instituição inerente à natureza humana e interpreta-a como a passagem da alma (*ayvú*) para o reino celeste. Tal atitude, entretanto, não o impede de encontrar geralmente a *causa mortis* em práticas de magia negra atribuídas a companheiros de tribo.

Tudo isto deixa bem claro que entre os Kayová a ameaça apocalíptica, se bem que a tôda hora presente no espírito de todos, não assume caráter de atualidade concreta enquanto não apareça fator de ativação. Com o desespêro causado pela interferência funesta das autoridades de colonização nas condições de vida da aldeia é que êsse fator se apresentou. Mas sôbre a base do pessimismo se aviva por sua vez o ideal paradisíaco, e a comunidade em pêso se entrega com grande fervor aos exercícios religiosos que levam à salvação.

Assim, nos últimos anos a penetração de colonos civilizados, brasileiros e europeus, nas matas pertencentes aos Kayová, provocando ou exacerbando um estado de penúria cultural, transformou o mito numa fôrça de expressão social. Cabe-lhe a função de auxiliar os índios a superarem psìquicamente a insegurança e a situação de crise.

*
* *

Com referência aos Guaraní que não migraram para o litoral e que em suas aldeias natais realizam regularmente as cerimônias destinadas à obtenção do *aguydjé*, não se pode falar pròpriamente em frustração. As primitivas condições de vida não foram abaladas a ponto de surgir a necessidade de imediata realização do sonho mítico. Mas já na aldeia do Araribá, por exemplo, onde vive cêrca de uma centena de Nandéva cujos antepassados empreenderam esperançosos a migração para o litoral e que depois da falta de êxito em suas cerimônias foram conduzidos para o interior do Estado de São Paulo, a fim de passarem os seus dias num pôsto do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, o espírito dos aborígines é dominado permanentemente pelo mêdo de quaisquer males que possam sobrevir. Isto gera não raro profundo enfado, que, em pessoas de índole acentuadamente mística, chega a transformar-se numa espécie de tanatomania. Como fruto da desilusão, a aspiração primitiva, o *aguydjé* que encerra o desejo de fugir à morte, se converte, pelo menos em certo sentido, na atitude contrária, no desejo de morrer. Procura-se morrer quanto antes, para logo entrar no Paraíso, onde então, é bem verdade, não haverá mais o fenômeno da morte.

Em sentido bem diverso realiza-se a transformação do mito entre os Guaraní que, pelo tempo correspondente a uma geração ou mais, vivem no litoral paulista em contacto mais ou menos contínuo com a população civilizada da região. Recorrem a elementos cristãos para explicar o mau resultado das cerimônias e para, assim, reinterpretar o mito original. Fenômenos de mudança cultural e de desorganização social são utilizados, por sua vez, como argumentos e recursos de demonstração. Nos tempos de outrora, quando se rezava com verdadeira fé e confiança, quando se comiam muitos frutos e o mel das abelhas silvestres em vez de excessiva carne de caça (que tem o inconveniente de tornar "pesado" o corpo), quando eram harmoniosas as relações com os companheiros de tribo e quando se conhecia a abstenção na vida sexual, sim, nos tem-

pos de outrora muitos conseguiam caminhar pelo mar, que a seus pés se abria, e na margem oposta entrar no Paraíso, onde não se precisa temer a morte. Hoje, porém, os esforços do médico-feiticeiro são condenados a mau resultado já pelo simples fato de não reinar a concórdia no seio da comunidade e de haver constantes brigas e desavenças.

E' num sentimento de culpa, portanto, que o Guaraní encontra a explicação da falta de êxito. Sente-se culpado por se ter desviado das formas de vida dos antepassados pela aceitação de umas tantas coisas do mundo civilizado, pelo afrouxamento dos velhos padrões de solidariedade para com os companheiros de tribo e, finalmente, pelo fato de ter assimilado a idéia cristã do pecado, que se integrou na estrutura das representações tradicionais. A posição atual do mito no conjunto da concepção-do-mundo Guaraní está, pois, estreitamente ligada às transformações culturais e sociais decorrentes do contacto com a civilização.

A título de conclusão, convém precisar mais uma vez em poucas palavras os fatôres responsáveis pela ativação do mito, bem como as conseqüências da frustração e da própria situação de penúria cultural.

Em essência, êsses fatôres se reduzem a três: primeiro, um profundo anelo religioso, manifestação do misticismo igualmente profundo de tôda a religião tribal; segundo, a cataclismologia e, concretamente, o pavor da iminente destruição do mundo; e, em terceiro lugar, o estado de *deprivation* acarretado pelos contactos culturais. Deve-se, porém, sublinhar que os três fatôres não se manifestam de modo uniforme nas diferentes subdivisões da tribo, nas diversas aldeias e nas várias situações históricas. Do predomínio de um ou de outro depende o papel da representação mítica no quadro geral das vivências individuais ou coletivas, sofrendo às vêzes mudança considerável.

As conseqüências da frustração em conexão com as situações de contacto interétnico, por fim, podem ser resumidas nas seguintes frases: 1.º O ideal de cultura e de vida, elemento de coesão da comunidade, perde a fôrça polarizadora, notando-se que os grupos se dissolvem mais fàcilmente, situação que deve ser compreendida como de causalidade recíproca. 2.º Em ligação com isso, a autoridade originàriamente exclusiva do médico-feiticeiro é influenciada e enfraquecida não sòmente pelo fato de êle falhar em sua tarefa principal, como também pela incapacidade, decorrente de seu conservantismo e de suas atitudes antiaculturativas, de corresponder às

exigências das novas condições, o que o obriga a repartir o poder com um chefe civil. 3.º Ensinamentos da doutrina cristã são invocados para se explicar a frustração, tornando possível uma reinterpretação do mito. 4.º A frustração é relacionada em têrmos causais com aspectos da mudança cultural avaliados negativamente, o que favorece o fortalecimento de reações antiaculturativas. 5.º Tanto o resultado negativo das cerimônias, como a miséria e penúria decorrentes do desleixo das atividades econômicas, resultam em depressão psíquica geral, mania de perseguição, fuga para a doença e outras tantas manifestações mórbidas [10], em casos excepcionais mesmo em tanatomania e suicídio.

NOTAS

1. Com a afirmação de que o mito da Terra sem Males é elemento genuinamente guaranítico não se pretende ignorar a existência de idéias análogas em outras culturas de tribos sul-americanas, em especial da família Tupi-Guarani. Estas últimas, aliás, são freqüentemente caracterizadas como "grupos migrantes", pois, em que pêse à importância da lavoura em suas culturas, muitas delas têm apenas fraca tendência para o sedentarismo. Os relatos do período colonial mencionam amiúde as grandes correntes migratórias dos Tupinambá ao longo do litoral brasileiro, bem como, em direção ocidental, para o interior do continente. Ao que tudo indica, um dos motivos dessas migrações foi a procura da Terra Prometida, da qual já se faz menção em 1515 no texto da "Newe Zeytung auss Presillig Landt", o primeiro documento sôbre o Brasil divulgado pela arte tipográfica (Brandenburger, 1922, pág. 26 *et passim*) e da qual nos falam também vários cronistas. Sabe-se que os mitos do Paraíso não constituem nenhuma raridade no conjunto das representações coletivas das tribos americanas. Basta lembrar a Terra Bonita (Tenetchára), a Fonte da Juventude (Aruák da América Central), as Ilhas Afortunadas (Karaib), o Pomar do Paraíso (Payaguá, aqui talvez influência cristã) e outras mais. Mas parece que em nenhuma tribo essa tradição mítica chegou a ter o lugar que lhe coube entre os Guarani, em cuja religião veio ocupar posição central mormente em virtude da maneira por que se ligou com o mito da destruição do mundo no futuro. — Nem por isso parece justificar-se a opinião, por mim emitida em trabalho anterior (Schaden, 1946, 112), de que a religião Guarani se caracterizaria como "religião do desespêro". Como tôdas as religiões, também ela visa enfim a dar aos fiéis um recurso para a superação psíquica da morte e para a solução de outros problemas que afligem a existência humana. A singular combinação de terror com esperança de salvação à última hora é que se afigura como traço típicamente Guarani, fruto, provável-

mente, de semente jesuítica lançada no solo fértil das idéias tradicionais indígenas.

2. Nimuendajú, 1914.

3. Cadogan, 1946, pág. 34.

4. Não seria a primeira vez na História, evidentemente, que o texto do evangelista surtisse tal efeito. Cito as palavras de um de meus professôres: "A crença no próximo fim do mundo era geral na Idade Média, devido a uma falsa e materialística interpretação daquele enigma que é o Apocalipse, e se o terror do ano mil não foi grande como o pintaram alguns historiadores que a respeito fizeram romance mais que história, não é possível negá-lo, como outros pretenderam". A. Piccarolo, 1939, pág. 37.

5. Graebner, 1924, págs. 68-69, parece considerá-la característica de "culturas patrilineares". A título de comparação do problema Guarani com crenças análogas entre aborígines australianos é instrutiva a leitura do artigo de Petri, 1950. Em 1952 tive ensejo de discutir o assunto com êste autor na Universidade de Frankfurt sôbre o Meno.

6. "No fim do mundo, Karusakaybé queimará os homens." Kruse, 1951, pág. 922.

7. Nimuendajú, 1952, págs. 137-139.

8. Montoya, 1876, vol. 1.°, págs. 20-22.

9. Nimuendajú, 1954, págs. 50-51.

10. E' necessário, a meu ver, incluir entre essas manifestações o consumo considerável de aguardente de cana entre os Guarani da atualidade, ligado sem dúvida à esfera mais ampla dos problemas aculturativos. Não é preciso grande esfôrço para se perceber que a tendência para o alcoolismo aumenta em proporção direta com a desorganização social e a freqüência dos contactos com estranhos. Os mais inclinados ao vício são os Xandéva e Mbüá das aldeias do Bananal, Itariri e Rio Branco; os menos, os Mbüá mais fiéis aos padrões originais de sua cultura, como, por exemplo, os Mbüá da Serra dos Itatins, vindos do Paraguai em 1946 e entre os quais não havia, por ocasião de minhas visitas, nenhum bebedor inveterado.

Interessante é a atitude dos índios em face da embriaguez. Uns, geralmente os mais acabocladas, sentem-se pouco à vontade quando se fala no assunto; ter vergonha do vício, que procuram combater, até por meio de remédios. Outros, como os Mbüá do Rio Branco, falam sem o menor constrangimento de sua tendência para o uso da pinga: "Às vêzes, a gente está com vontade de ficar quente". Exceção da regra geral, que é beber enquanto se possa ou enquanto

haja cachaça, observei num Mbûá do Rio Branco que, numa venda de Evangelista de Souza, após três ou quatro copinhos de pinga, mostrou energia: "O que eu queria beber já bebi. Agora está bom". A quase totalidade, porém, é vencida pela abulia e não reage.

Entre os Kandéva e os Kayová de Dourados, apesar da vigilância exercida pelo funcionário do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e da influência da missão protestante, acontece que o produto da changa é gasto integralmente com pinga, em uma noite às vêzes a remuneração de uma semana ou mais de trabalho. No dia seguinte não há manifestação de arrependimento ou sequer descontentamento, a não ser que a bebedeira se tenha generalizado na aldeia, dela participando mulheres e crianças, casos em que acontece haver "mal-entendidos" com relação às espôsas alheias no decorrer da bebedeira e conseqüentes brigas, não raro violentíssimas. Nota-se aí, aliás, que os índios mais velhos têm menos pendor para o uso de aguardente do que os mais novos; bebem induzidos por êstes, às vêzes arrastados pelos próprios filhos. Há festas, de aniversário e outras, que se reduzem a serenatas com cachaça, embebedando-se, com algazarra, até crianças de três e quatro anos de idade. E nas festas de chicha os Kayová adicionam de vez em quando algumas garrafas de pinga à bebida tradicional.

Não parece haver dúvida de que o alcoolismo reflete o estado de penúria cultural, fornecendo motivação substitutiva a objetivos ditados pela cultura e cuja realização se veio tornar utópica em virtude das transformações oriundas dos contactos culturais.

CONCLUSÃO

Uma vez que os caracteres fundamentais da cultura e dos processos aculturativos se tornaram bastante explícitos à medida que se foram apresentando os fatos observados, parece dispensável um capítulo final dedicado especialmente à interpretação dos dados. A rigor, as páginas sôbre o papel do mito do Paraíso na cultura e na vida das três subtribos constituem a conclusão do ensaio. Êsse mito, ponto de convergência das manifestações mais significativas da aculturação, é, sem dúvida, uma das chaves mestras para a compreensão da cultura tribal, bem como dos fenômenos de desintegração cultural e desorganização social observáveis nos grupos Guaraní hoje existentes em território brasileiro.

Basta, pois, retomar aqui alguns dos pontos capitais, com o intuito de insistir nos aspectos gerais mais importantes.

Tôdas as esferas da configuração cultural Guaraní, na medida em que esta pôde ser estudada em aldeias do Brasil, revelam influências profundas do ponto de vista da aculturação, sofridas em duas épocas distintas e em situações de contacto essencialmente diversas. As primeiras, do tempo das missões jesuíticas, afetaram especialmente o sistema religioso, no tocante às cerimônias, como à doutrina, mas não conduziram, como resultado final, à desintegração da cultura, a não ser de modo parcial e em certas comunidades; após a expulsão dos missionários, os elementos alienígenas, na medida em que sobreviveram, foram integrados de maneira satisfatória no sistema cultural aborígine, sem que êste perdesse o seu cunho original. As segundas, havidas em sua maioria no decorrer do último século, se revelaram incisivas, e mesmo decisivas para a existência da cultura e a sobrevivência de seus portadores. Acompanhadas de profunda revolução nas condições de vida, deram origem a um estado de penúria cultural — ora mais, ora menos extrema, segundo as circunstâncias —, manifestando-se por dois aspectos complementares: primeiro, pela manutenção de antigas solicitações, para cuja satisfa-

ção já não existem os recursos antigos; segundo, pelo aparecimento de solicitações novas, para a satisfação das quais não bastam os recursos existentes ou disponíveis, quer no equipamento adaptativo, quer no integrativo, quer, enfim, nas próprias possibilidades materiais do ambiente. A crise aculturativa se reduz, assim, no plano concreto, à incompatibilidade dos ideais de vida, propostos pela cultura tribal, de um lado, e pelas formas de existência ligadas à civilização, do outro. As solicitações culturais antigas, exigindo, a par de uma mentalidade acentuadamente mística, a realização de numerosas cerimônias e festas religiosas, algumas delas prolongando-se por semanas ou meses, não permitem a formação de hábitos e de atitudes mentais inerentes aos padrões de trabalho necessários a um entrosamento eficiente do índio na economia ocidental. Como se tem observado também em outras culturas indígenas, a falta de capacidade econômica, no sentido de uma produção sistemática e planificada, de acôrdo com exigências outrora inexistentes, tende a ser superada apenas com a progressiva individualização, ou seja, pela dissolução dos grupos locais, que são ao mesmo tempo comunidades de culto religioso. Realizam-se, destarte, os processos de transformação concomitantemente nas várias esferas culturais, em especial pela substituição de valores religiosos e econômicos, que por sua vez leva à aculturação lingüística, à mestiçagem e à destribalização.

Em consonância com a orientação essencialmente mística da cultura Guaraní, as atividades de subsistência são nela focalizadas de maneira menos insistente do que os problemas religiosos. Mais ainda, à faina econômica, especialmente à lavoura, incre caráter sagrado, o que requer a realização de um ciclo de cerimônias religiosas paralelo ao agrícola. De modo geral, a crise aculturativa — e nisto os Guaraní se distinguem de muitas outras tribos indígenas — se exacerba progressivamente através da intensificação do misticismo peculiar à concepção-do-mundo tribal. De um lado, o relêvo dos ideais religiosos no sistema tradicional de valores é responsável pela violência do conflito entre as culturas; do outro, na situação de insegurança e penúria, decorrentes dos contactos com gente estranha, o Guaraní, em vez de desenvolver atitudes de espírito mais racionais e positivas, reage num plano emocional, por meio de recrudescimento, cada vez mais intenso, de suas vivências místicas. E' círculo vicioso, que na maioria dos casos redunda em conflitos de personalidade pràticamente insolúveis, principalmente nos indivíduos de sexo masculino, cuja participação cultural converge mais para os valores nucleares e determinantes do sistema, ao passo que as mulheres, de senso mais prático, estão mais constantemente su-

jeitas aos encargos da esfera econômica. As dificuldades da crise aculturativa, aliás, se originam também em parte do fato de serem os homens, e não as mulheres, obrigados à adoção de comportamento econômico e padrões de trabalho regulares, à changa nas fazendas e nos ervais, para ganharem o dinheiro indispensável à satisfação das novas necessidades.

Nos grupos que vivem em condições tais que as atividades de subsistência possam continuar a desenvolver-se segundo as antigas normas, predomina em geral a lavoura, apesar de serem rudimentares as técnicas de cultivo e despertarem maior interêsse as lides da caça, estas, aliás, privativas do sexo masculino. Nas fases de convívio menos intenso com grupos estranhos, conserva-se equilíbrio bastante estável entre as diferentes atividades de subsistência, acentuando-se o desnivelamento e a depauperação à medida que prevalece o recurso a atividades substitutivas ou subsidiárias — comercialização de artefatos, excursões de mendicância etc. — oriundas do contacto.

De vez que a sociedade Guaraní não prestigia os indivíduos com referência aos bens materiais que porventura possuam, não há estímulo para se desenvolver a produtividade econômica, não reconhecida como fator de distinção social. Está aí uma das causas da "indolência" que se imputa ao Guaraní semi-aculturado, que trabalha irregularmente, despreza o confôrto, não faz economia, não sabe lidar com dinheiro e, às vêzes, para satisfazer a necessidades nascidas do contacto com o homem branco, mostra forte inclinação para o furto. Mas além da falta de motivação para a produção econômica na escala de valores elaborada pela cultura da tribo, avulta a dificuldade de se porem a serviço de novos objetivos os padrões de comportamento e as técnicas tradicionais. No sul de Mato Grosso, ao contrário do que se deu em outras partes, os Guaraní ainda têm a vantagem de encontrar na indústria ervateira um campo de aplicação de suas aptidões de coletores, da mesma forma como, por exemplo, Terêno e Kaduvéo aproveitam os seus conhecimentos de pastorcio e sua habilidade de cavaleiros, empregando-se como peões nas fazendas de criar. Mas a changa nos ervais não lhes proporciona caminho para uma aculturação econômica satisfatória, precisamente por não favorecer a substituição do primitivo imediatismo da cultura tribal por um espírito de previsão do futuro. E' por isso que nos postos indígenas é comum dizer-se que a changa "estraga os índios". Desleixam a lavoura, porque no erval recebem o fornecimento antecipado, embora por preço exorbitante, inclusive os produtos da

roça, como batata, milho, mandioca e feijão. Chegam a passar semanas a fio nos ervais (alguns com a família tôda), ganhando bom salário, do qual, porém, nada sobra.

A necessidade de fazer face a novas exigências econômicas acarreta transformações mais ou menos radicais na organização familiar. Não podendo subsistir a economia comunitária da família-grande, enfraquece também o papel de chefe tradicionalmente exercido pelo pai, inclusive em assuntos de culto religioso. Passando grande parte de seu tempo em fazendas ou ervais, o homem cria interêsses e atitudes pouco propícios ao espírito da família-grande. E' freqüente os rapazes e homens casados gastarem em uma noite o produto de uma semana de trabalho, não raro se esquecendo de prover ao sustento do grupo familiar. A família-grande deixa de ser a unidade de produção e consumo, cedendo o lugar à família elementar, cujo núcleo estável se reduz, às vêzes, à mulher com os filhos menores.

E' no sistema religioso que, apesar das grandes diferenças de um subgrupo para outro, a cultura Guaraní encontra a expressão máxima de sua unidade fundamental. E é na religião que os mecanismos de defesa e as condições de resistência cultural aparecem da maneira mais manifesta.

Ao que tudo indica, a marca principal que as missões jesuíticas dos séculos dezessete e dezoito deixaram na religião Guaraní foi o destaque assumido pela cataclismologia (em especial, a destruição do mundo no futuro), ligada à idéia de redenção no Paraíso mítico. Alguns dos ensinamentos transmitidos na catequese, encontrando ponto de apoio em certas noções da doutrina tradicional, passaram a constituir centros de reelaboração da religião da tribo.

Nos últimos dois séculos houve poucas tentativas de cristianização sistemática dos Guaraní existentes no Brasil, entre elas a catequese que vem sendo desenvolvida há decênios na missão evangélica de Dourados. Resulta daí que a aculturação religiosa dos grupos Guaraní contemporâneos se processa quase que exclusivamente através do contacto com as populações luso-brasileiras rurais ou urbanas, mediante reinterpretação, em têrmos de magia, dos elementos cristãos. E, ao passarem para a esfera religiosa propriamente dita, as idéias e práticas novas são integradas no sistema tradicional graças a um esfôrço de conciliar as duas religiões sôbre a base de semelhanças e analogias. Assim, por exemplo, os anjos do credo cristão são facilmente identificados com os *Ramedjára reshipuã*, espíritos auxiliares, de que fala a doutrina Kayová. Além do mais, a margem de variabilidade individual da interpretação do mundo, longe de impor ao

crente Guaraní um corpo doutrinário rigorosamente fechado, e abre-se para ampla tolerância no que se refere a incongruências ou mesmo contradições. E' possível que em épocas antigas, quando ainda não conviviam em uma só aldeia famílias Ñandéva, Mbiá e Kaiowá, as crenças e cerimônias de cada uma das subtribos constituíssem conjunto mais bem definido e rígido.

Entre os Guaraní contemporâneos, a aculturação religiosa se processa paralelamente à adoção de novas idéias morais, entre estas a da culpabilidade individual. A religião Guaraní, conservadora inicialmente, não reconhece senão vagamente o livre arbítrio como base para a avaliação dos atos humanos com referência aos deuses da alma *post mortem*. O bem e o mal não são qualidades inerentes aos atos do indivíduo, mas decorrências necessárias da natureza de quem os pratique. Embora passível de sanção sobrenatural (a doença, talvez, de vingança ou pérmio), o autor não se considera moralmente responsável por seus atos.

E' em consequência da mestiçagem e da desorganização que as festas e cerimônias prescritas pela religião tribal são praticamente abandonadas. Para a realização das grandes festas é requerida a presença de todos os membros do grupo; na maioria dos casos, não é possível reuni-los a todos, de vez que sempre há alguém que se encontra fora, trabalhando numa fazenda ou num erval. E se, ademais, é certo que a religião Guaraní constitui o "núcleo de resistência" da cultura tribal, não é menos certo que a religião é a primeira coisa rejeitada pelos mestiços. Pelo desmoronamento cultural daí decorrente, não há terreno para um espírito comunitário que congregue a Guaraní puros e mestiços. Não fosse a posição comum em face do homem branco, e partilharem com os Guaraní até certo ponto a situação de relativo desprezo em que sempre os colocam colonos e patrões, os mestiços, não raro caracterizados como espertalhões e embrulhões, cedo renegariam a sua ascendência indígena.

A frustração dos Guaraní no esforço de novos encontros e tratados em pé de igualdade com os membros de origem luso, se somando à experiência anterior de não terem conseguido ir para a Terra sem Males, levaram, uma vez ou outra, o aparecimento de atitudes anticulturais, levando inclusive à rejeição de elementos da cultura material anteriormente aceitos, mas admitindo a sua convivência, embora difícil, da religião dos antepassados, em casos em que esta já revela sinais de desintegração.

[P. 159 is blank]

BIBLIOGRAFIA

[illegible], Claude d'

1945. *História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinhos na Ilha do Maranhão e terras circunvizinhas*. (Tradução.) São Paulo.

[illegible], Inácio de

1932. *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões*. Rio de Janeiro.

[illegible], Gustavo

1938. *As culturas do trigo*. Rio de Janeiro.

[illegible]-Sørensen, Kai

1945. *The origin of maize cultivation*. Copenhagen.

[illegible], Tito

1949. *Folclore de Alagoas*. Maceió.

[illegible], Cândido

1950. *A Vaca Goiela do Terno do Brasil*. São Paulo.

von [illegible], Karl Joseph

1952. *Wortgeschichtlich-biotische der brasilianischen Sprache*. São Paulo.

[illegible], Lucien

1946. "Les traditions religieuses de les Indios Jaguaks, Tremembés, Parká-qual e dos Gamelas, considérées Kamaiúra, Wiyá, Wiyá-Apyterá e Ka'ríngnó". *Revista do Instituto Histórico do Ceará*. Tomo 61[illegible], n.º 1, pág. [illegible]-[illegible]. Fortaleza.

1953. "El concepto mamaní de alma; su interpretación antiguo". *Folia Linguistica Americana*. Vol. 1, n.º 1, pág. [illegible]-[illegible]. Buenos Aires.

1955. *Ayrú Rupiá. Tradições antigas do Alto-Uaupés do Oriente*. São Paulo.

[illegible], Paulo

1939. *Tratado da terra e do gado do Brasil*. São Paulo.

[illegible], Gustav O.

1949. "Ainda da escapa ordinal". *Revista da Esperanto*, Ano [illegible], n.º 2, 1.º de junho. Schwenningen.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
1948. *The Nuer*. Oxford.

Evans, Ivo d'
1938. *Viagens no norte do Brasil*. (Tradução) Rio de Janeiro.

Gonçalves, Pires Bonacelli
1934. *I. Tratado da Terra do Brasil. II. História da Província de Santa Cruz*. Rio de Janeiro.

Gusinde, Pater
1934. *Die Wildkirchl des primitiven Menschen*. Stuttgart.

Haldane, Simon Scapins de
1948. "Outline e manifestos na organização moderna". *Anais do Museu Paulista*. Vol. XXIII, pagin. 179-208. São Paulo.

Jensen, Ad. E.
1948 a. *Das religiöse Weltbild einer frühen Kultur*. (Ou. edição.) Stuttgart.
1948 b. "Über das ältliche Gebäude der primitiven Religionen". *Paideuma*. Vol. III, pagin. 345-358. Hamburg.
1950. "Über an Zauberhandlungen?" *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Vol. LXXV, pagin. 1-13. Braunschweig.

Kerner, Karoline
1947. *Vida humana e estranha lenda*. (Tradução) São Paulo.

von Kleinschmidt, Gustav
1948. "Die Gewalt". *Globus*. Vol. XCIII, pagin. 276-80. Braunschweig.

Kunz, Kurt
1951. "Kanadischer, der Vater der Menschheit". *Anthropos*. Vol. XLVI, pagin. 313-333. Fribourg.

Linton, Ralph
1945. *The cultural background of personality*. New York — London.

Malinowski, Bronislaw
1944. *A scientific theory of culture and other essays*. Chapel Hill.

Mauss, Marcel
1927. "Le fétiche de culture". *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. Vol. XIX, pagin. 117-128.
1928 a. *La civilisation matérielle des tribus Peau-d'ours*. Paris.
1928 b. *La religion des Esquimaux et son rapports avec celle des autres tribus Peau-d'ours*. Paris.

Montano, Adolph
1933. "Die natürliche Unterlegenheit der Frau". *Ersatzbeg. Pagin. 1-4, verlaßen*. Wien.

Barrera, Antonio Ruiz de

1578. *Vocabulario y Tesoro de la lengua guarani, á esta hoy lógi.* (Sandijón.) Viena — Paris.

1578. "Manuscrito Guarani de Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro sibre a primitiva catequese dos Indios dos Missões", *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, Vol. VI. Rio de Janeiro.

Billiam, P. Pedro

1919. "Ein Sittenbild aus dem Werdegang unserer Missionen in Paraguay", *Argentinischer Volksfreund*, Buenos Aires.

1924-1925. "Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guarani-Indianer im östlichen Waldgebiet von Paraguay", *Anthropos*, Vol. XXIII, pags. 113-136, 411-436 e 805-836; vol. XXX; pags. 191-206, 419-428 e 707-722. Mödling.

Baumann (Grossi), Guy

1914. "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Aquaquiro-Guarani", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XLVI, pags. 391-402. Berlin.

1962. *The Paiaguá*. Berkeley — Los Angeles.

1964. "Apontamentos sôbre os Guarani", Tradução e notas de Egon Schaden, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. XIII, pags. 9-27. São Paulo.

Baumgarten, Eugene

1912. "La vie des Indiens dans le Chaco", (Traduzido.) *Revue de Géographie*, Tome VI, fasc. III. Paris.

1919. *An ethno-geographical analysis of the material culture of two Indian tribes in the Gran Chaco. Comparative Ethnographical Studies*, I. Gothenburg.

Fenton, Benjamin Carter

1945. *Pegando*. Chicago.

Fenton, Benjamin

1945. *Bolívia e seus aborígenes*. Buenos.

Fernandes, A.

1938. "Pastor Ingalhaut". *O Estado de São Paulo*: Suplemento literário, ano 5, nº 5, pags. 27-28.

Fontaine-Ramos, A. S.

1945. "Religion and Society". *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. LXXV, pags. 39-42. London.

Schaden, Egon

1945. *Ensaio etno-sociológico sôbre a cerâmica Tupi-Guarani da aldeia Velha Indígena do Brasil*. São Paulo.

1947. "Urbanização da sociologia rural". *Revista da Escola Paulista*. N. 5., vol. 17, pág. 103-123. São Paulo.

1948 a. "Entre os índios do Mato Grosso paulista". *Paulistânia*. Nº 23, pág. 10-12. São Paulo.

1948 b. "O poder do Sapo na sociologia rural". *Arquivo*. Ano 13, n.º 7. Florianópolis.

1948 c. "Les fonctions sociales de la latéralité tribal". *Revista Brasileira de Sociologia*. Vol. 3, pág. 139-153. Brasília.

1952. "Urbanisierung und Wandel in der Religion der Guarani". *Actes du IIIe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques*. Vol. II, pág. 379-384. Vienna.

Schaden, Egon

1959. *Fragilidade social Tupi-Guarani*. Adelaide.

Schwartz, Ilse

1962. *Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien*. Berlin.

Simões, Elena

1945. *Nove viagens ao Brasil*. (Translation) São Paulo.

Steinbrunner, Tadeusz

1952. *My life with the Indians*. (Translation) New York.

von den Steinen, Karl

1940. *Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central*. (Translation) São Paulo.

Wagley, Charles e Harris Galvão

1948. *The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil*. New York.

Watson, James B.

1952. "Tayoni: culture change: a study in acculturation and ethnohistory". *American Anthropologist*. Vol. LIV, n.º 3, part 2. Menasha Number 52.

Wilbert, Johannes Dante

1964. "Dados sôbre a sistema de parentesco dos Indios Guarani". *Sociologia*. Vol. 17, pág. 21-26. São Paulo.

ÍNDICE

Prefácio 5
Nota à segunda edição 8

Capítulo I

A vila Guaraú e seus representantes em território brasileiro 9

Capítulo II

Aspecto físico 23

Capítulo III

Alguns elementos da cultura material e suas transformações 33
1. A choça, as habitações e o mobiliário 33
2. Indumentária 38

Capítulo IV

Principais atividades de subsistência e organização econômica 43

Capítulo V

Indivíduo e família 67
1. A infância e a formação da personalidade . 67
2. Casamento 74
3. Relações econômicas no grupo familiar ... 80

Capítulo VI

Estudo de caso na vida Guaraú 85

Capítulo VII

A chefia da comunidade 99

Capítulo VIII

Elementos fundamentais da religião e da concepção do mundo 107

1. Caracterização geral da religião Guaraní em face do Cristianismo 107
2. A teoria da concepção e reencarnação e o conceito de alma 111
3. A rezza, traço de união entre o mundo dos vivos e o sobrenatural 121
4. Idéias sôbre as doenças e a morte . 127
5. O sentido da aculturação religiosa . 138

Capítulo IX

Observações sôbre a música e o folclore 153

Capítulo X

O mito do Paraíso na cultura e na vida Guaraní 161

1. Os Ñandéva 165
2. Os Mbiá 169
3. Os Kayowá 172

Conclusão 179

Bibliografia 185

Este livro foi composto nas oficinas gráficas da FFCL da USP e impresso na EDIPS - Artes Gráficas, em mil novecentos e setenta e dois.

[p.191]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VOL. 54 APRIL, 1952 No. 2, PART 2

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST 000

Organ of the American Anthropological Association, the Central States Anthropological Society, The Western States Branch of the American Anthropological Association, the American Ethnological Society, the Anthropological Society of Hawaii, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the Philadelphia Anthropological Society

CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE: A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION AND METHODOLOGY

JAMES B. WATSON

The publication of this volume has been aided by a grant from The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York

No. 73 of the Titles in the Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association

Published by the

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[Title Page]
[P. 1]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000

HARRY HOIJER, *Memoirs Editor*
MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, *Editor*
ALEXANDER SPOEHR, *Book Review Editor*
C. W. M. HART, W. C. McKERN, AND SOL TAX, *Associate Editors*

[P. 2]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

114 laborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

122 We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chêfe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, *encarregado* of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, *encarregado* of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at União, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

128 For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Taquapiri group.

122 For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tooker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Garroway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

JAMES B. WATSON

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 3 000

Note on Phonetic Symbols 7

Introduction 9

I. The Country and the People 14
- Location 14
- Numbers 15
- Who are the Cayuá? 16
- The Social Setting 19
- The Physical Setting 21

II. Cayuá Culture in the Past 24
- Economy 24
- Material Culture 29
- Social Organization 33
- Political Organization 37
- Warfare 38
- Religious Concepts 39
- Shamanism 41

III. The History of Cayuá Contact with Representatives of European Culture 44
- The Spanish Conquest Period, ca. 1530 to 1610. 44
- The Period of Jesuit Missionization, 1610 to 1768 46
- Decay of the Missions and Frontier Disturbances, 1768 to ca. 1832 . . 50
- Religiously Inspired Migrations, 1832 to 1850 51
- 1850–1910: Brazilian Expansion Westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870) 54
- The *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1910 to the present 57

IV. Cayuá Culture: The Present 63
- Economy 63
  - Technology and Material Culture 63
  - The Annual Economic Cycle 68
  - Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting 69
  - Division of Labor 71
  - Trade with Neo-Brazilians 79
- Social Organization 83
  - The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society . . 83
  - A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage . 87
  - A Change of Economic Attitudes 87
  - A Change in the Political Organization 91

V. Analysis 93
- Primary Effects of Acculturation 98
- Secondary Effects of Acculturation 103

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000 VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE 124
Was Cayuá Acculturation Gradual and Pacific? 124
A Note on the Procedures Employed in this Study 128
BIBLIOGRAPHY 133
INDEX 139

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

NOTE ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS

a, *i*, *u*, as in Italian.

e, as in English *met*.

o, terminal and unaccented, roughly as in English *hoe;* terminal and accented, as in English *bought*.

y, high, mid, unrounded vowel.

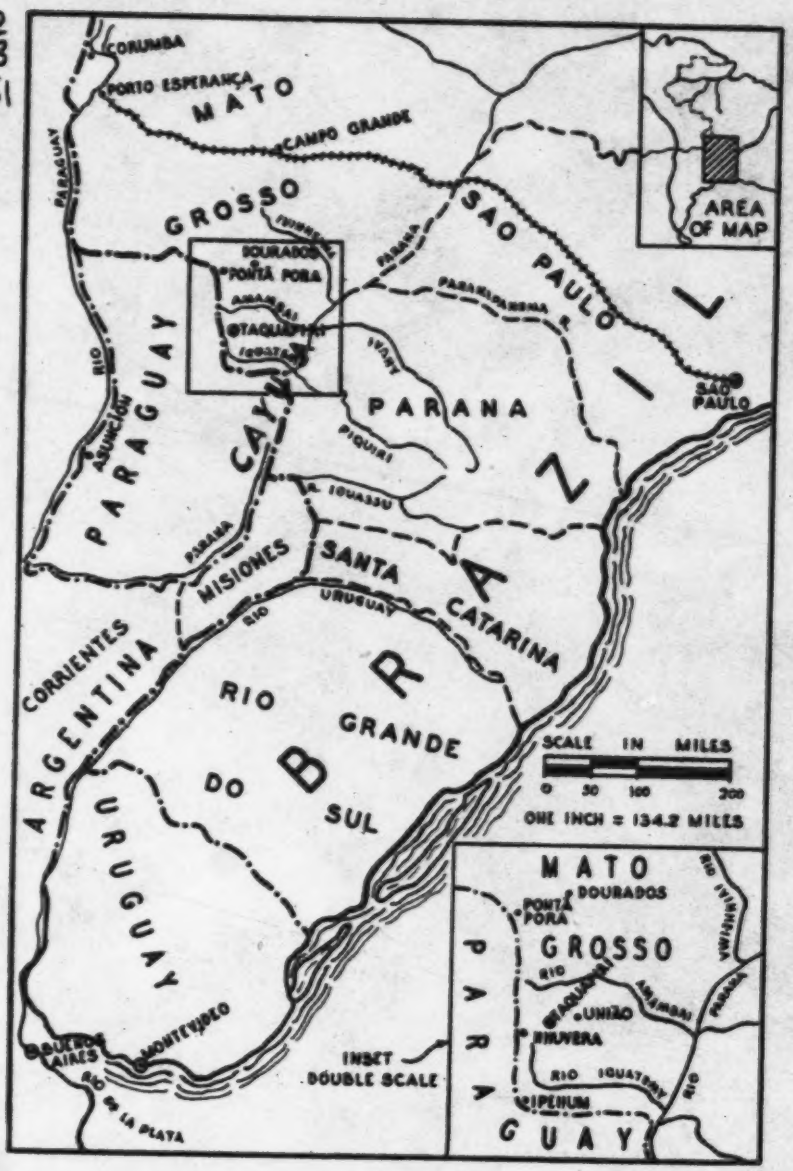
ão, as in Portuguese *nação*. The diacritic (˜) is regularly used to indicate nasalization.

Consonants have approximately their English values except *B*, a voiced bilabial fricative; *dj* or *j*, which ranges from the voiced fricative *z* of *azure* to the affricative initial of *James; ñ*, as in Spanish *cañón; ʒ*, as in English *ship;* and *ʔ*, the glottal stop.

Where Cayuá words are like Tupian or Guaranian forms which have become a part of the Brazilian or Spanish-American vocabulary, standard spellings are used.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

102
133
361



MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

[P. 8]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INTRODUCTION

101

THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupi-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture. 177*

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco: [171]

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

171
*177 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

*177 There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been
121 rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

127 Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupi are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti. 127

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupi-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit. 121

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani Sh4

[2] commercialism. In this, the relations of such economic changes to other aspects of culture are involved, but particularly relations to social organization. Not a great deal is known in detail about acculturative economic change of simple cultures and how it comes about.

In the field of the economic life of peoples who are living under contact few studies have been published. That the repercussions from the introduction of money into a non-pecuniary economy are widespread is recognized by all who have dealt with situations in which this had occurred, and some real attempts have been made to work out the resulting cultural realignments.[3]

The definition of acculturation adopted here is the now well nigh standard one:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[4]

This definition obviously does not restrict acculturational phenomena merely to the borrowing—unilateral or mutual—of alien culture traits. Such a restriction is, in fact, specifically disclaimed:

It is . . . to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.[5]

Diffusion and borrowing of culture traits, therefore, are only one aspect of the process of acculturation, but in spite of this, they are frequently taken to be the *primary* type of acculturative phenomena. Thus there is much emphasis on trait borrowing in the literature; other phenomena are often, by implication, treated as of less immediacy in the process of acculturation.

In this paper it is maintained that simple trait borrowing or diffusion is not necessarily the most important or primary factor in the acculturational process. Among the Cayuá, as will be shown later, what we may broadly term *conditions* were of great importance as factors of acculturation. One such "condition," for example, is the restriction in the size of Cayuá territory and the mobility of the people, as a result of the coming of whites in increasing numbers. This is certainly no "trait" of white culture in the orthodox sense and surely not one that the Cayuá "borrowed." Yet restriction of territory and mobility was a more effective causal agent in Cayuá acculturation than many borrowed European culture traits. Thus, apart from the more obvious trait-borrowing, a number of "conditions" resulting from the European advent have been referred to herein as primary factors in the acculturational process.

---

[3] Herskovits, 1938, pp. 126-27.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10. The definition was drawn up by Herskovits, Linton and Redfield.

[5] *Ibid.*

The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture. 122

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the Indians borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all. 121 128

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[8] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

[8] Kroeber, 1935.

1. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

181 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingué, and less frequently Caiuá, Caiuqui, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[1] are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various points and reserves of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west, from Ronaghi[2] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Ronaghi's Paraguayan sojourn (1910-1920), however, Cayuá territory was extended further to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and northern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1850-1880.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and northern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to the eastward, where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[4] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Iguaçú. He mentions that as early as 1850 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Ronaghi[5] in 1920 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[6]

*179 501 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1958.[7] Ronaghi also gives the impression

---

[1] Gadal, 1968, refers to a group of "Pelagué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Pelagué proper were a Guaicurean tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [2] Ronaghi, 1920. [3] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 194.

[4] Von Koenigswald, 1958. [5] Ronaghi, 1920.

[6] Gadal, 1968, passim, makes a valiant work case for the long tenancy of the "Pelagué" (Cayuá) in the region of Paranapanema, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region also early there, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Pelagué." [7] Von Koenigswald, 1958, passim.

of a notable use of the name by the Cayuá.* This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being more people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1900. Some of the western branches of the São Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the São Amambaí and the São Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

What neither von Ihering[illegible] nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Guaraní-Tupí", their close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their congeners to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map* published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the region east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from those parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, northern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.*

[illegible]

[illegible]

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or credibleconsolidation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (hereafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the mato or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made.

Reporting for the year 1953, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caiuás":

The Caiuás are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the inter-

---

* Sampaio, 1908, passim. * Cabral, 1934. * Von Ihering, 1911.

* More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guaraní-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1948, and Cadogan, 1959.

[illegible] lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safe. With them live a small number of Guaranís.*

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some intercourse of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1942 would be something between 1,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ

[illegible] Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guaraní stems meaning "forest" [ka'ú] and "near", or "near" [ubá], that is, "near of the forest."** If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed, for as far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupí-Guaraní speakers as well. As regards relationship to the Guaraní, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and colonial times, to distinguish the "acculturated Guaraní" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "acculturated." The "acculturated" Guaraní-speaking people, who lived in villages, were in fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the encomienda) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-acculturated" speakers of Guaraní, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their homes; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guaraní languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "near of the forests."** This distinction, from which their present status slightly declines, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupí-Guaraní linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guaraní" of Paraguay

* Especially when a Grupo de Pesquisa on Índios, 1951. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

** Watson, J. B., 1941, p. 2, fn. p. 32, fn. 11.

** In the English translation of Métraux, 1931, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-acculturated speakers of Guaraní is translated as "wild Indians." Métraux limits exclusively upon the point of the close attachment of the Guaraní peoples of the Paraguay region, in their home habitat to contrast both to the open-country dwelling Chaqueño and other equestrian Indians, and to the acculturated Guaraní. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some persuasion, to stations established in open places.

and ancient Guayra,* that most early writers appear to have thought it 101
unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular local chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, not even, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, sociocultural significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani."

Métraux* and Ellsworth and Miller* who exhaustively analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupí groups of central and northern Brazil and the northern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupí" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupí-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day students of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, even large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupí-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupí-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

101
131
167
174

* The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

* Métraux, 1948. * Ellsworth and Miller, 1950.

[illegible] In a discussion where we must consider the various Guarani-speaking peoples of the Paraguayan area, it will help reduce the confusion of tribal and linguistic names to recall the various ways in which the term "Guarani" has been used:

1. "Guarani" has a purely linguistic sense in which it is still used today, often in the compound expression "Tupi-Guarani." In this sense it included at least every Guarani-speaking group of the area of the Platine provinces of Spain. Thus the Cayuá are "Guarani." Whether any important linguistic distinctions actually followed the lines of usage of the two terms, "Tupi" and "Guarani," is doubtful.

2. "Guarani" was also the original general tribal or ethnic term for nearly all the groups of Indians of this speech who were to be encountered in the Spanish regions of South America. Nearly all other known Indians of this linguistic family were to be found in Brazil and traditionally received the general tribal and linguistic designation, "Tupi." It may be seriously doubted whether the distinction between "Tupi" and "Guarani" reflected any fundamental, dual cultural or linguistic division nearly as much as it did the mere fact that part of the members of this linguistic family happened to live in Spanish and the rest in Portuguese colonial domains. It is certainly not implied by this that there were no differences among the various groups of Tupi-Guarani, politically, culturally, or linguistically. But the two terms in the early accounts cannot be taken as necessarily expressive of any such differences. It very frequently occurred that the Tupi-Guarani peoples took sides in the struggles between the European colonial states. Thus some of the Tupi tribes were early allies of the French on the Brazilian coasts while others were cohorts of the Portuguese. Later, of course, the struggle reduced itself to one between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in which the "Guarani" were sometimes the cohorts of the Spanish and the "Tupi" those of the Lusitanians.

3. In the mission period, as has already been mentioned, "Guarani" came to have a more restricted meaning as a tribal term. It was distinct from "Cayuá," and also from other non-reduced tribes, such as Chiriguano, who were "Guarani" only in the larger cultural sense and in the linguistic sense. Here again the distinction and the terminology were primarily European since "Cayuá" had no necessary bearing on indigenous cultural or political divisions, as far as our evidence goes, but only on the fact that these Indians were outside the European pale. "Guarani" specifically came to refer to those Indians of Guarani speech who lived in the Jesuit missions—the "missions of the Guarani." Whether the terminological lines so drawn did incidentally reflect indigenous cultural differences among these Indians is something we shall probably never know.

4. Present use is made of the term "Guarani" to refer to certain tribes in the southern Brazilian and Paraguayan area. Thus Nimuendajú speaks

2:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ind4 Guarani Ind4

of "Ipaguaçu-Guarani," at the same time recognizing as distinct Cayuá and other groups of related speech. It may be impossible ever to discover if these present "Guarani" groups have any significant and exclusive relation to the Guarani-speakers who were formerly missionized or otherwise reduced (meaning No. 2). Are these "Guarani," for example, the particular descendants of formerly reduced Indians while others, like the Cayuá, are not? Miller, discussing three present Guarani-speaking groups in eastern Paraguay, which he says are culturally and tribally distinguishable, the "Pai," the "Chiripá," and the "Mbya," comments that by the Paraguayans only the last are called "Cayguá" (Cayuá), while the first two proudly call themselves "Guarani."[*]

Some of the confusion which now exists as a result of the ambiguous usage of tribal and linguistic terms in reference to the indigenous of Guarani speech in southern Brazil and Paraguay may be erased in the following chapters.

101

THE SOCIAL SETTING

The principal occupation of the white settlers of the southern Mato Grosso region is the production of *herva mate* (*Ilex paraguayensis*). Some cattle are also raised, and there are certain other pursuits. The area is very sparsely settled by Paraguayans (some of whom speak no Spanish or Portuguese), Brazilians, and Argentines; the last-named are mostly from the provinces of Misiones or Corrientes. Non-Indians as a group are definitely set apart from Indians. Their culture, to the knowledge of the writer, has not been thoroughly studied, but some Argentine writers consider that they possess a variety of the so-called "Gaucho" culture.[*]

For the most part the non-Indian settlers eke out a meager existence either producing small quantities of *mate* or working for larger producers in one way or another. The poor grade of cattle raised throughout the region are allowed to roam at large most of the time with an occasional roundup for checking, counting, and driving to market. Most families, whatever their primary occupation, raise almost all of their own food, in slash-and-burn fields (*roças*) where agricultural methods are little, if any, different from those employed by the Cayuá.[*]

A few more fortunate individuals manage to become moderately successful cattlemen or producers or dealers in *mate* and other raw commodities, often combining this effort with a limited sort of general store or trading post arrangement (*bolichos*) on the retail side. These *bolichos* sometimes do a sufficient volume of business, for barter and cash, to constitute a sole enterprise and

[*] Miller, 1934-35, 29: 179-80.

[*] In Argentina this is considered an outgrowth of amalgamation between the indigenous Indian—largely Guarani-speaking—population and the early colonial frontier settlers of those parts.

[*] The reason for similarity between white and Indian agriculture in Brazil is one of assimilation largely on the part of the whites. Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000 enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *mate*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get
241 hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *mate* grove.
233 The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

554 The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots,
233 guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols
241 of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among
648 them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *mate;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *mate*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.*

000 Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

---

* *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brazil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *peroba*, *cedros*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mato* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*amambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[27] James, 1942, p. 505. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capiwara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village
[103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

bird, no more than 6 or 8 inches long. He has a ringing cry for all the world like a sharp hammer blow on a piece of steel pipe, followed by sounds incredibly like a large file being applied to the same material.[22] The emu and a number of smaller field birds are common. Snakes, lizards, and frogs abound. Alligators are to be found along the larger water courses. Fish of large size are encountered only where the streams broaden out into rivers and are relatively scarce in much of the southern Mato Grosso Cayuá region. One should not forget to mention the insects. They include, besides a large-sized component of the mosquito and fly-like biting insects, fleas, foot-burrowers (*bicho de pé*), *carrapatos*, a clinging, bloodsucking bug, and numerous other representatives of the phylum Arthropoda, not by any means restricted to this part of Brazil. 136

It would not be in contrast to our knowledge of other primitive peoples to point out that the Cayuá know their physical environment in great and minute detail, its flora, its fauna, its weather, its water courses and topography. An indirect testimony of the extent of Cayuá nature lore is the enormous contribution of the Tupí-Guaraní languages to the general Brazilian vocabulary, not only of place names, but also of the vulgar names of Brazilian plants and animals. The Cayuá have apparently lost little or none of their store of this knowledge since aboriginal times. 82

[22] This relatively lengthy note on the *arapongo* does not reflect his importance to the Cayuá nearly so much as the amazement of the writer.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
127 Rengger,[32] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34]
121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the
433 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups,
244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

184

[32] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 243 244 433 184

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

24 184 174* 245

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuhá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

244 174* 243 174* 243

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

174* 241

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South. [178]*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 224 262 [261] [225]

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[43] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

174* 223 [235]

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[44] [262]

174* 411 224 223

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

174* 226

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[45] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

---

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff. [43] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107. [45] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabotícába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aratícá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [252] [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cãwí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambú* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock [513] among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins [854] of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, *174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of 412 these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[b] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 Long troughs for *cãwĩ'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a [322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women them- [323] selves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited [462] in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct *177 cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re- [312] placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cãwĩ'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cãwĩ'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse [192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakũ'* (or *adjahá*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[b] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocši* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[80] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[81]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[82]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[83] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[84] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

---

[80] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[82] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 756 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[83] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[84]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organisation of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

342 596 174*

[83] Cf. Isikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[84] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

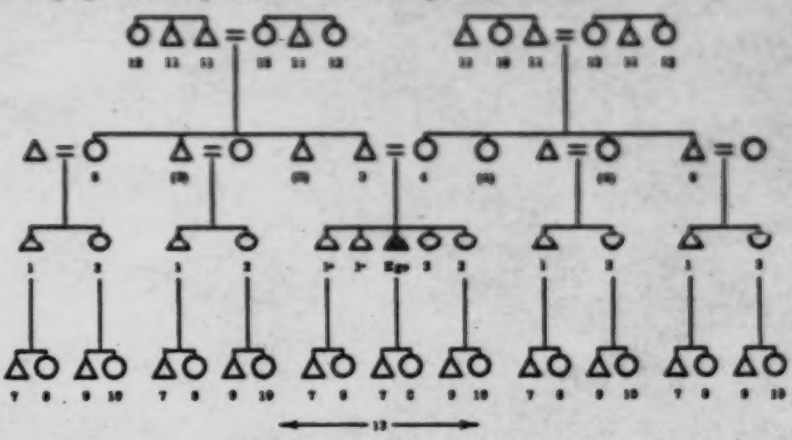
596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāuī'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[*] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[**] and Lowie.[***] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[*] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [**] Kirchhoff, 1931. [***] Lowie, 1930.

*175 171 582 591 considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

*175 59 582 683 171 But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

*179 591 The writer does not agree with Watson and [illegible] when they [illegible] residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupí may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point 601 which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupí, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupí-Guaraní peoples, through both space and time. [171] *[174]

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Iari'ŋ*, was almost

I:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Xbd4 Guarani Xbd4

identical to male Ego's "son," *hewʼy*; and male Ego's "daughter" was *hewjy* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *hewʼy*). For male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *hentjet*, quite a different term phonemically. *hentjet* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupí on the point of the avunculer marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *hejé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[20] 174* 601

The avunculer marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupí-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[21] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapéi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "mbiaka" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

---

[20] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[21] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756
797

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

*174
726

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[21]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusillanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupí-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupí groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

*174
231
648
726
*[175]

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[21] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[70] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapéi* to lurking raiders.[71] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gê-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[72] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776 [771] [771]

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[73]

---

[70] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [71] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[72] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [73] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sicl*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*174 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[392] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the
[764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
[609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from
*175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarahá*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarahá* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied
[562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great
[622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could
[628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel.
[797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the
[786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was
[171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups
[276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was
[824] probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been
[755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

174* 175* 756 786 [197] [167]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incomplete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred about the developing influences of European culture.

128 *175 648

For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.

II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.

III. 1768 to *ca.* 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with *mate* workers (*yerbateros*).

IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.

V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870).

VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, *CA.* 1530 TO 1610

*175 648

The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.[21] This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

[21] The Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Dias de Solis, who was killed by Charrua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plate.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay. 175* 648

Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.[43] They used the indigenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indigenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a certain piece of territory *and the inhabitants thereof* to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent. 174* 175* 648

Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.[44] Whatever and wherever the

---

[43] The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guarani, and Lothrop, 1932 finds that the archeology bears this out. 174*

[44] The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in living between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassable. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the threat of Mbayá and Spanish movements.) 131 648

[footnote continues on p. 46 bottom]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 797 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[64] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the *174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[65]

*175 648 797 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

---

*[174] [131] [648] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[64] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[65] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[88]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[88] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
797 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[462 pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
286 following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
241 Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without
62] permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241 New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
233 made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
433 understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maíz*, hides, and agricultural crops
439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes.
648 The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
797 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani
*174 would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapái* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[87]

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[88] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[89] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri-

[87] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934–35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[88] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá.*

[89] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

*175 648 797 The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

*175 245 648 The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[81] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[82] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

175* 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

174* 175* 167 648 668

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

167 they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of
*175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
*174 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
648 in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic
668 movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Paingué" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *municipio* of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911. [102] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 175* 167 648 668

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[103]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents. [756]

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[104] 174* 175* 668

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[103] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [104] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12–13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
*175
668

the Cayuá has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vailala Madness, the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the account appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial outlines.

1850–1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD (PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865–1870)

*174
*175
648

The present arbitrary division of Cayuá history is particularly evident in this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterized primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began directly to concern the Cayuá of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante* exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750. Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding" operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence. Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established, perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante* families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains. In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers; for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a designation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubtless acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the Cayuá—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of the region.[105]

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

[105] Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 175* 648

with valuable goods or driving herds."[106] (The opposite migration of some of the Cayuá themselves, already dealt with foregoing, supposedly began only a few years afterward.) In 1855 there was a short-lived attempt to settle Cayuá Indians on a reservation in the state of Paraná, at Loreto de Pirapó, a former mission site on a tributary of the Paranapanema.[107] These latter events, however, affected primarily the more easterly groups of Cayuá, those who had crossed the Paraná; the bulk of the Cayuá were still located in southern Mato Grosso and eastern Paraguay.

In 1865–1870, however, there came a series of events which brought the Europeans to the front doorstep, so to speak, of even the less adventurous Cayuá. The Paraguayan War, little known to Americans because of our own contemporary preoccupations, fell within this period. From the sources consulted, it does not seem that the Cayuá participated as troops or auxiliaries on either side, although de Taunay mentions a number of other groups of Indians of the general region as having been variously "loyal" or "traitorous" to the Brazilians.[108] Nevertheless, even as bystanders, the Cayuá could hardly have been entirely unaffected by the alarums and excursions occasioned by the campaigns of the military. Frontier skirmishes took place near their territory, military supplies and troops were moved across southern Mato Grosso, and many more Brazilians, including Negro slaves become soldiers, came into the area than ever before. Some of the soldiers stayed in the region, adding to the numbers of the intrepid *serianejos* (inhabitants of the *sertão* or interior) who had already become established there as cattlemen. With the passage of time, it was becoming less and less possible for the Cayuá to remain the wary "people of the forest" as of old; while they still stayed largely on the fringes of civilization as best they could, civilization was now advancing toward them, and white activity on its frontier was becoming more intense and varied. With a renewed interest in the southern frontier part of her territory as a result of the Paraguayan War,[109] Brazil saw the early forerunners of her "*marcha para o oeste*" reinforced.

Cattle have always been for Europeans the principal wealth in southern Mato Grosso and are so still today. But in the extreme south grow the natural groves of *mate* trees, and the turn of the century witnessed the extension of large-scale and well organized *mate* industry north from Paraguay and Argentina into southernmost Mato Grosso. The name of one company, with comparatively great resources, was largely associated with this development, the *Companhia Matte Larangeira*, of Spanish and Argentine connections. The sites of their operations in Brazil have moved from time to time, but almost all

---

[106] Godoi, 1946, p. 9. Surely the *bandeirantes* are being excepted here.

[107] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [108] Taunay, Visconde de, 1931, *passim*.

[109] As far as Brazil was concerned, the war with Paraguay was partly a matter of the claim of that country to a large part of southern Mato Grosso. Here, very likely, there were as many people living who could be called "Paraguayans" as "Brazilians."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 [464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

[496] [361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174*
175*
648
[494]

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins. [657]

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians. [224]

[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26. [112] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caioás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[123] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt meas-
[871] ures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

[123] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization. 648 871 657 [177]*

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers. 648 657

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed. 648

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless 648 177* 241 657

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionisation is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brasil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[119] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for
464 them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[120] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
562 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-
*178 words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[121] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[119] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[120] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[121] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[128] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to. 121 128

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[129] The importance of the machete 177* 412 [241]

[128] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[129] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
[241] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[224] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in
412 the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapúi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusú* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarakú*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupí of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cāuī'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cāuī'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cāuī'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarakú* gourd rattles, *takwapú* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 *178 534 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from Jesuit times.

The Annual Economic Cycle

221 241 *[178] At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *chongo;* they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cãwi'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBaiti iupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[138] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[138] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tups'* than *monoit'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoit'*) and a more recent flint type (*tups'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
415 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

---

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[138] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

241

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 462

[138] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*." [177]* [805]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for *178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 476 596 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *pulirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puʒirão* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupi-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puʒirão* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *cãuĩ'* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puʒirão*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time. 476 [462]

Puʒirão work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puʒirão* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puʒirão* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution. [596]

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puʒirão* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puʒirão* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puʒirão* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puʒirão* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *cãuĩ'* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as peons and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *puʒirão* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *chango*[129] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[129] "*Chango*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

178* 463

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puĩrão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puĩrão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãwĩ'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

178* 464 465 476 648

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãwĩ'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[122]

*177 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
464 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[123]

---

[273] [122] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[123] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
*[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

174* 439 648

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor.

177* 439 648 [436] [444]

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which none of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[38] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá.

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[38] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were none but machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jacaré*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
[262] danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[291] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
648 region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter small amounts of their *kokwí* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
+[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
352 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
415 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
262 by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[100] Hammocks are

[100] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 439
hood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars
and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more 352
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them 415
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* 262
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white 439
settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of
commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure 648
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than 433
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods 464
he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able [463]
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[27]
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 648
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods 435
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in [465]
trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil [171]
and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[27] Gens, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will
437 ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however,
are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very
435 little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *changa* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[125] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

---

[125] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[189] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puʃirão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[189] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*itão*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[142] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

361 few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but
594 near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close
596 relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory
241 balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

361 Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity
241 to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

241 The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá
342 by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they
343 can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for non-perishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to repre-
*178 sent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural
361 produce.[16] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[16] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *ispái* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage 178*

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapúi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puĩirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puĩrão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puĩrão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puĩrão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puĩrão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puĩrão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãwĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãwĩ'* that keeps the *puĩrão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puĩrão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puĩrão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãwĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puĩrão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puĩrão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puĩrão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puĩrão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[171] [148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognised among the Tapirapé.

[19] [149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puĩrão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupí-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puĩrão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[273] [433] [151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãwĩ'*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãwĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãwĩ'*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[123] The contemporary *puŠirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puŠirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puŠirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puŠirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puŠirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[123] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[153] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage. 178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[154] 177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[153] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[154] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chaugs* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[144]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[144] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational? 177* 182

2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes?

3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organized into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis*
177 Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for exam-
182 ple, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organized which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular acculturational causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the acculturational causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognized can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

128
177*
182

One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 98]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

CONFIGURATIONAL ANAL

*177
182

I. CADRES OF ACCULTURATION

a. Cayuá practically guaranteed protection from hostile attack by whites or other Indian tribes; are effectively prevented from participating in attacks themselves.

b. Metal implements introduced by whites, especially machete, axe, and hoe.

c. Cayuá gradually restricted as to territory, by retreat from whites, by encroaching settlers, and finally by SPI settlement of them upon designated reservation.

d. Game supply of animals formerly used by Cayuá for food gradually reduced because of coming of whites with firearms and their domestic animals.

e. Introduction of trade goods, cloth, salt, soap, tools, pots, lard, mate, meat, hats, and "luxury" and non-essential items.

f. Growth of an external (white) market for varying amounts of Cayuá male labor, with some desire to make such labor obligatory for Cayuá.

g. Development of external market for small quantities of some kinds of Cayuá products, principally agricultural products, but also certain craft items.

h. White political images which tend to centralize authority in single individual for whole community.

II. EFFECTS OF AC

A. Primary or Imm

a. Agriculture becomes more i economy.

b. Relative economic importan (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficienc agriculture. Not only more possible but can be done alo

d. Loss or decline of certain a

e. Labor relations with Neo-Br entailing dealings for white g terms of it. (Incidentally th intimate present point of con societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Br and increase involving both 1) buying--white goods 2) selling--small amou Cayuá products.

g. Establishment of office capit [illegible]

[P. 96]

[P.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF CAYUA ACCULTURATION

II. EFFECTS OF ACULTURATION

A. Primary or Immediate Effects

177*
182

a. Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy.

b. Relative economic importance of hunting and fishing (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficiency and productivity in agriculture. Not only more agricultural work possible but can be done single-handedly.

d. Loss or decline of certain native industries.

e. Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers (change), entailing dealings for white goods or for money or in terms of it. (Incidentally a most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the two societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase involving both
1) buying--white goods and
2) selling--small amounts of certain Cayua products.

g. Establishment of office capitão and his deputy, the sargento.

B. EFFECT

2. Second

b' Individual economic di specialization (both m male alternatives (Li own agriculture or in

c. Division of labor: indi work) becomes relativ basic activities, establ

d. Polygny: less frequen existent.

e. Production-consumpti basic unit shifts from family. Closely relat
1) a change to ea
2) a modification location of ho

f' Economic attitudes: (become more individu ness and helpfulness.) greater commercializ

a. Division of labor by se in work of agriculture.

f. Kinship system: disap rights of mother's br considered incestuous.

h. Political structure: community and establi aboriginal household decentralized control.

[P. 96-A]

Fl. 2.

* "e" and "f" have been of the complication

[see errata,

[P

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ULTURATION 177* 182

Siste Effects

portant in the total

of hunting and fishing

and productivity in
gricultural work
s-handedly.

ive industries.

zilian settlers (change),
ode or for money or in
most intensive and
ct between the two

zilians are established

and
ts of certain

, and his deputy, the

96-A]

2.

II. EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION 177* 182

B. Secondary or Derived Effects

b' Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft specialization (both men and women); (2) tendency toward male alternatives (Lizzie's sense) re extent of work in even agriculture or in change for Neo-Brazilians.

c. Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative work) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building.

d. Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, almost non-existent. 2 A

e. Production-consumption groups: size and composition of basic unit shifts from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are
1) a change to small house types
2) a modification of dwelling patterns re location of house near labor.

f' Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group become more individualistic. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism.

g. Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in work of agriculture. 3 A

f. Kinship system: disappearance of preemptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter. Now considered incestuous.

h. Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal band-chief (extended family) heads and former decentralized control.

* "g" and "f" have been placed out of alphabetical order because of the complication otherwise of transecting lines.

[see errata, cat. 116, p. 132.-Analyst]

[P. 97]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is
182 no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
241 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men is cheaps is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as formerly, mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [659] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[40]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would so readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[41]

*177 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
182 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
241
412

[40] The cattle, and to a less extent swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculture, however. These living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their fields circuitous and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Ten Brothers may not.

[411] [41] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. As the more time-saving tool, of course, the machete has been a contributing factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. a.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *boliches*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal homework. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *ciango* (II. A. c.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *ciango* for local whites. The *ciango* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson Σ-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 439 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 182 439 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian 285 286 market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) *new* crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 182 464 648 439 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established (*chaage*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *chaage* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *chaage* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *chaage* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *chaage*. Historically, however, the *chaage* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any considerable white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *chaage*.

The *chaage* incidentally has tended to oil other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *chaaga* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *chaaga* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *chaaga* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *chaaga* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *chaaga* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. i.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly close alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, trade-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
+177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists
182 in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. 1. h. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives resistant of work in own agriculture or in *chaaga*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the lower decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of th aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II.A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. Change and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *chaaga* cultivation is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
+177 II. 3. a the *chaaga* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
duction as major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely
182 oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *chaaga* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *chaaga* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *chaaga* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *chaaga* is not generally considered satisfactory.[20]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182 241 462

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[21]

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

---

[20] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less to the *chaaga* than to Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. E. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is now becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small to make that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *chaaga* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own fields. [435]

[21] Lowie, 1940, p. 23.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[80]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *chaqo* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[81] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *chaqo* (II. A. 2.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *chaqo* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[583] [191]

[80] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Central Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[81] There is certainly an excellent case to point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are then likely to be made available by the special sex group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 146).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *chaugs* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[*] It is suggested, therefore, that the *chaugs* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools. 177* 182 241 462

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor. 177* 182 241 462 476

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in [226]

[*] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for crude Paraguayan white Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Baegert [illegible], pp. [illegible] *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but it is not even clear that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, or tools, probably were used by the men, as in the cutting of cane.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokwé* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *chaugo* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *chaugo* and trade.) Neither of
464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *chaugo* a
476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *chaugo* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *chaugo*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *chaugo* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
182 *chaugo* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are objects of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1143) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primrily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *chaaga* the problem of tradgoods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his srvices for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly prouced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade good in the *chaaga* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trad goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualisatio of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other puduce.

To sum up the reasons for a growng individualisation of work, particularly in agriculture, the *chaaga* and tradewith Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual wor is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certai conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with th technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, ne other activity where modern individualisation is noted, it will merely bongistered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highlyindividual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of accturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with th complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. c.) the decrease inize of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, too, will be left until later.[*]

II. B. c. "Production-consumptio group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapirí), re location of house near fleet." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from to aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[**]

[*] Indeed, the entire present question of greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes re re relations of individuals and gro Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not come well until the various facets have all been reviewed.

[**] The distinction between "feasibility" or "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "These elements determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," operations, sentiments, and interactions (Homans, 1950, pp. 33 ff.). "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the sending or operations possible on the environment.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of
182 (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the in-
594 creased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have
596 already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or coopera-
621 tive work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the cheaps and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of circumscriptional factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

---

[21] as well as transactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Practicability" here is clearly financial sentiments for an operation or a different form of transaction to become effective, and only then it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the other form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupí-Guaraní, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.*

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–40), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

---

* When it eventually, were the prominent aboriginal role of warfare among the Cayuá [illegible] by some [illegible] by the writer? In that case, the present experiment, as [illegible], would be even clearer than it is. That is, a neolocal extended family would be [illegible] particularly upon the importance in agriculture of a number of cooperating [illegible]. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite considerably would have the gradual disintegration of neolocality and hence possibility of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture has always been less in cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*197 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[20] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (I) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapéi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapéi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapéi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapéi*, they have certainly not made *tapéi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[21]

[191]

[20] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressive means which were related, comparable to those among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of aboriginal Cayuá aggressive means. But even with the early suppression of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have prolonged the life of Cayuá aggressive mechanisms early in the acculturational period.

[21] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a modified version of the *tapéi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (or Tupi-Guarani) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European colonists. A descriptive history would be geographically, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the proximate fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokué*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokué*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokué* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokué* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokué* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit.[*] To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokué*. Nor can kin could always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokué* are often not all together.[**]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquaperí, if not of other reservas likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their conservation in not cultivated as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

---

[*] [illegible]

[**] [illegible]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*179 182 594 596 621

this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse to the *chaco* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the peoples a compensation for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neobrazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*179 182 156

II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." Ti change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group is closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, pricularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. | has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. c.) the *chaco* for Neo-Brazilian, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, all appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were alerted, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of their kinsfolk there. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *chaco* constitute a type of productive activity in the Cayuá in which the individual's growth and own self-interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *chaco* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with of different interests, play in the arrangements. In any event, all of the gains work in the *chaco* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged a job, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *chaco* is not collective work, it is almost always individual.

The *chaco* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational commercialism, or commercialism, is fostered by this work. There is little of equality or helpfulness

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

new such as might exist if *chaaga* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *chaaga* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *pake* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[*] Whether the *chaaga* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *chaaga* "exposes" the *pake* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result. 177* 182 156

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *chaaga*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely habitual and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *chaaga*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods. 177* 182 43 181

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[**]

Ideas of money price antecedent to (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the *ervatale* are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[*] The native known of one Indian—one of Tomagaño—in which other non-actually Cayuá *chaaga* for a Tomagaño settler was organized to remember the more spirit of a gathering. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Tomagaño was often around this agreement and mentioning around the Cayuá that Brazilians in the neighborhood of Tomagaño, besides were often speaking the Indian language.

[**] [illegible] seems [illegible] to a sense that "money" has Cayuá has the more connotations in fact the Brazilians—or for me, I do realize that the use of money would necessarily involve more contacts with the strangers environment.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*197 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. c.) such that did not exist
43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the Indians—or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal change," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[19]

*197 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexistent."[20] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
182 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
462 come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially
595 in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. a.) the change, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Not, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

---

[19] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá women as are literate are slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely at least until the local frontier economy develops to the point. For the frontier settlers there seems highly negative in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money has actually circulated more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local frontier type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by Jonas Wise for some of the businessmen of Dourados, N. G. e. (1940). A money economy is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[20] It is not entirely certain that such monogamy as obtains was aboriginally, but there seems good reason that it existed in some form. I can offer no conclusion, however, as regards the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygamy. Other than the one given below, I do not know the reason for the decrease.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173] 177* 182 595

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

---

[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 595 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 182 582 602 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterised by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[176]

621 591 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapái*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[176] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177] 177* 182

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con- 582 601 602

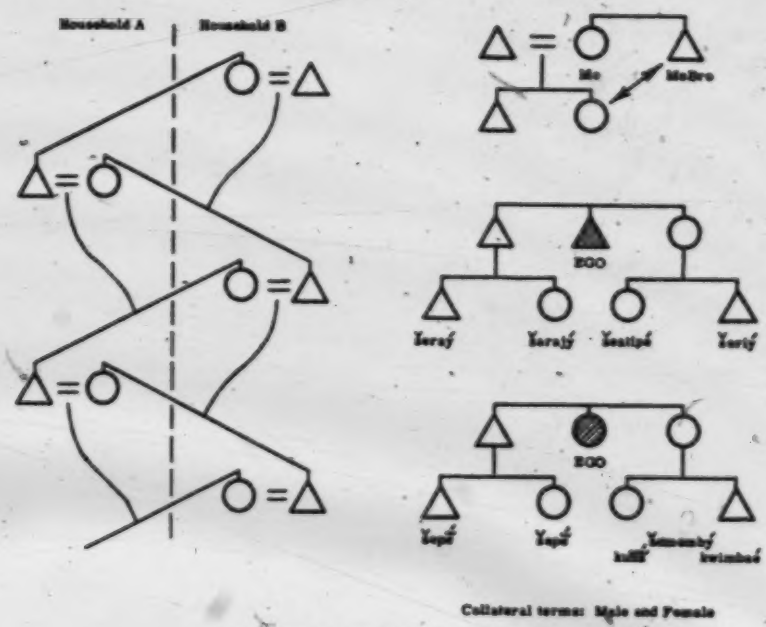


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person
182 from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in
582 Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain
601 matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance
[596] have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permis-
[591] sible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate"
182 a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its
582 women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with
59 (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
648 *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
721 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*pajé*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
756 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
622 more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *sus popuã*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

121 *177 *178 A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier sig-
[167] nificant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white
[161] contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate
[168] steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
177*
178*
[168]

and abortives, apparently with favorable results. This story may be without any foundation whatsoever—and probably is not literally true at best. But it is just possible that conditions existed at one time in Cayuá history which gave rise to such a truncated and apocryphal tale. It is our very uncertainty in this respect that urges the present caution against predicating much about earlier difficulties and disorganization in the history of Cayuá acculturation. Thus, though the modern Cayuá of Brazil appear to have emerged from their past with a relatively good adjustment of means and ends, this alone does not preclude the chance that the process was at other times more painful.

The primary factors of change mentioned above indeed do not seem sweeping or radical, and the present organization of the Cayuá suggests a tranquil acculturational adjustment; but a confrontation of secondary changes, nonetheless, makes the suggestion of earlier periods of stress appear at least a possibility. The scope of these changes is unmistakable. The secondary effects can be summarized for consideration here without tiresome repetition by considering them from the angle of the changing Cayuá concept of goods. This approach, in fact, might have been adopted before as a means of bringing out important changes and relationships, but it is characteristic of much of present social science analysis that what has been accomplished in one particular manner may equally well be achieved by another. Apparently, there is often no necessary or "natural" mode of treatment or point of departure: any one of a number will serve. In any case, the changing Cayuá concept of goods and its ramifications provides a sufficient key to how far the culture as a whole has changed from the aboriginal and a key for understanding the change.

The first question is: What at present constitute "goods" for the Cayuá? What items does this category include? Here, of course, we find numerous changes, both additions, such as trade goods, and displacements, such as certain types of aboriginal manufactures. If we also consider frequency of use, occurrence, and general significance of goods, more differences between aboriginal and modern goods are seen. Many old items which would still have to be listed as goods, since they are still recognized, are of such rare occurrence and small use as to be radically in contrast with the conditions of the past. Pottery or certain hunting products illustrate this. On the other hand, a number of innovations are of first rate importance, such as metal tools. The point could be elaborated further, each succeeding elaboration only serving to emphasize greater differences.

The second question: What is done to produce or obtain the various goods at present recognized? again reveals certain contrasts of degree and kind with the past. Wage-work, money purchase, and barter are all either relatively or absolutely different from the past as means of obtaining goods. Obviously certain technological operations are also different, even in the more traditional lines of activity, such as agriculture. Far-reaching differences are implied in

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
*177 the use and concept of money and of working for others exclusively for material reward.
*178 The question: Who does the work of production? likewise underlines numerous differences from the past. There are qualitative and quantitative differences in the sexual division of labor, in the true division of labor, with present incipient specialization and alternatives, and in the matter of individual versus joint production by families and wider kinship groupings. Here, along with the changing economic roles of men and women, are shown the replacement of the extended by the elementary family as a producing unit, and the quasi-alternative of participation in different lines of economic endeavor, such as wage-work. These matters are interrelated with and widely ramify into further changes in Cayuá economic and social organization, such as the change in preferential marriage and the decline of polygyny.

Two other questions about the present Cayuá concept of goods in their implications nearly complete the remaining aspects of Cayuá acculturation so far recognized. One question concerns how the goods are distributed, to whom and in consideration of what obligations, exchanges, or reciprocities. The other, closely related to the first, is how modern Cayuá goods may be manipulated. These aspects of the present concept of goods would call for further discussion of the shift from extended to elementary family, the features of contemporary—and probably increasing—individualism, commercialism, the concept of money, and the sale of goods. Also involved are the decline of former gift exchange and mutual helpfulness in favor of economic rationalism, wage-work within the group itself, and money barter of goods to one's friends and kin.

Perhaps the only major secondary effect of the changes that were discussed in Chapter V, which is not included here by implication, is the change in political organization of the local group and the appearance of multiple factions. This change does not actually stand alone, of course, but it is less directly relatable to the changing Cayuá concept of goods, as a point of analysis.

From the foregoing it can readily be concluded that the Cayuá concept of goods has been much changed from the aboriginal. This is true in such matters as (1) what constitute goods, (2) what is done to produce or obtain goods, (3) who produces which goods, (4) to whom and why goods are distributed, and (5) how goods may be employed or manipulated. In each of these respects there are differences both of goods in particular and goods in general when the modern Cayuá are compared with the aboriginal. Taking as a point of departure the changing concept of goods in Cayuá acculturation, then, analysis reveals modifications which are ultimately very far-reaching. The differences which are highlighted appear radical enough to justify some consideration to the contrary of an orderly and tranquil Cayuá acculturation. The argument would be that, since the secondary changes are so extensive, com-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
177*
178*

pared to the aboriginal culture, the past may reasonably have been marked by periods or phases of considerable disorganization and stress. Here again the case for deciding between easy or difficult acculturation is not final and conclusive.

Two or three other known factors enter into the case and swing the balance once more to the opposite, however, in favor of the view of tranquil and relatively undisturbed acculturation. As was pointed out earlier, the longstanding Cayuá contact with whites has not been direct or intensive until very recently. Intensive contact of any sort probably did not begin until fairly effective white occupation of the lands of southern Mato Grosso, easily within the last fifty years. Effective penetration from Spanish lands to the south was inhibited by several factors, such as poor means of communication and access, the deflection elsewhere of political and economic interests, and a sparse colonial population. Mission influences of the Jesuit period, though significant, were again not direct or first hand. A very gradual and unhurried acculturation presumably would have resulted enhanced by the fact that white influences were mediated through intervening native groups of culture similar to the Cayuá. The latter factor supposedly had the effect of reducing Cayuá conflicts and disorganization. The general impression, therefore, is of a continuing and successful adjustment to new conditions which only by slow stages became a part of the Cayuá situation and, hence, which produced no crises.

Of course, it might be argued that for the very reason that the earlier contact of the Cayuá was so slow, indirect, and perhaps slight, it might well not have provided much background of acculturation with which to lessen the shock of ultimate direct and intensive contact. This would depend entirely upon the extent and kind of acculturation which had been realized by the time of direct contact, a point upon which information is not available. One can scarcely escape the conclusion, in any case, that some acculturation did occur prior to more recent and intensive contact, and it must almost inevitably have eased the path of later change.[18]

The balance of the argument favors the conclusion that Cayuá acculturation was on the whole slow, pacific, and unmarked by sharp conflicts or periods

[18] This statement is not offered as a generalization for acculturation everywhere, but only as applied to the Cayuá case. In the example of the Great Plains of North America it might be argued that prior and indirect acculturational contact of the Indians had a result quite the opposite of facilitating later changes. The Plains Indians took over the horse and other elements as a result of early, mostly indirect influences. They thus turned to a way of life based upon the hunting of buffalo to an extent which would otherwise scarcely have been possible. The change from such a hunting way of life to the reservation settlement ultimately imposed can hardly be considered to have been easier than if the ultimate change had been imposed upon the type of culture aboriginally characteristic of the Plains. The Cayuá case is obviously not parallel since no demonstration whatever can be offered that early acculturation prompted or facilitated a way of life *less* amenable to later acculturational conditions than the aboriginal way of life.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
*177 of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a rela-
*178 tively high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

121 The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain
128 important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a
*177 question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of in-
*178 formation on many related questions has also been noted throughout the paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, primary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distinguished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other. This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, which is usually a key, is unknown. 121 128 177* 178*

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assesment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
*177 enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
*178 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consideration of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*paiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance. 121 128 177* 178*

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits?
128 Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of ac-
*177 culturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and
*178 the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realized. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AMBROSETTI, JUAN

1894 Los Indios Cainguá del Alto Paraná (Misiones). *Boletin del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, Vol. XV, pp. 661–744.

ANCHIETA, JOSE D', S.J.

1846 Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil. (Manuscripto offerecido ao Instituto pelo sócio correspondente o Sr. Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen), *Revista Trimensal de História e Geografia* or *Jornal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 254–262.

ANONYMOUS

1913 *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios e Localisação de Trabalhadores Nacionais, constante do Relatório do Sr. Ministro da Agricultura, Indústria e Commércio relativo ao anno de 1911.* Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional.

AZARA, DON FELIX DE

1904 *Geografia Física y Esférica de las Provincias del Paraguay, y Misiones Guaraníes.* Montevideo: Museo Nacional.

1934 *Viajes por la América Meridional.* 2 Vols. Translated from French by Francisco de las Barras de Aragon. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

BALDUS, HERBERT

1929 Ligeiras notas sobre os índios Guaranys do Littoral Paulista. *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XVI, pp. 81–96.

1936 Ligeiras notas sobre duas tribus tupis da margem paraguaya do Alto Paraná. *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XX, pp. 749–756.

1937 *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira.* Série V, Brasiliana, Vol. 101, Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

BALDUS, HERBERT, AND WILLEMS, EMILIO

1939 *Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia.* São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

CARDOZO, RAMON I.

1938 *El Guaira, história de la antigua provincia, 1554–1676.* Buenos Aires: Jesus Menéndez.

COHEN, MORRIS R., AND NAGEL, ERNEST

1934 *An Introduction to Logic and the Scientific Method.* New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.

COOK, O. F.

1921 Milpa Agriculture, A Primitive Tropical System. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1919.* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, pp. 307–326.

1930 The Debt of Agriculture to Tropical America. Pan-American Union *Bulletin* Vol. LXIV.

COSTA, ANGYONE

1934 *Introdução à Arqueologia Brasileira, Etnografia e História.* Série V, Brasiliana, Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Vol. 34. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

113 CUTLER, HUGH C.
1946 Races of Maize in South America. *Botanical Museum Leaflets*, Vol. XII, No. 8, pp. 257–291.

DOBRIZHOFFER, MARTIN
1822 *An Account of the Abipones, an equestrian people of Paraguay.* Translated from the Latin. 3 vols. London: John Murray.

DRUMMOND, CARLOS
1944 *Dos designativos de parentesco e a particula 'iyl' do Tupi-Guarani.* Boletim XLVI da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, No. 5, São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais.

EGGAN, FRED
1938 *Anthropology 210.* Chicago: The University of Chicago, Extension Division, Home Study Department.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1929 *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

GILLIN, JOHN
1945 Parallel cultures and the inhibitions to acculturation in a Guatemalan community. *Social Forces*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1–14.

GODOI, MANUEL PEREIRA DE
1946 *Los extinguidos Poinguá de la cascada de Emas.* Boletin No. XIV, Instituto de Arqueologia, Lingüística y Folklore "Dr. Pablo Cabrera," Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad.

GRAS, N. S. B.
1930 Barter. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II. New York: Macmillan.

HERNANDEZ, P. PABLO
1913. *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaranies de la Compañia de Jesus.* 2 Vols. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

HERSKOVITS, M. J.
1938 *Acculturation.* New York: J. J. Augustin.

HOMANS, GEORGE C.
1947 A conceptual scheme for the study of social organization. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 13–26.

IHERING, HERMANN VON
1907 A antropologia do Estado de São Paulo, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. VII.
1911 Revista do Museu Paulista, Vol. VIII. Map.

IZIKOWITZ, KARL GUSTAV
1935 *Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians.* Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.

JAMES, PRESTON
1942 *Latin America.* New York: Odyssey Press.

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL
1931 *Marriage, Kinship, Family and Clan among the Indian Tribes of Northern Non-Andean South America.* Translated from German, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 63, pp. 85–193, by Burton B. Lifschultz. Ms. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

KLIMEK, S., AND MELKE, W.
1935 An analysis of the material culture of the Tupi peoples, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 71–91. 113

KOCH, TH.
1905 Zur Ethnographie der Paraguay-Gebiete und Mato Grosses, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 21–33, Wien: Alfred Holder.

KOENIGSWALD, GUSTAV VON
1908 Os Cayuás. Unpublished Portuguese translation by F. W. Sommer from the German original: Die Cayuás, *Globus*, Vol. 93, pp. 376–381. Braunschweig: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn.

KROEBER, A. L.
1935 History and science in anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 539–569.

LINTON, RALPH (ed.)
1940 *Acculturation in Seven North American Indian Tribes*. New York: D. Appleton-Century.
1945 *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

LOTHROP, S. K.
1932 Indians of the Paraná Delta, Argentina. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 77–232.

LOUKOTKA, CESTMIR
1929 Le Šeta, Un Nouveau Dialecte Tupi. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. XXI, pp. 374–398.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1930 Marriage. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. X. New York: Macmillan.
1946 *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. 2nd ed. New York: Rinehart & Company.

MACHON, DR.
1895 Les Cainguá, voyage du Dr. Machon à travers de Paraguay, Mai, juin et juillet 1891. *Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie*, Vol. VIII, pp. 215–224.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW
1945 *The Dynamics of Culture Change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

MEAD, MARGARET
1937 *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

MELO E SILVA, JOSE DE
1939 *Fronteiras Guaranis*. São Paulo: Imprensa Metodista.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED
1927 Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Vol. XIX, Paris: au Siège de la Société, pp. 1–45.
1928 *La Civilisation Matérielle des Tribus Tupi-Guarani*. Paris: Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
1946 Ethnography of the Chaco. *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 1.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

113

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 143. Washington: Government Printing Office.

n.d. *The Tupinambá*. Ms. Property of Dr. Fred Eggan, The University of Chicago. This ms. is apparently a final or nearly final draft of an article to appear in *The Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, (cf. Métraux, 1946).

MONTOYA, ANTONIO RUIZ DE

1876 *Arte de la Lengua Guaraní, o mas Bien Tupí*. Vienna: Faesy y Frick.

MÜLLER, F.

1934–35 Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guarani-Indianer im östlichen Waldgebiet von Paraguay. *Anthropos*, Vols. 29 & 30.

NIMUENDAJÚ (See "UNKEL")

NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND

1917 The Guarani invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: an historical Indian migration. *The Geographical Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 103–121.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.

n.d. *The nature of a theoretical natural science of society*. Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago. (Mimeographed.)

RADIN, PAUL

1942 *Indians of South America*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company.

REDFIELD, ROBERT

1941 *Folk Culture of Yucatan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

RENGGER, J. R.

1835 *Reise nach Paraguay in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger)*. Aarau: H. R. Sauerlander.

SAMPAIO, TEODORO

1890 Considerações geográphicas e económicas sobre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema, *Boletim da Commissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, No. 4. São Paulo: Leroy King Bookwalter.

SODRE, NELSON WERNECK

1941 *Oeste, Ensaio sobre a grande propriedade pastoril*. Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, 31. Rio de Janeiro: José Olýmpio Editora.

STADEN, HANS

1928 *The History of His Captivity*. Translated by Malcom Letts. London, Routledge and Sons.

STRELNIKOV, I. S.

1928 Les Kaa-iwua du Paraguay. *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale Degli Americanisti*, Vol. II, pp. 333–366.

TAUNAY, VISCONDE DE

1931 *Entre os Nossos Indios*. São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos.

TAUNAY, ALFONSO DE ESCRAGNOLLE

1924–36 *História Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas*. São Paulo: Tipografia Ideal.

TECHO, NICHOLAS, DEL, S. J.

1704 The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Paraná, Guaira, and Urvaica. And something of the Kingdom of Chili. In

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

South America, A Collection of Voyages and Travels, pp. 680–807. London: Awnsham and John Churchill. 113

UNKEL, KURT NIMUENDAJÚ

1914 *Leyenda de la Creación y Juicio Final del Mundo como Fundamento de la Religión de los Apapokuva-Guarani.* Translated by Juan Francisco Recalde from the German original: Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva-Guarani, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 46, 284–403. São Paulo: Private printing, 1944.

VOGT, P. FR., S. V. D.

1904 Die Indianer des obern Paraná. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 201–221 and 353–376.

WAGLEY, CHARLES, AND GALVAO, EDUARDO

1946 O parentesco Tupi-Guarani. *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, Nova Série, No. 6 Antropologia.

WATSON, JAMES B.

1945 Historic Influences and Change in the Economy of a Southern Mato Grosso Tribe. *Acta Americana*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 3–25.

n.d. *The Cayuá: a contemporary Guarani tribe.* Unpublished manuscript.

WATSON, VIRGINIA DREW

1944 Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios Cayuá. *Sociologia*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 31–48

1945 An example of rural Brazilian acculturation. *Acta Americana*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 152–162.

WEST, JAMES

1945 *Plainville, U S. A.* New York: Columbia University Press.

ERRATA

Figure 2, pp. 96–97, II.A.b., line two, should be "declines," not "decline." II.B.e., line two, should be "shift," not "shifts." On the extreme right-hand side of the table there should have been no line connecting II.B.d. and II.B.h., but II.B.a. should have been connected by lines to II.B.d. and to II.B.f. 000

[P. 138 is blank]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INDEX

Acculturation, defined, 12, 124–8; sex differential in, 62.

Agriculture, antiquity of, 24; beer, 88; calendar, 68–9; digging stick, 64; female labor in, 26; implements, 32, 63–4; increased scale of, 105–6, 107, 113, 116; land use, 85n; major crops, 25; metal tools, 63–4; division of labor, 72; importance of, 69–71, 98–9, 100; producing unit, 34, 83–4; relative to wage work, 103; slash and burn technique, 25–6; south and north, 24–5.

Altitude, 22.

Ambrosetti, Juan, 24, 27, 29, 31.

Apapocuva-Guarani, distinct from Cayuá, 18–19; messianism of, 15, 51–2; similarity and proximity to Cayuá, 15, 51–3.

Ashluslay tribe of Chaco, insulated from direct contact, 9–10.

Automobiles, see "Trucks, motor."

Avuncular preference, 87, 118–121; problem of in aboriginal social organization, 34–7.

Axe, importance of, 64; and large beer troughs, 67; used by men, 64; See also "Tools and Weapons."

Ayrosa, Plinio, 88.

Azara, Felix de, 50.

Baldus, Herbert, 16, 52, 88.

Bandeirantes, See "*Paulistas*."

Basketry, man's work, 31; specialization in, 75; still practiced, 67; varieties, 30–1.

Barú (São Paulo State), location of Indian *reserve*, 56.

Beer, and household unit, 34; and *puhirão*, 73, 88. See also "Troughs, beer."

Benches, wooden, described, 29; still made, 67.

"Benjamin Constant," SPI *Posto*, location and jurisdiction of Taquapiri, 3; recency of establishment, 61.

Boards (bamboo or *taquara*), See "Houses."

Bolichos, carrying Indian goods, 79; Cayuá purchases at, 75; described, 19–20; importance of, 81; Indian goods sold to, 80. See also "Trade," "Trade goods."

Borrowing, concept of, and acculturation, 12, 112n, 114.

Bride service, 36, 111.

Bugre, pejorative term for "Indian," 57, 74.

Bugreiros, Indian hunters, 57.

Cabot, Sebastian, first to establish bases on Plate, 44.

Cacique, See "*Capitão*."

Caiguá, as alternate name of Cayuá, 14.

Caiowá, as alternate name of Cayuá, 14.

Cainguá, as alternate name of Cayuá, 14.

Caingá, as alternate name of Cayuá, 14.

Campo cerrado, described, 21.

Campo limpo, described, 21.

Canoes, question of aboriginal use, 31; modern disuse, 65.

Capitão, 91–2, 121–3; use by Europeans, 91; political office, 62; relation to *encarregado*, 62. See also "Political Organization."

Caraguatá, See "Weaving."

Carvalho, *encarregado* of Posto "Francisco Horta," 4.

Catholicism, Roman, 60; continued assignment of Indians to, 58; Indian adoption of Christian Calendar, 71n; influence upon native religion, 41; nominal adherence of whites, 20. See also "Jesuits," "Franciscans," "Reducciones."

Cattle, and early settlement of Mato Grosso, 54, 55; effect upon Cayuá, 100; a principal Mato Grosso industry, 19–20, 55–6.

"Causes of Acculturation," Concept of, 13, 93–8; how determined, 129–131.

Cã wĩ', see "Beer."

Cerrado, see "*Campo cerrado*."

Changa, see "Wage work."

Chapadão, see "*Campo limpo*."

Chicago, University of, see "Department of Anthropology."

Chronology, in relation to method employed, 129. See also "Historiography," "Configurational Analysis."

Church, see "Catholicism, Roman."

Climate of Cayuá area, 22.

Clothing, aboriginal, 31–2; modern styles, 65–6; store cloth used in, 65–6. See also "Weaving," "Crafts."

Coastal Tupi, see "Tupi."

Colman, George T., and Mrs., 3.

Commercialism, 87–91; as a modern factor, 87; growth of, 114–116; impact on economy, a focus of study, 11–12. See also "Trade," "Money," "Bolichos," "Individualism."

Compadre, Neo-Brazilian usage of, 20.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000 Companhia Matte Larangeira, 56–7.
Competition, 88n, 90–1.
"Conditions," 93–4; importance in acculturation, 12; as opposed to borrowing, 12.
Configurational analysis, described, 13, 94–5, 128–132. See also "Effects of Acculturation," and "Causes of Acculturation."
Corn, Cayuá connotations for, 69–70; different regional importance, 24–5; hard type sold, 80; kinds, 69–70; supernatural origin, 70.
COSTA, ANGYONE, 15.
Cotton, see "Weaving."
Crafts, aboriginal, as factor for change, 104; decline of, 116; factors in decline of, 101–2. See also "Weaving." "Pottery," "Basketry," "Hammocks," etc.
Crops, see "Agriculture."
CUTLER, HUGH, 69, 70.

Demons, 40.
Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, acknowledgement, 4.
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington University, acknowledgement, 4.
Department of State, USA, as sponsor, 3.
"Derived (Secondary) Effects," see under "Effects of Acculturation."
Diffusion, and acculturation, 12.
Digging stick (*sarakwá*), in agriculture, 64. See also "Tools and weapons."
Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual, see "Ministério das Relações Exteriores."
Division of labor, alternatives, 74, 76; changing, 126; and individualism, 114–15; factors in changing, 104–5, 107–9; household basis, 83–4; in building houses, 84–5; and individual efficiency, 100–1; joint vs. individual, 72, 73–4, 87–91; specialization, 74. See also "Sex Division of Labor."
DOBRIZHOFFER, MARTIN, 16, 27, 47.
Documentation, see "Early references."
Dourados, Brazilian village of, location of Cayuá Posto "Francisco Horta," 4; Superficial observations and measurements at, 3.
Drainage, 21–2.
Dwelling, pattern, 33–4, 85–7, 92; changing, 109, 111–12, 113; and avuncular preference, 119–121.

Early references to Cayuá, paucity of, 10–11.
Economic change (general), a focus of study, 11–12, 124–6. See also "Commercialism," "Trade," "Wage work."
"Effects of acculturation," concept of, 13, 93–98, 103–4; how determined, 129–31; Primary, 98–103; Secondary, 103–123. See also "Causes of Acculturation."
EGGAN, FRED, acknowledgment, 4, 118.
Elementary family, see "Family, elementary."
Encarregado, 91; authority of, 58; contact with Indians, 59; and regional officer, 62; frequency of inspection by, 61–2; influence upon Indians, 59–60.
Encomendero, see "*Encomienda* system."
Encomienda system, applied to Indians of Paraguay, 45.
"Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil," 56–7.
European influences upon Cayuá, in general, 93–4; attitudes toward Indians, 59; early settlement of Mato Grosso, 54; geographical position of Cayuá in relation to, 45–6; long isolation of Cayuá, 9–10; most intensive in 19th century, 53; paternalism, 78; political, 121–2; restrictions upon, 117–18.
Extended family, see "Family, extended."

Facão, see "Machete."
Factions, see "Political Organization."
Face Painting, see "Ornament, personal."
Family, elementary, 83–6; and avuncular preference, 120–1; and polygyny, 117; separate economy of, 90; trend toward, 109–14. See also "Family, Extended."
Family, extended, 33–37; in aboriginal economy, 108; decline of, 109–14; factions as residuum of, 92, 123; relative to avuncular preference, 118–121. See also "Family, elementary."
Feathers, use of, compared with Tupi, 31–2; to embellish, 67; birds killed for, 27.
Field house (*jaiá*), 86–7, n. 145, 113; chronology of, 130.
Fishing, decline of, 99–100; equipment, 32; importance of, 27–8; modern role of, 69–71, 74; modern techniques, 70; relative to extended family, 34; former techniques, 28.
Flutes, see "Musical instruments."
Franciscans, organizers of *reducciones*, 16; little known, 73n.
FREYRE, GILBERTO, 57.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000

Furniture, household, 29–31.

GALVÃO, EDUARDO, 33, 34–37, 92; as field collaborator, 3–4.
GARROWAY, Mrs. MARJORIE S., acknowledgement, 4.
Gathering, honey, 28–9; honey magic, 29; insects, 28; modern techniques in, 70; wild plants, 28. See also "Hunting and gathering."
"*Gaucho*" culture, possible relevance to whites of area, 19.
General stores, see "*Bolichos*"
Gesipá, see "Ornament, personal."
Ghosts, fear of, 40; nature of, 40.
Ghost Dance, compared to Tupi-Guarani messianism, 51, 54.
GODOI, MANUEL PEREIRA DE, 14, 52, 54–5, 57.
Gourds, continued utility of, 65; use of as containers, 30.
GRAS, N. S. B., 81, 82.
Guajajara, see "Tenetehara."
Guarani (of Paraguay), early Spanish contact with, 45; and "Tupi," 17–19; more intensive contact of, 10; not distinguished from Cayuá, 16–17; living with "Caioás," 16.

Hammocks, 80-1n; described, 29–30; differential use of, 30; modern, 66; specialization in, 74, 75.
HERNANDEZ, P. PABLO, 50.
HERSKOVITS, M. J., 12, 106.
Herva mate, see "Mate."
Historiography, implications of present method for, 13; use of chronology, 129, 131.
Hoe, importance of, 64; use of by women, 64. See also "Tools and weapons."
HOMANS, GEORGE C., 109–10.
Horse, a non-Indian prestige symbol, 20.
HORTA BARBOSA, CEL. NICOLAU BUENO, Chefe de Inspectoria Regional do S. P. I., helpfulness, 4.
Houses, bamboo "boards" in, 64–5, 84–5; relation to family, 112; shift in type, 84–5, See also "*Tapui*."
Hunting and gathering, aboriginal importance of, 26–9; decline of 99–100; game animals, 26–7; machete in, 64; modern importance of, 69–71; modern techniques, 70; modern trapping, 71; possible extended family jointness, 34. See also "Fishing," "Gathering."

Igreja Positivista, see "Positivist Church."
IHERING, HERMANN VON, 14, 51, 52, 57.
Ilex paraguayensis, see "Mate."
"Immediate effects," see under "Effects."
Incest boundary, 119–121. See also "Avuncular preference."
Individualism, 87–91; growth of 114–15. See also "Division of Labor," "Commercialism."
Inspetoria Regional do S. P. I. in Campo Grande, 4, 61, 62; early founding of, 58.
"Internal change," 76–7; as sign of commercialism, 89–90; as new value, 116. See also "Wage work."
IZIKOWITZ, KARL GUSTAV, 33.

JAMES, PRESTON, 21.
Jesuits, 46–50; attitude toward native religion, 39; influence on polygyny, 117–18; organizers of *reducciones*, 16; resistance of shamans to, 42. See also "*Reducciones*."
Joint work party, see "*Puhirão*."

Kaingang, late resistance of, 57.
Kinship, 92, 118–121. See also "Table of Contents," "Avuncular preference," "Family, extended," and "Family, elementary."
KIRCHHOFF, PAUL, 35, 117, 121, 122.
KLIMEK, S. and MILKE, W., 17.
KOENIGSWALD, GUSTAV VON, 14, 24, 52, 55.
Kokue (agricultural clearing), see "Agriculture."
KROEBER, A. L., 13.
KRUEGER, MRS. BERNICE, acknowledgement, 4.

Land use, 85n. 113–14. See also "Agriculture."
"Land without evil," see "Messianic movements."
LINTON, RALPH, 12, 106.
Lip plug, see "*Tembetá*."
Loreto de Pirapó, early mission site and short-lived Cayuá *reserve*, 55.
LOTHROP, S. K., 45.
LOWIE, ROBERT H., 35, 105.

Machete, 79n; importance in modern house-type, 85; importance of, 63–4, 64–5; in modern hunting, 70; in size of beer troughs, 67; use of by men, 64. See also "Tools and weapons."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000 Maize, see "Corn."
Mamelucos, see "*Paulistas*."
Manioc, 69; as major crop, 25; regional importance, 24–5.
Mata, see "*Mato*."
Mate, motive for contact, 50–1, 56; principal regional product, 19–20; Cia, Matte Larangeira, 56–7; extent of use by Cayuá, 22; intensive development of, 56–7; produced in missions, 48.
Mato, described, 21; relation of Cayuá to, 16, 21.
Mbaraká, continued use of, 65, 67; sacredness, 41; storage of, 33; use of, 33.
Mbayá (Mbaya-Caduveo), impact upon Cayuá 38–9; possible dislocation of Cayuá by, 45n, 46.
Mbuirão see *Puirão*
MEAD, MARGARET, 87, 88, 89.
Men, see "Sex division of labor"; under "Acculturation."
Messianic movements, 42, 43, 51–4. See also "Shamans."
MÉTRAUX, ALFRED, 15, 17, 24, 27, 31, 39, 51, 53.
MILKE, W., see "KLINEK."
Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil, see "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios."
Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Brazilian Government, as sponsor, 3.
Missions, see "*Reducciones*," "Jesuits," "Franciscans," "Protestantism."
MÜLLER, F., 19, 24, 49.
Museu Nacional du Brasil, sponsorship of, 3.
Musical bow, 67. See also "Musical instruments."
Musical instruments, 33; modern, 67. See also "*Mbaraká*."
Money, 76, 115–16; use of by Cayuá, 81–2.
MONTOYA, ANTONIO RUIZ DE, 37.
Mortar and pestle, 30; still made, 67.
Mythology, overemphasis upon, 39; twin culture heroes, 41.

Nativistic movements, see "Messianic movements."
Nhu Verá, Brazilian hamlet, 3; road to, 61n.
NIMUENDAJU, KURT, see "UNKEL."
Nomdadism, see "Sedentarism."
NORDENSKIOLD, E., 9.

Ornament, personal, 32–3; *guaipá* not observed, 67; *urucú* still used, 66–7. See also "*Tembetá*."
Ozcarta, movers of merchandise, 57.

Pai, see "Shamans."
"Paingué, as Cayuá, 14n.
Paiol, see "Field house."
Patrão, see "Wage work."
Paulistas, early settlements in Mato Grosso, 54; mission incursions, 39, 46–7.
Peão, see "Wage work."
Peonage, see "Wage work."
PEREIRA DOS SANTOS, DAYEM, acknowledgement, 4.
Pirassununga, Cayuá located about, 14n; early settlement of, 54–5; Indian depredations around, 57.
"Plan of Bucarelli," 50.
Plow, 113–14.
Political organization, Cayuá, 91–3, 121–123; factions, 92; relation to encarregado, 62. See also "*Capitão*," "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios."
Polygyny, decline of, 116–18.
Ponta Pora, *municipio* of, distance from Taquapiri, 3; growth of, 57; population, 3; railroad to, 56n.
Population, density of in region studied, 3.
Portuguese language, importance of in wage work, 77n, 78; use of by Indians, 62. See also "Spanish language."
Positivist Church, 60.
Potatoes, sweet, 69; as major crop, 25; varieties known, 25.
Pottery, abandonment, 65, 74; and trade goods, 30; made by women, 30.
"Primary or immediate effects," see under "Effects of acculturation."
Procedures, see "Configurational analysis."
Protestantism, influence of among Cayuá, 60–1.
Puirão (joint work party), 72–3; and individualism, 87–9; in wage work, 115n; requirements of, 73.

RADIN, PAUL, 38.
Railroads, in Mato Grosso, 56–7.
Rattles, see "*Mbaraká*."
REDFIELD, ROBERT, 12, 106.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000

Reducciones, decay of, after Jesuits, 50–1; Indians living in, as distinct from Cayuá, 16; organization of, 47–9. See also "Jesuits."
Religion, European, attitude of S. P. I. toward, 60. See also "Catholicism, Roman," "Jesuits," "Franciscans," "Protestantism."
Religion, Cayuá, first fruits ceremony, 69; not a focus of study, 11; supernatural origin of corn, 70. See also "Shamans," "Messianic movements," "Mythology."
Rengger, J. B., 14, 24, 27, 30, 31, 34, 38–9, 49, 50, 51, 107.
Residence principle, see "Dwelling pattern."
Roman Catholicism, see "Catholicism, Roman."
Rondon, Gral. Cândido Mariano da Silva, Founder of S. P. I., 58.

Sampaio, Teodoro, 14, 24, 52.
Sawakwá, see "Digging stick."
Sargento, see "*Capitão*."
Schools, lack of among whites, 61n; lack of at Taquapiri, 61; for Indians, 58; limited effectiveness of, 58–9.
"Secondary effects," see under "Effects of acculturation."
Sedentarism, enforced, 98, 99; modern, compared, 65. See also "Travel and transport," "Canoes."
Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, 14, 15, 57–62; help of, 4; influence on political org., 121–3; political control of Indians, 91. See also "Inspetoria Regional," "Benjamin Constant."
Sex differential in acculturation, 62.
Sex Division of Labor, 71–2, 74–5; basketry, 31; burden carrying, 31; changed, 126; extent of change, 116–17; factors in changing, 105–7; in aboriginal agriculture, 26; influence of changed, 110–11, 116, 121; in gathering activities, 28; men's carrying method, 65; possible mission influence upon, 48, 49–50; pottery, 30; sex association of implements, 64; women in "internal *chonga*," 77.
Shamans, 41–3; political power of, 38; and *mbarahá*, 41; female, 43; political role of, 122–3; possible veneration of deceased, 40–1; and tobacco, 33. See also "Messianic movements."
Siegel, Bernard, acknowledgement, 4.
Sky gods, as remote beings, 41.
Slash and burn techniques, 69. See also "Agriculture."
Smoking, see "Tobacco."
Snares, see "Hunting and gathering."
Sorrí, Nelson Werneck, 54.
Soils, in Cayuá area, 21; as used by Cayuá, 21.
Solís, Juan Dias de, discoverer of Rio de la Plata, 44.
Spanish language, and wage work, 78; use of by Indians, 62.
Specialization, see "Division of Labor."
S. P. I., see "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios."
Stamping tube (*takwapá*), see "Musical instruments."
Strelnikov, I. S., 24, 29.
Structural analysis, see "Configurational analysis."
Summer home, see "Field house."
Sweet potatoes, see "Potatoes, sweet."

Takwapá, see "Musical instruments."
Tapirapé, 88n, 35, 92.
Tapui, "boards" not used in, 65; compared with modern house, 84–5; described, 29; furniture of, 29–31; relation to extended family, 33–4, 83–5, 112. See also "Houses."
Taquapiri, village of, site of study, 3; atypical residence pattern, 85; disliked *capitão*, 91; distance from railroad, 56; from S. P. I. Posto, 61; factions in, 92; future land problem, 113–14; map locating, 8; possible polygyny at, 117; source of name, 22n.
Taunay, Visconde de, 55.
Tax, Sol, acknowledgement, 4.
Teixeira, Nelson, as field collaborator, 3–4.
Tembeté, decline in use of, 51; material, 32; modern use of, 65; symbol of male initiation, 32.
Tenetehara (Guajajara), 35, 92.
Territorial restriction, see "Sedentarism."
Textiles, see "Weaving," "Clothing."
Tipoi, 66.
Tobacco, pipes for women, 33, 65; use by shamans, 33.
Tooker, Mrs. Marjorie M., acknowledgement, 4.
Tools and weapons, aboriginal, 32, 63n;

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000

adopted metal, 63–4; firearms, 70; influence of metal, 98, 100–01, 106, 107, 110; in modern hunting, gathering, and fishing, 70. See also "Hunting and gathering," "Agriculture."

TORRES, D. HELOISA ALBERTO, Director of Museu Nacional of Brazil, sponsorship of, 3.

Trade, 79–83; factors in development of, 103; in commercialism, 89–90; influence of, 99, 101–2, 102–3, 104, 108, 109, 110, 114–16; intra-village, 90. See also "Trade, internal."

Trade goods, 79–80, 99, 100–1, 108–9; Cayuá need for, 82; displacement of native articles, 65–6. See also "Bolichos," "Commercialism."

Trade, internal, as sign of commercialism, 89–90, 116.

Trading posts, see "Bolichos."

Traps, trapping, see "Hunting and gathering."

Travel and transport, modern, 65.

Treaty of 1750, 49.

Troughs, beer, 30; modern size of, 88; modern use of, 67. See also "Beer."

Trucks, motor, connecting hinterland with railroads, 57; in Taquapiri area, 61.

Tupi (of coastal Brazil primarily), extensive early documentation, 10; and "Guarani," 17–19; as comparative material, 11, 24. See also "Tupi-Guarani," "Guarani."

Tupi-Guarani (Linguistic and cultural family), aboriginal variation, 10; assumption of basic homogeneity by early chroniclers, 16–19; historic migrations of, 51–3; use of data on as comparative material, 11.

Uruçú, see "Ornament, personal."

União, Brazilian village of, size and characteristics, 3.

UNKEL, KURT (NIMUENDAJU), tribute to, 51; 15, 18, 40, 51–2, 56.

Viking Fund, Inc., of N. Y., acknowledgement of financial assistance, 4.

Vailala Madness, compared to Tupi-Guarani messianism, 54.

Wage work (*chaaga*), described, 74–8, 91n; factors in development of, 102–3; important channel of contact, 62; in commercialism and individualism, 89–90; influence of, 99, 101, 104–5, 106–7; 108, 109, 110, 114–15, 116; *peão-patrão* relationship, 62; season of, 68. See also "Internal *chaaga*."

WAGLEY, CHARLES, 33, 34–7, 92.

War, 38–9, 111–12; discontinuance of, 117.

Wars of Independence, Platine provinces, 50.

Washington University, see "Department of Sociology and Anthropology."

WATSON, JAMES B., 16, 49, 52, 53.

WATSON, VIRGINIA DREW, acknowledgement, 4; 19, 33, 62.

Weapons, see "Hunting and gathering," "Tools and weapons."

Weaving, decline of, 66; *caraguatá* vs. cotton, 66; loom and technique, 32; men's bags, 31, 65; men's belts, 32; preference for cotton, 32, 66; specialization in, 74; substitution of store cloth, 65–6; use of *caraguatá*, 32. See also "Clothing."

Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, see "Viking Fund."

WEST, JAMES, 116.

Whistles, see "Musical instruments."

WILLEMS, EMILIO, 88.

Witchcraft, 91.

Women, see "Sex division of labor"; under "Acculturation."

Yerba mate, see "Mate."

Yerbateros, see "Mate."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

123
334

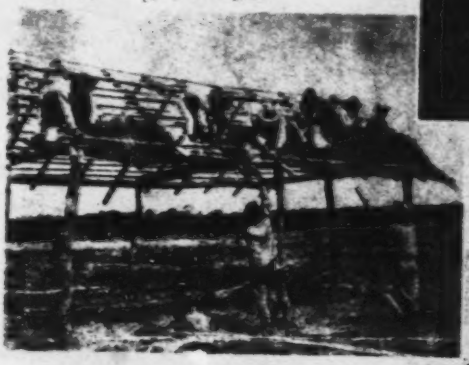


FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapái* at Taquapiri. Log tanks for *cauí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cauí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

178
342

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbafirão*) clearing a *hokwé* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapái* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson · E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241
24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

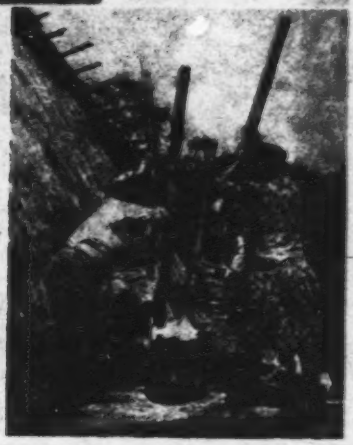
FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*surakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516



3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cauĩ*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cauĩ*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbufirão*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbufirão* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cauĩ* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cauĩ* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

142
291
291
302

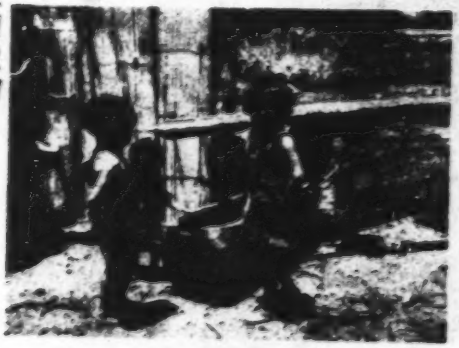
FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeté* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857



3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

174

[For reconstructed historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14-57 and 79.]

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

175

[For recorded historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14 and 35-58.]

3. Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

177

For data on acculturation, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 9-16, 41-80 and 92-132.]

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

178

[For data on socio-cultural trends, passim, see category 116, pp. 25, 62-92 and 124-132.]

[For the religious or shamanistic function of the paĩ or ñanderú, see also category 756.]

648
657

Guarani SM4

[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios - see category 624.]

[For information on the role of the paĩ or ñanderũ in the political structure of the community see also category 622.]

4: Watson E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Notes on the Kinship System of the Cayua Indians
[Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios cayuá]

Virginia Drew Watson

São Paulo: 1944
Sociologia
Vol. VI, pp. 31-48

Translated from the Portuguese by Ivana Lillios

Human Relations Area Files
1971

[Title page]

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

175 /31 cont./
797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
162 Indians (2).
[113]

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113]

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
[161] counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
412 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412 /33 cont./
177 is missing in the original text./
313

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guaraní, or rather Tupí, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/38 cont./

son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction had not been observed. For this reason the man may ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society. It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body
764 the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grand-
children, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens
when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author
regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between
grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister:
In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the
mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain
familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking
him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke
with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially
the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family
taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate
and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for
the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on
which they will have to make their first clearings.
[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters
of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely
in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's
own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother:
The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the
father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that
exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain
degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and
daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The
sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect
toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of another in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.
[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

/46/

601

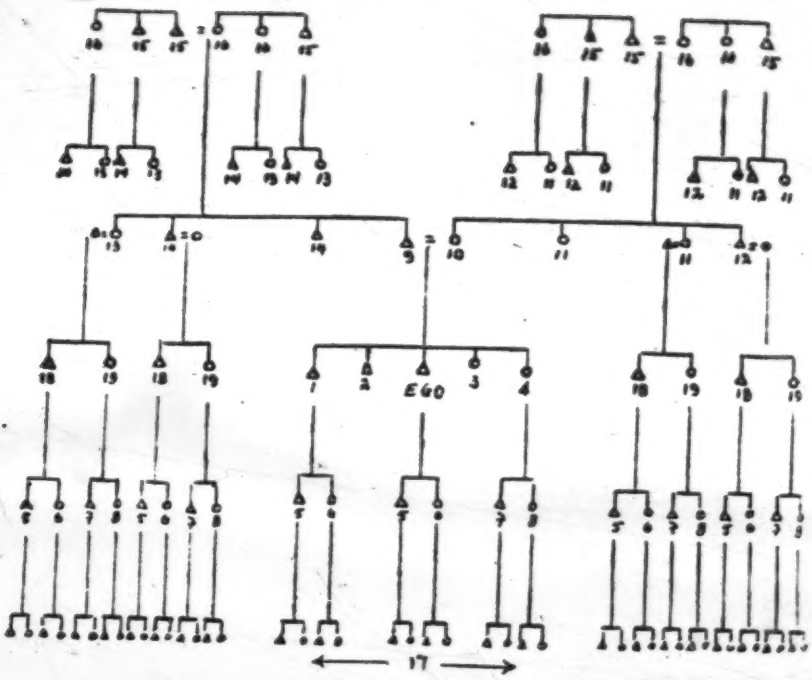


Chart I

The Cayuá Terms Mentioned in Chart IV[1]

In this chart Ego is male. When Ego is female, son and daughter are nephew and niece, while nephew and niece become son and daughter. The circle signifies woman, the triangle, man. Two parallel lines indicate matrimonial ties.

Meaning of the numbers

1. older brother
2. younger brother
3. older sister
4. younger sister
5. son
6. daughter
7. nephew
8. niece
9. mother
10. father
11. mother's sister
12. mother's brother
13. father's sister
14. father's brother
15. grandfather
16. grandmother
17. grandsons and granddaughters
18. brother
19. sister

[1] [see pp. 22 and 23 -- analyst]

601 /47/

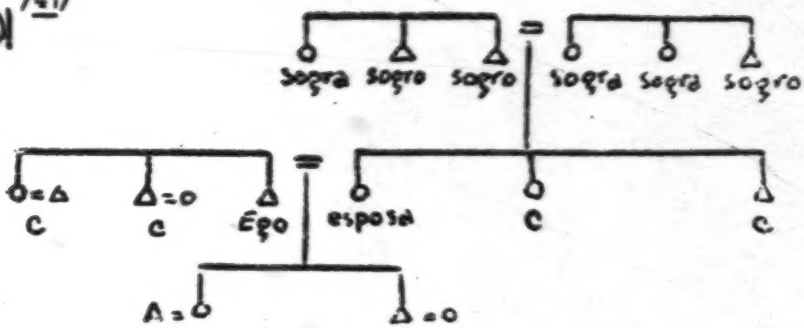


Chart II

Designations for the affinal relatives, Ego being a man. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV.

c = cunhado(s) /brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex); f.a. = child by affinity (without distinction as to sex). /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; esposa = wife./

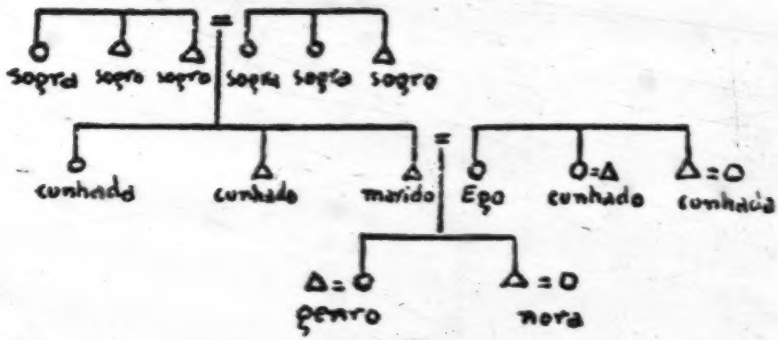


Chart III

Designations for affinal relatives, Ego being a woman. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV. /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; cunhada = sister-in-law; cunhado = brother-in-law; marido = husband; genro = son-in-law; nora = daughter-in-law./

/48/ Chart IV

601

Che-rywý	younger brother, a man speaking
Che-rykeý	older brother, a man speaking
Che-rendý	older sister, a man speaking
Che-rendý-mini	younger sister, a man speaking
Che-ru	father
Che-sy	mother
Che-ruwý	father's brother
Che-syý	mother's sister
Che-djaiché	father's sister
Che-tutý	mother's brother
Che-ramõi	grandfather
Che-djari	grandmother
Che-ray	son, a man speaking
Che-radjý	daughter, a man speaking
Che-riý	nephew, a man speaking
Che-atipé	niece, a man speaking
Che-ramianinó	grandson and granddaughter
Che-rembireko	wife
Che-rowadjá	wife's brother and sister; sister's husband and brother's wife, a man speaking; anyone of those whom the wife calls sister or brother; husband's brother and sister's husband, a woman speaking; sometimes also "intimate friend."
Haí	wife's mother; sister of the wife's mother; sister of the wife's father
Ahẽ	wife's father; brother of the wife's father; brother of the wife's mother

/48 cont./

601

Che-kywý	older brother, a woman speaking
Che-kywykeý	younger brother, a woman speaking
Che-ruké	older sister, a woman speaking
Che-kypyý	younger sister, a woman speaking
Che-pẽ	nephew and niece, a woman speaking
Che-membý kwimbaé ..	son, a woman speaking
Che-membý kuñã	daughter, a woman speaking
Che-mẽ	husband
Che-rukeí	husband's sister; brother's wife, a woman speaking
Che-peú	daughter's husband, a woman speaking
Che-wãchá	son's wife; daughter's husband, a man speaking
Che-mendúa	husband's father; brother of the husband's father; brother of the husband's mother
Che-mensý	husband's mother; sister of the husband's mother; sister of the husband's father

---

104

Final note: The phonetic value of all the letters corresponds to the Portuguese, with the exception of h, which is aspirated as in the English word have, of w, which is pronounced as in the English word water, and of y, a peculiar sound of the Tupi languages, in which it appears, for example, in the word y, water. The prefix che is the possessive of the first person singular.

SUMÁRIO

Um elemento ítalo-afro-brasileiro na magia mogiana	*Osvaldo Elias Xidieh*	5
O ensino das ciências sociais no Brasil	*Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto*	19
Herança social	*Donald Pierson*	26
Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios cayuá	*Virginia Drew Watson*	34
O problema no método antropológico	*James B. Watson*	50
Origem, formação e transformação do Direito à luz das pesquisas etnológicas	*Richard Thurnwald*	59
FATOS E LIVROS		60

Vol. VI — N.º 1

1 9 4 4

[title page]

Secção Etnológica

Dirigida por Herbert Baldus, Dr. phil.
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo

Notas sobre o sistema de parentesco dos índios cayuá

VIRGINIA DREW WATSON
Universidade de Chicago

Os Cayuá, que constituem um grupo de índios da família linguística Tupí-Guaraní, vivem atualmente, em sua maior parte, na região meridional do Estado do Mato Grosso e do Território Federal de Ponta Porã, no Brasil, e nas partes adjacentes do Paraguai. A maioria desses índios, hoje agricultores vivem em aldeias ou espalhada na mata nos postos e reservas do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Os dados que aquí apresentamos foram colhidos na reserva de Taquapirí durante os meses de julho a dezembro de 1943.[1]

Infelizmente, os informes não são tão completos como os desejaria o estudioso da organização social; todavia, a autora dispendeu a maior parte do tempo no estudo de outros aspectos da cultura.

No século XVII, os jesuitas reuniram em reduções, com o objetivo de catequizá-los, a numerosos índios de língua Guaraní, da região do Paraguai e do Brasil meridional. Não conhecemos o número exato de indígenas de idioma Guaraní que entraram em contacto com os jesuitas durante o período em que êstes trabalharam na região, e que se iniciou em começos do século XVII; entretanto, Dobrizhoffer, jesuita que viveu 18 anos como missionário no Paraguai, informa que na segunda metade do século

1. Êste estudo foi realizado num período em que a autora destas notas era portadora de uma *Junior Roosevelt Fellowship* do *Institute of International Education*, de Nova-York. A excursão propriamente dita foi feita em colaboração com o Museu Nacional, do Rio de Janeiro. Desejo exprimir os meus agradecimentos ao *Institute of International Education*, a D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, diretora do Museu Nacional, bem como ao Serviço de Proteção aos Índios que prestaram todo o auxílio no sentido de facilitar o nosso trabalho.

seguinte, quando foram expulsos, os jesuitas deixaram 32 reduções, com uma população de uns 100.000 índios.[2]

Em 1855, o govêrno do Paraná fez a tentativa de estabelecer, junto às ruinas da antiga redução jesuitica de Loreto de Pirapó (perto da desembocadura do Pirapó no Paranapanema), um aldeamento de índios Cayuá, transferido mais tarde um pouco para montante, em atenção às condições de salubridade.Os resultados do empreendimento não foram tão bons como a princípio se havia esperado. Em tempos idos, os Cayuá têm preferido, de ordinário, viver isolados de outros grupos, quer de índios ou de brancos.

Em 1908, von Koenigswald escreve que o idioma dos Cayuá constituia, na época, um dialeto do antigo Guaraní, faltando-lhe completamente, as invocações introduzidas na língua pelos jesuitas[3]. O grupo dos Cayuá estudado pela autora está hoje em dia, inteiramente familiarizado com o tipo modificado do idioma Guaraní; aprenderam-no talvez nos últimos 40 ou 50 anos, período em que tiveram contacto sempre mais intenso com a população branca. Entre os indivíduos mais velhos há alguns poucos que falam apenas o tipo de idioma mais antigo, o Cayuá "puro", e embora muitos dos mais moços empreguem a forma modificada na maior parte de sua conversação, conhece todavia o tipo mais antigo, podendo assinalar as diferenças. Um pequeno número de índios, constituido pelos que passaram grande parte de sua vida fora das aldeias indias,tendo vivido em contacto mais estreito com os brancos, falam e conhecem apenas o tipo modificado da língua, admitindo ter dificildade, às vezes, em entender a fala de alguns dos mais velhos. Encontrei bem pouco dêsses casos.

Taquapirí, a aldeia em apreço neste artigo, está situada no Território Federal de Ponta Porã, entre as povoações brasileiras de União e Nhu Verá, a umas duas léguas da fronteira paraguaia. Atualmente, contam-se na aldeia cêrca de 175 indivíduos, muitos dos quais parentes e amigos de outros Cayuá dos vários grupos dêsses índios na região, como o Posto Indigena "Benjamim Constant", Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum e Pirajuí. Os Cayuá dedicam-se, hoje em dia, intensivamente à agricultura, fazendo grandes roças e dedicando pouco tempo à caça e à pesca. Von Koenigswald informa que no começo do século vinte, época em que êle percorreu a

2. Martin Dobrizhofer, Geschichte der Abiponer, t. 3, pág. 504-506. Viena 1783-84.
3. Gustav von Koenigswald. "Os Cayuás". Separata do vol. XCIII, n.º 24, do *Globo*. Distribuida em 25 Junho de 1908. Tradução de F. W. Sommer. Pág. 3.

região, não se verificava o mesmo. "Cada taba mantem uma pequena roça com milho, mandioca, abóbora, batata doce..."[4] Há uns 40 ou 50 anos, mais ou menos, foram se tornando mais acentuadas as restrições com que os brancos reduziram a área de terra que os índios podem explorar. Hoje os índios de Taquapirí estão limitados a um território que não é banhado por rios que contenham grande quantidade de peixe e que tambem não possue matas com caça abundante. Essa diminuição progressiva do território dos índios continua viva na memória de uma parte dos homens mais velhos do grupo. A introdução do facão neste grupo, fato que se verificou pelo menos em período muito anterior à redução do território dos índios por parte dos brancos e que veiu facilitar a abertura das roças na mata, constituiu outro fator importante da mudança observada na economia dos Cayuá.

A discussão do sistema de parentesco dos Cayuá pode ser dividida em duas partes distintas, terminologia de parentesco e comportamento de parentesco. O comportamento de parentesco será discutido primeiro em termos de ciclo de vida e, a seguir, em termos de comportamento recíproco.

TERMINOLOGIA DE PARENTESCO

As tabelas I, II e III representam diagramas da terminologia de parentesco dos Cayuá.Nesses diagramas, usam-se termos portugueses com intuito de simplificação. Os termos Cayuá vem reunidos na tabela IV.

O sistema de parentesco é classificatório, porquanto os parentes da linhagem e os colaterais são reunidos na mesma classe.O irmão do pai é classificado com o pai e a irmã da mãe é classificada com a mãe, enquanto o irmão da mãe e a irmã do pai se designam com termos distintos. Os avós distinguem-se apenas de acôrdo com o sexo, e os termos que denominam os avós estendem-se tambem aos "siblings"[6].

Todos os netos se reunem numa classe, sem distinção alguma, nem quanto ao sexo. Na geração de Ego distingue-se o irmão mais velho do irmão mais moço, e a irmã mais velha da irmã mais moça. Estendem-se êsses designativos aos pri-

4. ibid., pág. 7.
5. ibid., pág. 5.
6. "Siblings" são irmãos e irmãs que têm a mesma mãe e o mesmo pai.

mos paralelos e cruzados. Os filhos do irmão são filho e filha, no dizer do homem, e sobrinho e sobrinha no dizer da mulher. Todos os filhos de filhos e filhas, sobrinhos e sobrinhas, são netos.

A extensão bilateral dessa terminologia não parecem opor-se limites formais. Muitos habitantes da aldeia designam a maioria dos demais membros da comunidade com um termo de parentesco. Frequentemente, porem, a pessoa não é capaz de indicar com precisão o parentesco, mas sabe contudo que um certo parentesco existe.

Na terminologia designativa dos afins, os pais do cônjuge são classificados como sogro e sogra. Para o homem, o irmão e a irmã da mulher, o marido da irmã, e a mulher do irmão classificam-se todos como cunhados (sem distinção de sexo). Para a mulher, a irmã do marido e a mulher do irmão são classificadas cunhadas, enquanto o marido da irmã e o irmão o marido se classificam como cunhados. Na primeira geração descendente, a mulher do filho e o marido da filha são ambos filhos por afinidade (sem distinção de sexo), ao passo que para a mulher representam nora e genro. O fato de uma mulher distinguir, quanto ao sexo, os parentes afins de sua própria geração, bem como os da primeira geração descendente, enquanto o homem não faz essa distinção, é uma peculiaridade cuja significação real se ignora. Uma possibilidade, para a qual, porem, não se podem hoje em dia apresentar muitas provas, seria a de uma relação estreita entre êste fenômeno e o fato de, em outros tempos, o lado materno da família ter sido mais importante no sistema de parentesco do que na atualidade.

Montoya, missionário jesuita que na primeira metade do século XVII viveu no Alto-Paraná, compilou um vocabulário guaraní, no qual com certeza estão representados, sem qualquer distinção, vários idiomas da família linguística Tupí-Guaraní [7]. Não sabemos, por isso, se entre êles figura o Cayuá, mas não há dúvida de que um dos grupos por êle estudados estava estreitamente ligado aos Cayuá no que se refere à linguagem, porquanto a maior parte dos atuais termos de parentesco dos Cayuá encontram-se, com bem pequena variação, na obra de Montoya [8]. Termos para a primeira geração descendente que não os designativos dos filhos de Ego ou dos filhos dos irmãos e das irmãs de Ego não são registrados por Montoya,

7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guarani, o mas bien tupi.* Nueva edicion. Viena-Paris, 1876.

8. Veja-se tambem: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco em Tupí-Guaraní". *Sociologia*, vol. V, n.º 4, págs. 328-354. São Paulo.

êsses são os únicos que nos faltam para a comparação. Ao passo que Montoya dá o designativo de filha como sendo o de filha do irmão, não menciona que o termo para filho se estende tambem ao filho do irmão. Ao nosso ver, deve-se isto provavelmente a um lapso por parte do pesquisador. De um modo geral, pode-se dizer que a comparação dos termos apresentados por Montoya com os dos atuais Cayuá indica um elevado grau de estabilidade, durante um período relativamente longo, no sistema de parentesco de certos grupos de língua Guarani, inclusive os Cayuá.

O CICLO DE VIDA

Nascimento: Entre os Cayuá nota-se um grande desejo de possuir filhos. Não há concepções místicas relativas ao nascimento, mas existem vários remédios que a mulher pode tomar para que tenha filhos. No caso de não haver filhos, admite-se sempre que a mulher seja esteril, atribuindo essa esterilidade ao fato de ter tomado remédios anticoncepcionais. A esterilidade considera-se motivo válido para o divórcio. Durante a gravidez, há determinados tabús, tanto para a mulher grávida quanto para o marido. A mulher deve abster-se do uso de carne de vaca, de porco e de tatú, e não pode tampouco entrar na roça do marido, e nos últimos estágios da gravidez é limitado o trabalho que se lhe permite realizar, mesmo dentro de casa. Durante todo o período, não pode quebrar pedaços de pau. O pai, durante êsse tempo, não pode cortar nada com faca grande ou machado, nem pode construir coisa alguma, como, p. ex., uma cêrca, que implique no uso de cipó ou de outro material para amarrar. Deixando-se de observar qualquer dessas restrições, a criança será doentia durante toda a vida ou poderá mesmo morrer por ocasião do nascimento.

Nenhum homem assiste ao nascimento da criança, embora o pai fique bem perto, acompanhado em geral por um outro homem pelo menos, que seja seu parente próximo. A mulher é socorrida por uma ou várias mulheres. Uma delas é uma das poucas velhas da comunidade, conhecidas pela experiência que possuem nessas coisas. Podem tambem estar presentes irmãs ou a mãe da parturiente, se as houver. O cordão umbilical é cortado a um comprimento de uns 6 cm e enterrado em seguida. Deve-se cortá-lo com

uma lasca de bambú, porque, no caso de se usar tesoura ou faca, a criança perderia muito sangue. A parteira, põe um remédio sobre a ferida, para que cicatrize depressa. A parteira é paga pelos serviços, recebendo uma soma relativamente modesta quando é parente próximo ou amiga do casal, e um tanto maior, quando não é parente nem amiga íntima.

O nascimento de gêmeos parece ser ocorrência muito rara, que não se considera coisa boa. Pouco antes da chegada da autora a Taquapirí, haviam nascido gêmeos, e dizia-se que a mãe matara um deles. As crenças relativas aos gêmeos não são bem claras.

Imposição do nome: Ao que parece, não há prazo determinado para se por o nome na criança, o que entretanto costuma dar-se no primeiro ano de vida — entre os oito e os doze meses de idade. Na noite escolhida para a cerimônia, os pais levam a criança à casa da pessoa em cuja presença o nome deve ser dado à criança, quando o galo canta a primeira vez, em geral por volta da meia-noite. Os pais entram na casa, sentando-se numa rede, enquanto a mãe tem o bebê nos braços. Parentes da criança podem ou não estar presentes. A pessoa que executa a cerimônia, senta-se igualmente numa rede, cantando vários cantos. É a mãe que põe o nome no filho. Antes de encerrada a cerimônia, senta-se a criança no chão, colocando-lhe nas costas um pedaço de palha de milho, à guisa de cauda. A seguir, o encarregado da cerimônia continua a cantar e corta a palha de milho. Se não se fizer isto a criança será irrequieta como um pinto e em toda a vida não quererá ficar parada. Não se faz nenhum pagamento por êsse serviço. Hoje em dia, são somente nomes Cayuá que se impõe da maneira descrita, mas os Cayuá de Taquapiri possuem todos nomes brasileiros, pelos quais são chamados. Êstes podem ser dados por um sacerdote católico que por acaso atravesse a região, mas acontece com frequencia que a pessoa recebe qualquer nome sugerido pelo pai ou por algum brasileiro.

Educação: Durante os primeiros anos de vida, a criança é educada, ordinariamente pelos pais, para o papel que há de desempenhar como adulto. É à mãe que cabe educar a filha e enquanto a criança é ainda bem pequena, ela deve familiarizar-se com um pequeno número de tarefas ligadas à economia doméstica, como, por exemplo, a de buscar água. No decorrer do tempo, a menina

vai aprendendo outros trabalhos, como pilar milho, cozinhar os vários alimentos, plantar a roça, colher as plantas e levá-las para casa, bem como costurar roupas. Mãe e filha encontram-se em constante associação, sendo raros os momentos em que estão separadas. Em caso de morte da mãe, é a avó materna ou a irmã da mãe que se encarrega da educação da menina.

O professor do menino é o pai, e alguns meninos, ao atingirem a idade de uns 8 ou 10 anos, recebem do pai pequenas áreas de terra que podem cultivar e considerar sua propriedade. Todavia, a maioria dos meninos trabalha na roça do pai até alcançarem uma idade bem mais consideravel. Se bem que o trabalho principal seja o da roça, o menino precisa aprender tambem outras coisas; ensina-se-lhe ainda a caçar e pescar, a colher o mel silvestre, a fazer cestos e arcos e flechas. Em caso de morte do pai, o menino é ensinado pelo tio paterno.

Por ocasião da primeira menstruação da menina, rapa-se-lhe o cabelo da cabeça, deixando-a num quarto, em que, durante o período menstrual, não entra pessoa alguma, exceto a mãe da menina. É a mãe que lhe leva a comida e que, alem disso, a conduz toda noite a um corrego próximo, onde a menina toma banho. Verifica-se isso durante os dois primeiros periodos menstruais e a ocorrência é de conhecimento geral na aldeia. Daí em diante, suspende-se essa prática. As mesmas restrições alimentares que se impõe à mulher grávida, valem igualmente para a menina durante a primeira menstruação. Nessa ocasião o pai tambem costuma dar à menina um vestido novo.

A cerimônia de iniciação dos meninos realiza-se todos os cinco ou seis anos aproximadamente, e nessa ocasião iniciam-se os meninos da comunidade entre oito e treze anos. Há casos em que o rapaz adia a sua iniciação até a idade dos vinte anos, o que, no entanto, é indesejavel de vários pontos de vista. Após a cerimônia dos "primeiros frutos", que em geral termina em fins de fevereiro ou em principio de março, os meninos a serem iniciados permanecem na grande casa comunal, que constitue o centro social e religioso da aldeia. Para lá os pais dos meninos enviam alimentos, que aí são cozinhados para eles por alguma das jovens solteiras da aldeia. Durante o dia, os meninos podem fazer o que lhes apráz, mas de noite recebem instrução e aprendem grande número de cantos. Isto se prolonga por vários meses, até a realização da cerimônia final.

Nessa oportunidade, fura-se o lábio inferior aos meninos para colocar o *tembetá*, um bastão de resina bem delgado, e medindo, hoje, uns quatro centímentros de comprimento. Somente os homens da aldeia podem assistir à cerimônia e participar dela. Antes da perfuração do lábio, dá-se aos meninos uma porção de chicha que é a bebida fermentada de milho. Na administração da bebida não pode tomar parte o pai de algum dos meninos que estejam sendo iniciados. Perfurado o lábio, senta-se cada menino num pequeno banco de madeira feito pelo pai. Se o pai de um dos meninos, como às vezes é o caso, tem um filho bem pequeno ou a mulher grávida, êle não pode fazer o banquinho, porque seria perigoso para a vida do bebê ou do nascituro, e, alem disso, o banco se quebraria facilmente por não se ter observado a restrição. Por isso, o homem pode pedir, em primeiro lugar, ao filho da irmã e, em segundo, ao filho do irmão, que faça o banco por êle. No ano em que um homem tem um filho que esta sendo iniciado, êle necessita de grande quantidade de milho. Se, por ventura, o pai tenha tido uma colheita má ou tenha falta de milho, recorrerá ao irmão ou ao irmão da mulher, pedindo-lhe que o auxilie a fornecer a quantidade necessária do gênero.

Embora essa iniciação de meninos tenha desaparecido em grande número de aldeias Cayuá, ela continua a ter grande importancia em Taquapirí. Não se considera homem um rapaz antes que tenha o lábio perfurado. Os Cayuá sabem naturalmente que isso não é verdade em sentido biológico, porque um menino pode ainda torna-se púbere antes que lhe perfure o lábio. Os meninos que nunca tiveram o lábio perfurado sofrem mais tarde de algum mal. Êsse mal apresenta-se, de ordinário, em forma de dores nas pernas e os braços. Durante a cerimônia, e por mais uns seis meses os meninos não podem comer carne de vaca e de porco. Deixando de respeitar o tabú, o homem mais tarde será atingido, intermitentemente, por tonturas, dores de cabeça e estados de debilidade. Podem sobrevir-lhe muitos ataques dessa natureza, mas sabe-se que um deles lhe vai causar a morte. Na atualidade, porem, alguns dos meninos possuem uma planta que êles trituram e comem juntamente com carne de vaca e de porco, reagindo, dessa maneira, aos máus efeitos da carne.

Casamento: O casamento constitue talvez o acontecimento social mais importante na vida social do Cayuá. Em primeiro

lugar, estabelece uma nova série de relações sociais para os indivíduos em apreço, e para os parentes deles, e, em segundo lugar, forma-se a base para uma nova família elementar, e a família elementar é a unidade econômica fundamental da sociedade Cayuá. Em conexão com o casamento, encontramos uma das mudanças verificadas nos últimos 20 ou 30 anos no sistema de parentesco Cayuá. Anteriormente, eram mães, a do rapaz e a da jovem, que arranjavam o casamento, cabendo a iniciativa à mãe da jovem. Contaram-me que mesmo quando o rapaz e a jovem não tivessem muita vontade de casar ou até no caso de serem contrários a isso, eram obrigados a cumprir os desejos das mães. Hoje em dia, o rapaz consulta primeiro a jovem sôbre o assunto. Obtido o consentimento da jovem, vai tratar com o pai dela. Se êste o consente, o casamento de ordinário se realiza, mas há casos tambem em que o rapaz se dirigiu igualmente à mãe da jovem. O próprio casamento não precisa de constituir, necessariamente, uma ocorrência de grande repercussão, mas muitas vezes o irmão ou o pai do rapaz, organizam uma festa de dansas para o casal; e nessa ocasião o casal é aconselhado por algum dos homens velhos do grupo. Não é necessário dar presentes ao novo casal, mas o pai ou quaisquer outras pessoas podem dar gêneros alimentícios, etc. No período anterior, de que acima á falei, era costume que recem-casados fossem morar, na casa da jovem. Nêsse tempo, os Cayuá viviam, quasi exclusivamente, em casas comuns, de sorte que o casal nunca deixava a casa da família da jovem. Atualmente, grande porcentagem dos Cayuá possue casas particulares e se o moço, estando casado, ainda não construiu casa para si e sua mulher, o casal, em teoria, mora com a família da mulher. Todavia, são hoje frequentes os casos em que o casal tem ido morar na casa da família do moço.

A monogamia constitue a condução de casamento geral entre os atuais Cayuá, embora não haja leis contrárias à poligamia. Ouvi falar de um único caso em que um dos homens, antes do falecimento de sua primeira mulher, vivia, ao mesmo tempo, com outra, da qual igualmente teve filhos. Desde a morte da primeira, a outra é considerada esposa dêsse homem e mora com êle. A promiscuidade não é comum, e afirma-se que o filho de mulher leviana será muito caseiro, não devendo entrar no mato, porque as onças tratariam de devorá-lo.

A família elementar entre os Cayuá é uma unidade auto-suficiente quanto à economia, sofrendo enormemente com a perda de uma das pessoas participantes da atividade econômica, a ponto de cessar a sua função no caso de perder um dos membros do casal. O divórcio é comum, bastando, para isso, que um dos esposos declare ao outro que vai deixá-lo. Em geral não tardam a realizar novo casamento. Considerando-se coisa muito natural e aconselhavel o casamento, de modo que atualmente são poucas as pessoas jovens que não estejam casadas.

Morte: São dois os principais tipos das doenças que podem acometer o indivíduo. As chamadas "doenças de gente" consideram-se curadas pelo uso do grande número de remedios conhecidos pelos Cayuá. Todavia, contra os males causados por feitiçaria não se conhecem meios de cura. Embora não seja fato muito comum, ocorre às vezes a morte de alguma criança, o que, no entanto, parece causar apenas um distúrbio relativamente pequeno na vida dos parentes próximos. À morte de um adulto segue-se o luto dos parentes próximos. Costuma-se enterrar o corpo no dia imediato ao do falecimento. Vestem-no inteiramente, às vezes até com duas ou mais mudas de roupa, porque não é raro o caso de um filho ou filha darem um vestido à mãe ou um par de calças e uma camisa ao pai, por ocasião da morte dêstes. Depois de colocado na rede do falecido, leva-se o corpo ao cemitério. A rede é carregada por dois homens ao mesmo tempo, parentes remotos e amigos do defunto, que se alternam depois de intervalos. Os objetos de uso pessoal são enterrados juntos com o corpo, exceto os de valor, como panelas de ferro, que passam frequêntemente para as mãos de algum parente próximo do falecido. É grande o luto por ocasião do funeral. Todas as mulheres choram muito e os homens que sejam parentes próximos do falecido choram tambem. Depois de se colocar o corpo na cova, fecha-se a sepultura, colocando sobre ela uma grande cuia.

A pessoa defunta torna-se *agwery*, podendo vaguear livremente pela terra sem ser vista por seres humanos vivos. Os *agwerys* podem muitas vezes ser perigosos, sendo tentados frequentemente a regressar à família e fazer algum mal. No caso de permanecerem somente a mulher e algumas crianças pequenas, queima-se então a casa, passando os inquilinos a morar em outro lugar.

COMPORTAMENTO RECIPROCO

Pais e filhos: As relações entre pais e filhos são dos mais importantes na sociedade Cayuá. Os pais devem cuidar dos filhos e educá-los, o que se dá geralmente de acôrdo com uma divisão sexual. A mãe cabe a responsabilidade pela educação da filha e embora cuide tambem do filho, enquanto é muito pequeno, ela não se precisa de incomodar muito com a educação dele. Ela ensina à filha os trabalhos da economia doméstica, o que lhe cumpre fazer na roça etc. Por seu turno, o pai ensina ao filho a cuidar da roça, a construir casas, caçar, pescar, fazer arcos, etc.

O comportamento dos filhos em relação aos pais é bastante bem definido, e embora possam manifestar certo grau de afeição, particularmente enquanto são pequenos, não se lhes permite tornarem-se muito familiares com os pais, devendo respeitá-los e obedecêr-lhes em todas as ocasiões.

As relações entre pais e filhos, tais, como as acabamos de definir, observam-se sobretudo na família elementar. Todavia, estendem-se tambem aos parentes classificatórios, pais e filhos, mas as obrigações diferem quanto ao rigor.

"Siblings" e "Siblings": Tambem esta relação é importante na vida Cayuá. Os "siblings" do mesmo sexo são unidos por liames bem estreitos e íntimos. As irmãos brincam e trabalham juntas constantemente, auxiliando-se umas às outras na medida do possivel. A irmã mais velha toma conta da mais moça, enquanto esta é pequena. A mesma coisa observa-se entre os irmãos.

Essa íntima relação prolonga-se pela idade adulta, pois é a irmã da mulher, por exemplo, que a substitue no trabalho da roça durante a gravidez, e a irmã, quando viuva, ajuda muitas vezes a trabalhar na roça da irmã casada, no caso de ela não ter plantação própria. Na idade adulta, os irmãos recorrem frequentemente uns aos outros para pedir auxílio. Se, por exemplo, um homem tiver má colheita num ano em que se deva furar o lábio de algum dos seus filhos, circunstância em que precisará de muito milho, o irmão será a primeira pessoa a que pedirá auxílio.

A relação entre irmão e irmã é um pouco diferente da que liga os siblings do mesmo sexo, e isto por causa da própria desigual-

dade dos sexos. A irmã mais velha uma vez ou outra tambem cuide da irmã mais moça, não é êste o caso comum. Depois do início da puberdade, as relações entre siblngs de sexo diferente são menos íntimas do que nos primeiros anos de vida. Se bem que na idade adulta igualmente não costume reinar grande familiaridade entre o irmão e a irmã, êles estão ligados por liames estreitos, não sendo raros os casos em que a viuva, quando não prefere casar novamente, passa a morar na casa do irmão. Pode, então, manter ainda a sua roça própria, ou preferir abandoná-la, para trabalhar unicamente na plantação do irmão.

Essas atitudes estendem-se a todas as pessoas classificadas como irmãs ou irmãos, mas tambem aqui a maior ou menor distância influe no rigor ou na intensividade das atitudes.

Avós e Netos: Esta relação se caracteriza pela afeição, de modo que não raro se veem os avós intensamente ocupados em brincar com os netos, sobretudo no período em que estes são bem pequenos. Os netos têm um profundo sentimento de respeito em face dos avós, podendo, porém, tratá-los, ao mesmo tempo, com certo gráu de familiaridade. Existe a tendência, da parte de Ego, de igualar avós e netos. Os avós auxiliam, com frequência, na instrução dos netos, mas o que ensinam são antes coisas de ordem prática ou técnica do que de natureza disciplinar. Há casos em que os avós são inteiramente responsaveis pelos cuidados e pela educação requeridos pelos netos (da-se isto quando os pais das crianças estão mortos ou divorciados); a autora lamenta não saber até que ponto essa relação entre avós e neto diferem das normais.

Irmão da mãe e filhos e filhas da irmã: De modo geral, pode-se dizer que o filho ou filha respeita o irmão da mãe, se bem que tenha, ao mesmo tempo, uma certa familiaridade em relação a êle, alem do privilégio de pedir-lhe auxilio em caso de necessidade. O irmão da mãe pode gracejar com o sobrinho e com a sobrinha, e estes, por sua vez mormente o sobrinho, podem gracejar com êle, mas é preciso que nunca faltem ao respeito que lhe é devido. Verificando-se a morte do pai de familia, é provavel que esta passe a morar com o irmão da mãe. Neste caso cabe-lhe educar e instruir os filhos varões da irmã; como substituto do verdadeiro pai, dá-lhes, por exemplo, lotes de terra em que deverão fazer as suas primeiras roças.

Essa relação estende-se aos filhos e filhas das irmãs mais distantes, mas não se manifesta tão intensamente em relação a êstes do que para com os filhos e as filhas da própria irmã do homem.

Irmão do pai e filhos e filhas do irmão: A relação que liga os filhos e as filhas à irmã do pai assemelha-se muito, em vários sentidos, à que existe entre êles e o irmão da mãe. Há um certo grau de liberdade entre a irmã de um homem e os filhos e as filhas dêste, e disso aquela ajuda a êstes em caso de necessidade. Os filhos e as filhas devem manter sempre uma atitude de respeito para com a irmã do pai.

Essa relação estende-se igualmente aos graus imediatos, diminuindo de intensidade com a extensão.

No tocante às duas condições de parentesco discutidas em último lugar, convem lembrar talvez que os dados da autora são menos completos do que poderiam ser, visto que seis informantes, todos varões, não possuiam na aldeia nem irmã do pai nem irmão da mãe, e somente um deles tinha uma irmã com filho.

Sogro e sogra e genro e nora: Esta relação varia entre os Cayuá, mas de um modo geral pode-se dizer que é de respeito mutuo. Atualmente, não se evitam uns aos outros. O genro ou a nora podem estar em contacto mais ou menos intimo com os sogros, o que depende de fatos tais com a maior ou menor proximidade entre as duas moradas ou grau em que o genro ou a nora percebem auxílio econômico da parte dos sogros.

Os Cayuá reconhecem parentesco muito remotos bilateralmente, os quais não parecem ser mais acentuados do lado paterno do que do materno, e não raro encontram-se na aldeia pessoas que são parentes da maioria dos moradores da aldeia, sem que, no entanto, possam sempre traçar a genealogia do parentesco. Não é coisa fora do comum uma pessoa ignorar os nomes dos avós, quando mortos, ou de tias e tios falecidos ou moradores de outra aldeia.

CONCLUSÃO

Do que acabamos de expor pode-se facilmente depreender que o sistema de parentesco dos Cayuá existe, de um modo geral, uma estreita relação entre a terminologia e o comportamento. Cada

pessoa sabe qual deve ser a sua atitude e o seu tratamento em relação a qualquer pessoa do grupo designado por este ou aquele termo de parentesco, se bem que uma pessoa e outra.

O sistema de parentesco Cayuá é um sistema classificatório relativamente simples, que se baseia no princípio genealógico e na qual os termos de parentesco se estendem bilateralmente. Todos os membros da geração de Ego classificam-se como irmãos e irmãs, sendo distinguidos de acôrdo com a idade. Na primeira geração descendente, o filho ou a filha de alguma pessoa designada como irmão chama-se filho ou filha no dizer do homem, e sobrinho ou sobrinha no dizer da mulher, ao passo que o filho ou filha de alguma pessoa designada como irmã é sobrinho ou sobrinha em relação ao homem, e filho ou filha à mulher. Na segunda geração descendente todos os filhos e filhas de filhos e filhas e de sobrinhos e sobrinhas chamam-se netos. Na primeira geração ascendentes, a mãe se classifica com a irmã da mãe, enquanto o pai e o irmão do pai são classificados com o irmão da mãe e a irmã do pai, mas designados com termos distintos. Os parentes da segunda geração ascendente, inclusive os avós e os "siblings, são diferenciados apenas em relação ao sexo. Êsse sistema, embora simples, pode-se considerar bem equilibrado, porquanto estabelece as relações entre as pessoas da comunidade de tal maneira que resultou um mínimo de atrito.

PROBLEMAS PARA PESQUISAS FUTURAS

A presente discussão do sistema de parentesco Cayuá limita-se à maneira pela qual se manifesta e se aplica êsse sistema nas relações habituais entre as pessoas. Um certo número de problemas tambem relacionados com êsse aspecto, já foi discutido. Foram pouco consideradas as relações entre o sistema de parentesco e a religião e as instituições econômicas. Estas últimas serão estudadas em outro trabalho.

Alem disso, permanece mais ou menos intacto um problema de ordem histórica, a saber, o da maneira pela qual o sistema de parentesco foi afetado pela mudança havida na economia dos Cayuá, passando de uma economia predominante de caça e pesca para outra sobretudo agrícola, mudança essa a que realizou

nos últimos 30 ou 40 anos. Temos indícios de que certos traços do sistema de parentesco mudaram tambem neste período, mas não se conhecem todas as mudanças havidas, nem tampouco as relações entre estas e a da economia, se bem que possuamos indícios de que existem. Alguns homens velhos da comunidade, que asistiram à mudança da economia do grupo, informaram que determinadas mudanças do sistema de parentesco tornaram menos importante a posição das mulheres e dos parentes maternos do indivíduo, ao passo que a dos homens aumentou em importância. A discussão dêsse assunto ultrapassa o âmbito do presente artigo.

Um fenômeno que já no século XVI foi relatado dos Tupi do Brasil [9], e modernamente dos Kaingang do Piquiri [10] e o casamento do homem com a filha da irmã. Não se observaram êsses casos entre os Cayuá e a maioria dos informantes declarou que tal casamento não se permitia. Somente um homem era da opinião que era permitido, dizendo, porém, não ser usual [11]. Mesmo os homens mais idosos da comunidade não se lembravam de se ter ocasionado, nalguma época, um casamento assim, e um dêsses homens, o mais importante da aldeia, contou que em menino lhe haviam dito que se casasse com a filha da irmã, ou outra pessoa designada com o mesmo termo, êle seria, provavelmente, atacado pelas onças quando entrasse na mata.

Em conclusão, pode-se dizer que, havendo um número suficiente de informes publicados, uma comparação do sistema de parentesco Cayuá com os sistemas de parentesco das demais tribus de idioma Tupí-Guaraní, baseada nos princípios formulados pelo Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown e pelos Drs. Fred Eggan e Sol Tax, terá relevante importância para o estudo da organização social.

---

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil. Leituras Etnológicas organizadas pelo Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus e mimeografadas pela Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, pág. 3.

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena. Curitiba, 1908, pág. 11.

11. Por ocasião de uma visita de dez dias ao Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, no sul de Mato Grosso, fui informada por uma mulher branca de que os homens índios, como se afirmava, casavam com as sobrinhas (se filha do irmão ou filha da irmã ela não sabia dizer), mas não me foi possivel de modo algum, obter a comprovação do fato. Parece, pois, tratar-se duma informação errônea, uma das muitas que correm entre a população branca em relação aos índios.

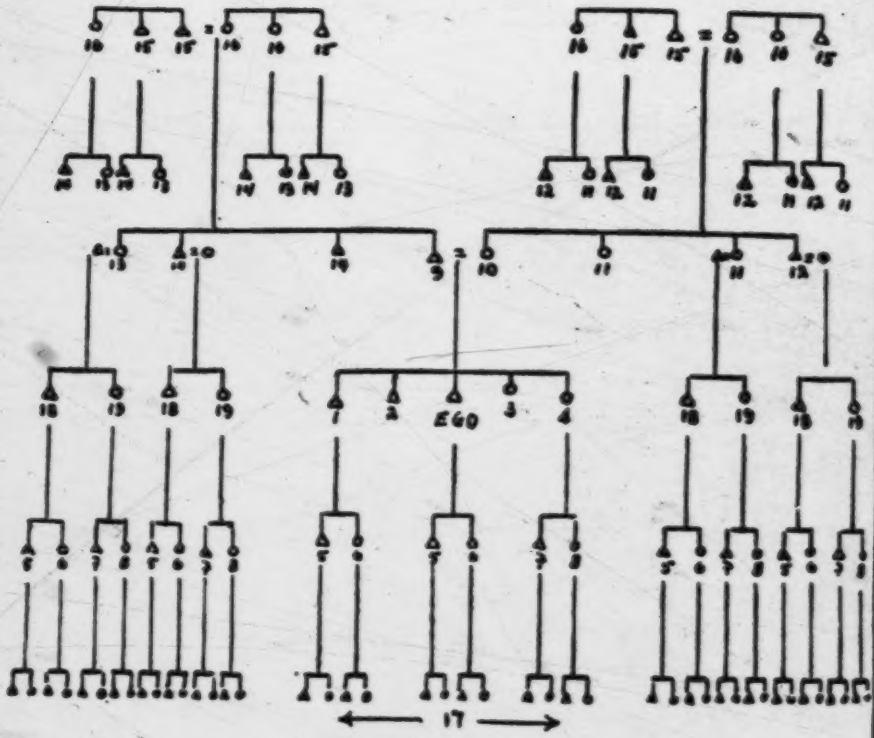


TABELA I

Os Termos Cayuá mencionados na tabela IV

Nesta tabela Ego é masculino. Quando Ego é feminino, filho e filha são sobrinho e sobrinho, ao passo que sobrinho e sobrinha vem a ser filho e filha. O círculo significa mulher, o triângulo homem. Dois traços paralelos indicam laços matrimoniais.

Significado dos números

1 — irmão mais velho
2 — irmão mais novo
3 — irmã mais velha
4 — irmã mais nova
5 — filho
6 — filha
7 — sobrinho
8 — sobrinha
9 — mãe
10 — pai
11 — irmã da mãe
12 — irmão da mãe
13 — irmã do pai
14 — irmão do pai
15 — avô
16 — avó
17 — netos e netas
18 — irmão
19 — irmã

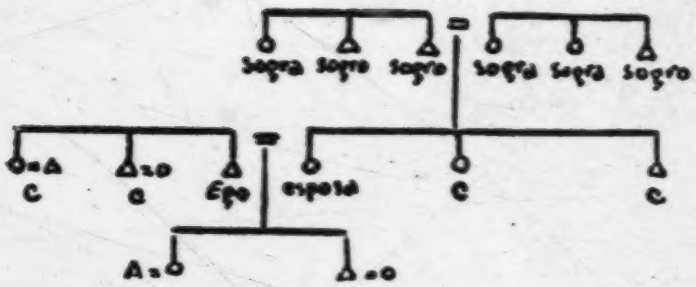


TABELA II

Designativos dos parentes afins, sendo Ego homem. Ver os termos Cayuá na tabela IV.

c = cunhado(s) (sem distinção de sexo); f.a. = filho por afinidade (sem distinção de sexo).

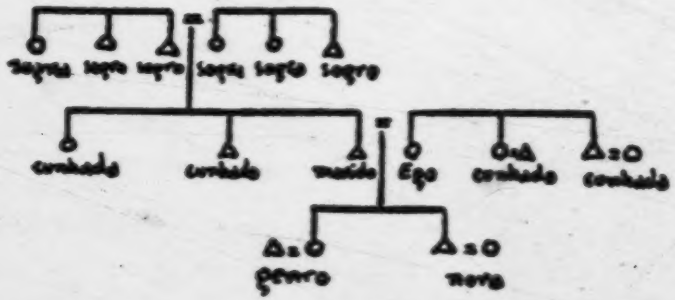


TABELA III

Designativos de parentes afins, sendo Ego mulher. Ver os termos Cayuá na tabela IV.

TABELA IV

Che-rywý	irmão mais moço, diz o homem
Che-rykeý	irmão mais velho, diz o homem
Che-rendý	irmã mais velha, diz o homem
Che-rendý-mini	irmã mais moça, diz o homem
Che-ru	pai
Che-sy	mãe
Che-ruwý	irmão do pai
Che-syý	irmã da mãe
Che-djaiché	irmã do pai
Che-tutý	irmão da mãe
Che-ramõi	avô
Che-djarí	avó
Che-raý	filho, diz o homem
Che-radjý	filha, diz o homem
Che-riý	sobrinho, diz o homem
Che-atipé	sobrinha, diz o homem
Che-ramianinó	neto e neta
Che-rembirekó	esposa
Che-rowadjá	irmão e irmã da esposa; marido da irmã e esposa do irmão, diz o homem; qualquer um dos que a esposa chama irmã ou irmão; irmão do marido e marido da irmã, diz o mulher; às vezes tambem "amigo íntimo".
Haí	mãe da esposa; irmã da mãe da esposa; irmã do pai da esposa
Ahẽ	pai da esposa; irmão do pai da esposa; irmão da mãe da esposa
Che-kywý	irmão mais velho, diz a mulher
Che-kywykeý	irmão mais moço, diz a mulher
Che-ruké	irmã mais velha, diz a mulher
Che-kypyý	irmã mais moça, diz a mulher
Che-pẽ	sobrinho e sobrinha, diz a mulher
Che-membý kwimbaé .	filho, diz a mulher
Che-membý kuñá ..	filha, diz a mulher
Che-mẽ	esposo
Che-rukei.	irmã do marido; esposa do irmão, diz a mulher
Che-pcú	marido da filha, diz a mulher
Che-wãchá	esposa do filho; marido da filha, diz o homem
Che-mendúa	pai do marido; irmão do pai do marido; irmão da mãe do marido
Che-mensý	mãe do marido; irmã da mãe do marido; irmã do pai do marido

Nota final: O valor fonético de todas as letras corresponde ao português, com exceção de *h*, que é aspirado como na palavra inglesa *have*, de *w*, que se pronuncia como na palavra inglesa *water*, e do *y*, som particular das línguas tupi, nas quais aparece, por exemplo, na palavra *y*: água. O prefixo *che* é o possessivo da primeira pessoa do singular.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington 25, D. C.

[Title Page]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Cainguá*.

101 [131] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrúa* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the [361] Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

101 131 175 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquin, *Tobatin;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thuna, Kaingua, Cayuá, Monteses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

131 175 About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

101 131 175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101
131
[175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterí, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pañ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemi River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemi River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101
131
167
175
[162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauiva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauiva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemi; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

101
131

The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauiva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

172 Funeral urns, which originally were chicha jars, are of two main types: (1) those decorated on the upper part with rows of corrugated impressions or markings produced either with the fingers or with a stick, and (2) painted ones.

The urns of the first category usually have a conical shape with a bulging upper part and a low outflaring or direct rim (pl. 11, *bottom, left*). Those of the second type are usually biconical with a flat or rounded bottom and a direct rim which often presents a median ridge (pl. 12, *a*). The height of the urns normally varies between 40 to 70 cm. (16 to 28 in.) and their diameter between 46 to 76 cm. (19 to 50 in.). A few specimens are one meter (3 ft.) high.

Smaller vessels are (1) undecorated, (2) covered on their entire outer surface by fingernail marks (pl. 11), (3) painted (pl. 12), and (4) painted on the inside and decorated with fingernail marks or corrugated impressions on the outside.

Several nail-incised vessels were found by Ambrosetti (1895 b) on the Alto Paraná and by Lothrop (1932, pp. 134–135) at Arroyo Malo, near Buenos Aires, and at Paraná-Guazú.

Most of the specimens of small ware known up to the present are shallow bowls, or bowls with inverted rims. Some painted specimens have a characteristic biconical shape with a flat bottom. A few globular pots with outflaring rims seem to have been used in cooking. A single specimen with a tubular neck has been published by Vellard (1934, fig. 8, *3*).

Some of the funeral urns and wide bowls found by Lothrop at Arroyo Malo are covered with a grayish slip and are adorned with red paint on the exterior.

The decoration of the polychrome urns and bowls consists generally of red lines on a whitish background, but sometimes white patterns have been traced on a red background. Often the red designs are underscored by black strokes or bordered by incisions. On a few specimens coarse red patterns have been applied directly on the surface of the vessel. The motifs are always geometrical. They may be described as sigmoid curves, labyrinths, Greek frets, and elaborations of the chevron. A few vessels are decorated with plain red bands on a white background.

Many urns show on their lower portions striations resulting from the use of corn husks in the smoothing process.

Guaraní vessels are, as a rule, without handles, though, according to Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 465), they may occur in a few instances. Some vessels were suspended through holes in the rim or through lateral prominences.

At Arroyo Malo were found some clay "hemispheres," or lumps decorated with incised patterns. Lothrop (1932, p. 143) calls them fire

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solis expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175
648

rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a *Guaraní* raid against the *Inca* border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that García and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramirez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the *Guaraní* Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the *Guaraní* of the region of Itatí, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez *in* Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the *Guaraní* were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Cario* (*Guaraní*), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the *Guaraní* served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175
648
797

River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-mirí on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruíz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guaraní" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruíz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martín and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

175
648
797

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaró, Mbohane, Minuane,* and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased. [161]

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be
[403] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[362] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[171] fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and
[821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-
[412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
[752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium*
[824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'*
[411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
[262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. [231] When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of [262] *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the [231] larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their 224 main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with [262] abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have [231] dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the 226 ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast 178 used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided [433] with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and 231 178 many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a 262 heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with 252 maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, [178] abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, 252 dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin [178] grater—and washing the mass in water.

[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Streinicker.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve [445] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched [824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti- [712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., [413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[8a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[8a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the
[177] midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembó strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 293 621

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Amra, 1899, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
118 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella oscuridad esta. sus ánimas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [573] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Pañ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Pañ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 90-A]

172
415

PLATE 11.—**Fingernail-marked Guarani ware.** *Top:* Sherds from Martín García, Argentina. *Center:* Vessels from Arroyo Malo, Paraná Delta. *Bottom:* Vessels from Paraguay. Funerary urn at left. (*Top*, after Bruzzone, 1931; *center*, after Lothrop, 1932; *bottom*, courtesy Max Schmidt.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

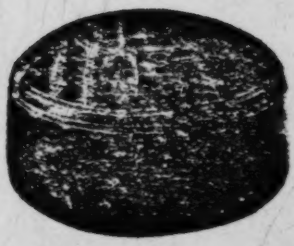
172
415

a

b

c

172
415
171



d

e

PLATE 12.—**Guarani and other pottery from Paraguay.** *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guana* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Pañ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Pañ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guaraní* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its
668 territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary
786 accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the
[756] Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs
[792] performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, in-
[177] cluded many borrowings from Christianity.

175 During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the
167 *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world
786 announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-
772 Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these
772 Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the
756 universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ACTA AMERICANA

Revista de la Sociedad Interamericana de Antropología y Geografía
Revista da Sociedade Interamericana de Antropologia e Geografia
Review of the Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography

000

ENERO-JUNIO | JANEIRO-JUNHO | JANUARY-JUNE
VOL. III | 1945 | NOS. 1 y 2

[Title Page]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Paraná and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

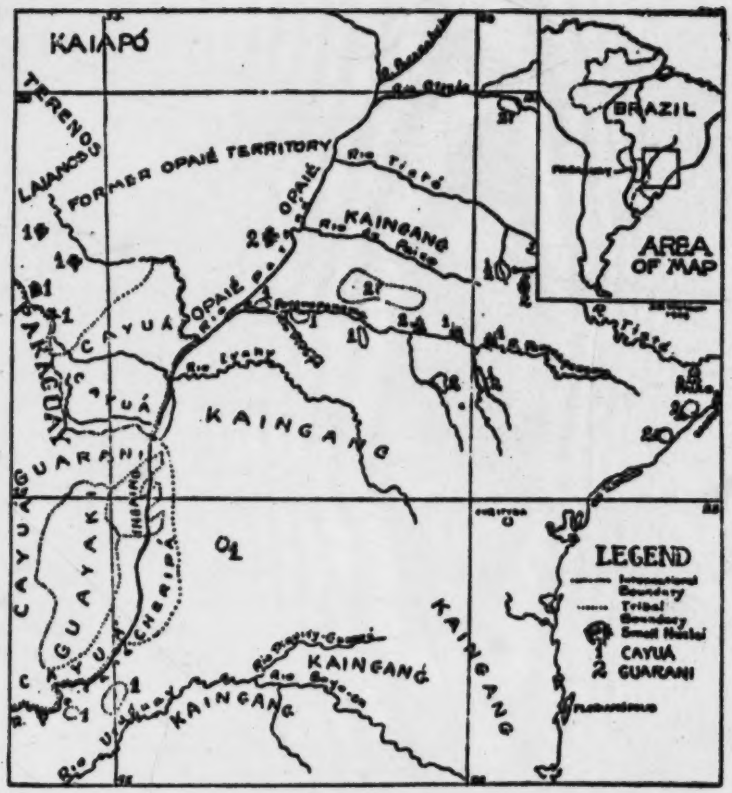
113

[p. 3]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5 1

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

102
133



Ethnographic map of southern Brazil—About 1911
Based on map by H. von Ihering
(See footnote 7)

[p. 4]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1850-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

131
175
[161]
[657]

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[501]

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Econômicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

[113]
[113]
[113]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The
[482] female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Calaguá (= Cayuá).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174
797

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174
648

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241
174
648

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[11] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[12]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
12 Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west. 174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17] 174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for 657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140. [113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

18 This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] 19 Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

20 Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [273]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175 182 721 175 722 182

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
177 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
241 enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
648 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far
182 as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
177 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
241 by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult
412 to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This, we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
476 like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[23] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

[23] Scrub second growth where a *roça* has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
648 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*. Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

466
177
[273]

The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society, as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

177
178
437
438

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182 476 177 434

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence. 121 177 178

São Paulo, Brasil.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/ Preface

121 128 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material aspects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to explore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Conquest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objective of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpretentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by presenting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture, the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civilization. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material presented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration, among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

/5 cont./

121 128 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the comparison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases. This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete, or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal observations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors, ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected, whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for comprehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but rather an anthropological study based on the material collected on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being the temptation that arose at every step to discuss up to what point and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken, it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances, had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for, if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion of a few details not very significant at first sight for an understanding of the central problem of the work seemed justified to the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated. Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

/6 cont./

121 128 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choice: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

/7 cont./

121 128 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 101 [121] This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946, the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbyá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yroysã) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

• 121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

121
184
177

the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type.

/The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatí pukú pỹtã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.

[173] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Vírgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very

12 convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim

[115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle

[192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó rosá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguẽ, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/57 cont./

423 Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for
[171] all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization
178 of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

• 121 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-
177 cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some
476 among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic,
829 and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,
476 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already
171 revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõomoõõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./
This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
• 121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[177] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
156 niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
157 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
177 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
648 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/75 cont./

582 171 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5),

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 121 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece 582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/85/

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121 571 829 182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

• 121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

2: Schaden--130 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/107/

Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Conception of the World

77
121

1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the sociocultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts; it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique": the religious attitude and life,

77 /108 cont./
121 on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77 Why is there always a close relationship between the re-
121 ligious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions --
577 good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual; they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism; the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] [62] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

771 794 121 2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

794 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [191] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [754] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(199) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
(155) not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
(184) sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ); it [184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim [177] Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterẽ, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterẽ whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterẽ with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterẽ with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharẽ rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterẽ drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is
776 obvious that the primitive native representation has been trans-
177 formed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

778 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patri-
•121 mony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbïá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

171
+177 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

+177 There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been
• 121 rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

127 Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupí are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1948, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti. 127

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupí-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit. 121

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 121 commercialism. In this, the relations of such economic changes to other aspects of culture are involved, but particularly relations to social organization. Not a great deal is known in detail about acculturative economic change of simple cultures and how it comes about.

In the field of the economic life of peoples who are living under contact few studies have been published. That the repercussions from the introduction of money into a non-pecuniary economy are widespread is recognized by all who have dealt with situations in which this had occurred, and some real attempts have been made to work out the resulting cultural realignments.[2]

The definition of acculturation adopted here is the now well nigh standard one:

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[3]

This definition obviously does not restrict acculturational phenomena merely to the borrowing—unilateral or mutual—of alien culture traits. Such a restriction is, in fact, specifically disclaimed:

It is . . . to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.[4]

Diffusion and borrowing of culture traits, therefore, are only one aspect of the process of acculturation, but in spite of this, they are frequently taken to be the *primary* type of acculturative phenomena. Thus there is much emphasis on trait borrowing in the literature; other phenomena are often, by implication, treated as of less immediacy in the process of acculturation.

In this paper it is maintained that simple trait borrowing or diffusion is not necessarily the most important or primary factor in the acculturational process. Among the Cayuá, as will be shown later, what we may broadly term *conditions* were of great importance as factors of acculturation. One such "condition," for example, is the restriction in the size of Cayuá territory and the mobility of the people, as a result of the coming of whites in increasing numbers. This is certainly no "trait" of white culture in the orthodox sense and surely not one that the Cayuá "borrowed." Yet restriction of territory and mobility was a more effective causal agent in Cayuá acculturation than many borrowed European culture traits. Thus, apart from the more obvious trait-borrowing, a number of "conditions" resulting from the European advent have been referred to herein as primary factors in the acculturational process.

---

[2] Herskovits, 1938, pp. 126-27.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10. The definition was drawn up by Herskovits, Linton and Redfield.

[4] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture. 128

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the indigenes borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all. 121 128

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[8] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

[8] Kroeber, 1935.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
121 Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupí of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the
433 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups,
244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

184

[33] Rengger, 1835.
[34] Von Koenigswald, 1908.
[35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894
[37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928.
[39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[128] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to. 121 • 128

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[129] The importance of the machete 177* 412 [241]

[128] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[129] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[163] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[164]

[163] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed. [121]

[164] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment, [121]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of
182 (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the in-
594 creased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have
596 already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooper-
621 ative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *change* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

*121 *177 *178 A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier sig-
[167] nificant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white
[161] contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate
[168] steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 177* 178* [168]

and abortives, apparently with favorable results. This story may be without any foundation whatsoever—and probably is not literally true at best. But it is just possible that conditions existed at one time in Cayuá history which gave rise to such a truncated and apocryphal tale. It is our very uncertainty in this respect that urges the present caution against predicating much about earlier difficulties and disorganization in the history of Cayuá acculturation. Thus, though the modern Cayuá of Brazil appear to have emerged from their past with a relatively good adjustment of means and ends, this alone does not preclude the chance that the process was at other times more painful.

The primary factors of change mentioned above indeed do not seem sweeping or radical, and the present organization of the Cayuá suggests a tranquil acculturational adjustment; but a confrontation of secondary changes, nonetheless, makes the suggestion of earlier periods of stress appear at least a possibility. The scope of these changes is unmistakable. The secondary effects can be summarized for consideration here without tiresome repetition by considering them from the angle of the changing Cayuá concept of goods. This approach, in fact, might have been adopted before as a means of bringing out important changes and relationships, but it is characteristic of much of present social science analysis that what has been accomplished in one particular manner may equally well be achieved by another. Apparently, there is often no necessary or "natural" mode of treatment or point of departure: any one of a number will serve. In any case, the changing Cayuá concept of goods and its ramifications provides a sufficient key to how far the culture as a whole has changed from the aboriginal and a key for understanding the change.

The first question is: What at present constitute "goods" for the Cayuá? What items does this category include? Here, of course, we find numerous changes, both additions, such as trade goods, and displacements, such as certain types of aboriginal manufactures. If we also consider frequency of use, occurrence, and general significance of goods, more differences between aboriginal and modern goods are seen. Many old items which would still have to be listed as goods, since they are still recognized, are of such rare occurrence and small use as to be radically in contrast with the conditions of the past. Pottery or certain hunting products illustrate this. On the other hand, a number of innovations are of first rate importance, such as metal tools. The point could be elaborated further, each succeeding elaboration only serving to emphasize greater differences.

The second question: What is done to produce or obtain the various goods at present recognized? again reveals certain contrasts of degree and kind with the past. Wage-work, money purchase, and barter are all either relatively or absolutely different from the past as means of obtaining goods. Obviously certain technological operations are also different, even in the more traditional lines of activity, such as agriculture. Far-reaching differences are implied in

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*121
*177
*178

the use and concept of money and of working for others exclusively for material reward.

The question: Who does the work of production? likewise underlines numerous differences from the past. There are qualitative and quantitative differences in the sexual division of labor, in the true division of labor, with present incipient specialization and alternatives, and in the matter of individual versus joint production by families and wider kinship groupings. Here, along with the changing economic roles of men and women, are shown the replacement of the extended by the elementary family as a producing unit, and the quasi-alternative of participation in different lines of economic endeavor, such as wage-work. These matters are interrelated with and widely ramify into further changes in Cayuá economic and social organization, such as the change in preferential marriage and the decline of polygyny.

Two other questions about the present Cayuá concept of goods in their implications nearly complete the remaining aspects of Cayuá acculturation so far recognised. One question concerns how the goods are distributed, to whom and in consideration of what obligations, exchanges, or reciprocities. The other, closely related to the first, is how modern Cayuá goods may be manipulated. These aspects of the present concept of goods would call for further discussion of the shift from extended to elementary family, the features of contemporary—and probably increasing—individualism, commercialism, the concept of money, and the sale of goods. Also involved are the decline of former gift exchange and mutual helpfulness in favor of economic rationalism, wage-work within the group itself, and money barter of goods to one's friends and kin.

Perhaps the only major secondary effect of the changes that were discussed in Chapter V, which is not included here by implication, is the change in political organization of the local group and the appearance of multiple factions. This change does not actually stand alone, of course, but it is less directly relatable to the changing Cayuá concept of goods, as a point of analysis.

From the foregoing it can readily be concluded that the Cayuá concept of goods has been much changed from the aboriginal. This is true in such matters as (1) what constitute goods, (2) what is done to produce or obtain goods, (3) who produces which goods, (4) to whom and why goods are distributed, and (5) how goods may be employed or manipulated. In each of these respects there are differences both of goods in particular and goods in general when the modern Cayuá are compared with the aboriginal. Taking as a point of departure the changing concept of goods in Cayuá acculturation, then, analysis reveals modifications which are ultimately very far-reaching. The differences which are highlighted appear radical enough to justify some consideration to the contrary of an orderly and tranquil Cayuá acculturation. The argument would be that, since the secondary changes are so extensive, com-

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 177* 178*

pared to the aboriginal culture, the past may reasonably have been marked by periods or phases of considerable disorganization and stress. Here again the case for deciding between easy or difficult acculturation is not final and conclusive.

Two or three other known factors enter into the case and swing the balance once more to the opposite, however, in favor of the view of tranquil and relatively undisturbed acculturation. As was pointed out earlier, the longstanding Cayuá contact with whites has not been direct or intensive until very recently. Intensive contact of any sort probably did not begin until fairly effective white occupation of the lands of southern Mato Grosso, easily within the last fifty years. Effective penetration from Spanish lands to the south was inhibited by several factors, such as poor means of communication and access, the deflection elsewhere of political and economic interests, and a sparse colonial population. Mission influences of the Jesuit period, though significant, were again not direct or first hand. A very gradual and unhurried acculturation presumably would have resulted enhanced by the fact that white influences were mediated through intervening native groups of culture similar to the Cayuá. The latter factor supposedly had the effect of reducing Cayuá conflicts and disorganization. The general impression, therefore, is of a continuing and successful adjustment to new conditions which only by slow stages became a part of the Cayuá situation and, hence, which produced no crises.

Of course, it might be argued that for the very reason that the earlier contact of the Cayuá was so slow, indirect, and perhaps slight, it might well not have provided much background of acculturation with which to lessen the shock of ultimate direct and intensive contact. This would depend entirely upon the extent and kind of acculturation which had been realized by the time of direct contact, a point upon which information is not available. One can scarcely escape the conclusion, in any case, that some acculturation did occur prior to more recent and intensive contact, and it must almost inevitably have eased the path of later change.[18]

The balance of the argument favors the conclusion that Cayuá acculturation was on the whole slow, pacific, and unmarked by sharp conflicts or periods

---

[18] This statement is not offered as a generalization for acculturation everywhere, but only as applied to the Cayuá case. In the example of the Great Plains of North America it might be argued that prior and indirect acculturational contact of the Indians had a result quite the opposite of facilitating later changes. The Plains Indians took over the horse and other elements as a result of early, mostly indirect influences. They thus turned to a way of life based upon the hunting of buffalo to an extent which would otherwise scarcely have been possible. The change from such a hunting way of life to the reservation settlement ultimately imposed can hardly be considered to have been easier than if the ultimate change had been imposed upon the type of culture aboriginally characteristic of the Plains. The Cayuá case is obviously not parallel since no demonstration whatever can be offered that early acculturation prompted or facilitated a way of life *less* amenable to later acculturational conditions than the aboriginal way of life.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

•121 *177 *178 of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a relatively high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

121 128 *177 *178 The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of information on many related questions has also been noted throughout the paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, primary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distinguished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other. This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, which is usually a key, is unknown.

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assessment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
*177 enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
*178 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consideration of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*poiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance. 121 128 177* 178*

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 121 What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits?
128 Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of ac-
culturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and
*177 the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given
*178 causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realized. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

175
412 /33 cont./
177 is missing in the original text./
313

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
•[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

•121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

• 121 178 60 433 182 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

101 [131] 101 121 [195] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional do Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

[p. 3]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

184
182
476
177
434
121
177
178

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much need of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.

2: Schaden--5 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txerúangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

[123] [115]

122 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent
128 gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

114 laborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

122 We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chefe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, *encarregado* of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, *encarregado* of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at União, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

128 For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Taquapiri group.

122 For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tocker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Garroway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

JAMES B. WATSON

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

-122

1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
195

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional do Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaalwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

[123] [115] 122

128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D. D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties: always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few" This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Porã. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipó, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoía), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [176] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
756
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
● 123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
• 123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one
wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones
in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some
829 way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil,"
[782] called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound
of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the
harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs,
[588] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without
mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohẽ vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169)

2: Schaden--189 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambí would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517
533
797
177
534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbarakâ, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbarakâ, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Ikariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá Ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbarakâ (or also mbarakâ i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbarakâ or simply mbarakâ), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The Ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184]
534
723
796
177
[533]
534
171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the
[294] (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

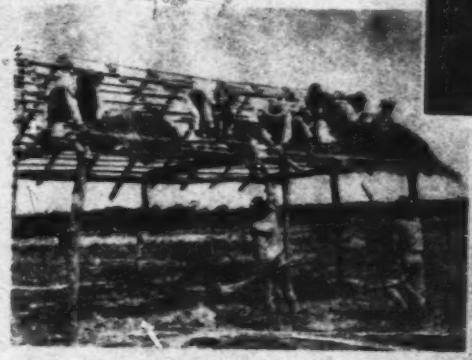
Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

123
331

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapái* at Taquapuri. Log tanks for *cáuí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.



178
342

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapái* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbufirão*) clearing a *kokwé* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
• 124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycué. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curussú-Nheengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

532 177 124

532 524

532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
• [124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[182] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrádjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

•124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

> 11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the tzumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the khákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the tzumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
[192] four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
low and orange toucan (tikí) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 Remombáchá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

[262] [273] [433]

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character: it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds: the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[437] [177] [437] [773]

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform: they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

[126] [114]

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí [192] kítí (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kítí is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads fomeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1948, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vávé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí [192] morotí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use • [026] of the grater.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[536] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboreodjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 775 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive 828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per- 179 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

2: Schaden--161 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./
The same is true, by the way, about the chicha
songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí
text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytãva
ñesyrũ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru
pytãva rysyi," which means: red ants /Port.
cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

2: Schaden--182 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
• 126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /128/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
78 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
182 doctrines themselves.
177

/305 cont./

Ta 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 173 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/310 cont./

167 174 172 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats didnot take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 484 175 648 22 262 [127]

None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brazil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

• 127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

171
*177 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

*777 There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been
121 rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

• 127 Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupi are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

were not in the immediate path of conquest and for a long time remained apart from all but the slightest of contact with the Europeans. Coming down to the time of the Jesuits, 1610–1768, fleeting references can be found here and there to peoples who may have been Cayuá or closely related to them. Thus, for the early period of colonization there is little information which deals directly with the Cayuá, though the conclusion is apparently justified that much material on closely related peoples applies also to the Cayuá with little modification. Several early writers imply such a point of view, and Rengger's journal in the early 19th century seems to reinforce the idea. This authority makes quite evident the similarity of Cayuá to other Guarani cultures—a similarity by no means obscured even today. The period of the turn of the last century brings us several more short accounts pertaining to the Cayuá, including two by reputable ethnologists, von Koenigswald and Ambrosetti.

In connection with the type of white contact the Cayuá experienced, the available history of the area again provides little that is direct. It is possible to get some idea of what kinds of white men were there, roughly their numbers, and something of their motives. But there is little documentation to establish the nature, place, and time of the contact of these whites with Cayuá. With significant and tantalizing gaps, of course, the general trend of contact can be drawn. However, in part it is necessary to use the present state of Cayuá culture as evidence of past contact; in other words, the nexus, often missing from the historical record, can sometimes be supplied from the present ethnography. The result is very sketchy at best.

The ethnography of this people today is our most important source of information. Besides a description of the present culture, at least those cultural aspects which were our primary concern in the field, modern data can be coupled with some of the more meager clues from older documents to yield reasonably secure information about the Cayuá past. Moreover, with the present culture for a control, a certain use can also be made of comparative material from the better known Coastal Tupi and other Tupi-Guarani peoples of the early contact period. Thus much peripheral information of an earlier date, information not by itself acceptable in reference to the Cayuá, can be turned to fair profit.

The present discussion of acculturation is confined mainly to salient aspects of change in technology, ecology, economy, and social organization, while practically no attention is given to religion. One reason for this limitation is the amount and type of field work. On the other hand, the implications of our data did not seem to lead necessarily to a study of change in the religious sphere. In other words, we were able to carry on our work in a satisfactory manner without devoting a great deal of attention to religion—although not denying that related changes probably exist in that sector.

One point of concentration of the present work is economic change, including the effect on a non-commercial economy of the inception and growth of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

• 127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] 121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the 241 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the 433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more 174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, 243 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture 244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every 433 184

[33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [48] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

2: Schaden--1 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

Preface

121
128 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material aspects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to explore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Conquest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objective of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpretentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by presenting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture, the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civilization. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material presented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration, among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--2 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/5 cont./

121
• 128 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the comparison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases. This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete, or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal observations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors, ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected, whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for comprehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but rather an anthropological study based on the material collected on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being the temptation that arose at every step to discuss up to what point and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken, it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances, had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for, if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion of a few details not very significant at first sight for an understanding of the central problem of the work seemed justified to the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated. Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

/6 cont./

121 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction
•128 of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choice: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

/7 cont./

121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain
128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
101 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
[12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri; furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these villages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Itatins), but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I also worked in the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçú region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha in the Xapecó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup, in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi, Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacareí, the latter made up of families of the Ñandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to become familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/ such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the Mbyá-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Yrovaí) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situations is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of uninterrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

2: Schaden--5 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me
[123] in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I
[115] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, Ñandeŕú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeŕúangá, my adoptive father), and Capitão
122 Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D.D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brazil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--8 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-cleavers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

• 128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

[113]

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of
101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there
197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

[177] [182]

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

/

2: Schaden--8 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/10 cont./

197
10

Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 288, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128]

4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañygua and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

[114]

2: Schaden--10 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

101
[114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avãhugual, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbïá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbïá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbïá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teïí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an autodenomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakirý, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá ỹ yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaiouá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

[128]

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbiá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbiá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
• 128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--204 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjý, tũpã ray; djadjapó piéta porã, djadjapó piéta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahũ songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

[172] [128]

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171]

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

2: Schaden--212 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-marã-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yvýy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

2: Schaden--213 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

772
77
[128]

It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as Ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it d voted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

[62]
[177]

539
772

For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77
177
128
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/

Conclusion

77
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

114 laborated in the field; however, the data and conclusions herein do not include any of their material nor represent the product of discussing problems with them subsequent to the period of field work.

122 We are also indebted to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios of the Ministério da Agricultura of Brazil for having helped to make our trip a success. The representatives of the Serviço in the region of our work were especially kind and helpful. Among these are Coronel Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, Chefe da Inspetoria Regional do SPI in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, and Senhor Carvalho, *encarregado* of the Posto "Francisco Horta" at Dourados, our traveling companion and guide for a part of the trip, as well as our host at Dourados. Dayem Pereira dos Santos, *encarregado* of the Posto "Benjamin Constant" at União, and his wife, D. Balbina, time and again went out of their way to be hospitable.

• 128 For patient and constructive criticism of the manuscript itself many thanks are due to Professors Fred Eggan and Sol Tax of the University of Chicago. Bernard Siegel of Stanford University has also been kind enough to read and comment upon it. Virginia Drew Watson, my wife, has given generously of her time at every stage of research and writing and of her first-hand knowledge of the Taquapiri group.

122 For financial assistance in doing some of the background research and in writing the monograph the author is much indebted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University. Mrs. Marjorie M. Tooker and Mrs. Marjorie S. Garroway efficiently and accurately typed different parts of the monograph at various stages of its development, and to them both thanks are due. Mrs. Bernice Krueger also helped with a number of final details.

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research of New York has generously assisted with the costs of publication, and the author is greatly indebted for this kindness.

JAMES B. WATSON

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

The present monograph is organized as follows. Chapter I provides the geographical, demographic, ethnological, and environmental setting. Chapter II summarizes what are known and what are presumed to be the facts of the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá, as well as such a reconstruction can now be made. Chapter III deals with the history of the region since the first years of white discovery, exploration, and settlement. In many respects, the facts of that history, as already noted, cannot now be specifically connected with the Cayuá. But their implications are certain enough to make the historical sketch of some general value. Chapter IV is concerned with a summary of Cayuá culture at the present time, emphasizing primarily points of difference from the aboriginal culture. 128

Chapter V, the analysis of Cayuá acculturational change, may be less conventional. Space and time factors are taken largely for granted and there is an almost purely configurational or structural examination of the material. This is done first by recognizing and listing the factors which have been called "acculturational causes." Some of these are of the familiar type, such as the presentation of traits which the indigenes borrowed from the alien culture. Others are not "traits" of either culture, in the usual sense, but are rather the conditions resulting from the coming of the whites, those which are significant to the nature of the two cultures. These conditions have had certain effects in the cultural development of the Cayuá, but might have affected another culture differently—or perhaps not at all. 121 128

The analysis continues with a list of "primary or immediate acculturational effects" and a separate list of "secondary or derived acculturational effects." The distinction here lies between developments in Cayuá culture which occurred in *immediate response* to acculturational causes and developments, ultimately related to the same acculturational causes, which were not immediate but only secondary. There are also some general temporal implications of the distinction: the secondary effects are derivative, as a rule, and do not appear in some cases for a considerable time after their initial causes are present in the situation. The distinction between primary and secondary effects is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

As far as its historiographical implications are concerned, the analysis attempted here is in some respects reminiscent of Kroeber's idea of what is important in history.[5] The de-emphasis of chronology as the cardinal feature or "value" of history and the "endeavor to achieve a conceptual integration of phenomena while preserving the quality of the phenomena" seem to characterize the present method. (On the other hand, there is not much doubt that certain aspects of the present approach, such as the prominent assessment of "cause," the analytical and schematic quality, and the emphasis on process, are not in keeping with what Kroeber had in mind.) However, the writing of Cayuá history *per se* is largely incidental to our present purposes.

[5] Kroeber, 1935.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incomplete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred about the developing influences of European culture.

128 *175 648

For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.

II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.

III. 1768 to *ca.* 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with *mate* workers (*yerbateros*).

IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.

V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870).

VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, *CA.* 1530 TO 1610

*175 648 The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.[11] This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

[11] The Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Dias de Solis, who was killed by Charrua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plata.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[123] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to. 121 128

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[124] The importance of the machete 177+ 412 [24]

[123] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[124] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*tẽto*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128 •

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational? 177*

2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes? 182

3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organised into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis*
177 Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for exam-
182 ple, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organized which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular acculturational causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the acculturational causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognized can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause. (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

128 • 177* 182

One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 98]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

* 128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
621 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

177* 182 439 464 648

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

128 177* 182

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
*177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
182 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
*177 (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
182 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
*177 of great stress; the culture, therefore, manifested at nearly all times a rela-
*178 tively high degree of organization. The possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, however, lacking historical data, that Cayuá acculturation may have been marked by moments of crisis. In consequence of this lack of fuller knowledge of its course, the question may legitimately be raised as to whether or how much we can discuss of Cayuá acculturation. The answer appears to turn about the type of analysis of acculturation which has been attempted in the present monograph.

A NOTE ON THE PROCEDURES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

121 The point has just been stressed that full data are lacking for certain
• 128 important aspects of the acculturation of the Cayuá, specifically for such a question as whether the course of change was rough or smooth. A lack of in-
*177 formation on many related questions has also been noted throughout the
*178 paper. The problem raised by these lacunae is twofold: how was the information available treated to derive the conclusions which have been presented, and how much confidence may be placed in the results?

In the first place, many of the differences between the present and the aboriginal culture of the Cayuá can easily be appraised. Clear-cut qualitative or quantitative modifications stand out, even against the incomplete picture of the aboriginal culture that can be reconstructed; but lesser differences of degree, or perhaps even of kind, must be largely putative, or sometimes unwittingly ignored. So much for the mere roster of changes. Here the account is a much fuller one than in connection with the question of when particular events occurred and under what conditions. The argument of the present paper, therefore, has been much more heavily dependent on data of the former type than on the actual history of change. The data used, moreover, have largely determined the use made of them.

The analysis of Cayuá material, especially in Chapter V, has been characterized as "configurational." What does this mean? For one thing, chronology, either relative or absolute, plays little part in it. The occurrence of changes is noted and their causes are assigned, generally with no mention of either precise dates or the pre- or post-occurrence of other events. (In the Cayuá case, little or nothing usually can be said about the circumstances of such events anyway, other than in reference to the general circumstance or context of the culture to which or in which the events were occurring.) The configurational analysis dwells, first, on identifying factors of cause or effect, and, second, on establishing relationships among causes and effects. Causes of acculturation mean those changes in the total Cayuá environment initially traceable to the presence or influence of members of an alien, European society and which have produced changes in Cayuá culture. All such causes, then, are specifically defined as limited to changes in the situation as a direct conse-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

quence of whites. Effects distinguished herein, of course, are of two kinds, primary or immediate, and secondary or derived, the latter reflecting the more complete adjustment process or ramification of change within the indigenous culture. Where possible, relationships among causes and effects are distinguished as initiatory, on the one hand, or merely contributory, on the other. This distinction is not possible in many cases, however, where chronology, which is usually a key, is unknown. 121 128 177* 178*

The configurational treatment has the result of telescoping chronological differences among acculturational trends and factors. The time of manifestation of effects, and the shifting relative effectiveness of causes are not, for the most part, the concern of the analysis. A sort of composite picture of the range and number of trends is thus presented and the several trends are traced only in their causal interrelationships.

Yet the configurational analysis cannot completely eschew chronology, since without it one is handicapped for the fullest possible discussion of causality. Where one factor or trend can be known to have manifested itself earlier than another, there are surer grounds for the assessment of a causal relationship. Temporal priority of a trend, however, does not completely determine causality, but it may be crucial to the question of whether a causal relationship is initiatory or merely contributory. For instance, there can be little doubt that the Cayuá bartering of surplus agricultural produce for trade goods is causally related to the increasing scale of agriculture. The priority of the increasing scale of agriculture as a trend, therefore, does not destroy the argument of a causal relationship, but it does establish that agricultural barter could only be contributory—not initiatory—to the former trend. The configurational analysis of Cayuá acculturation thus lays heavy emphasis upon the assessment of causal relationships, and, for this very reason, the few chronological data available, not in themselves primarily important, are used to help specify causal relationships among factors and trends.

In view of the discussion of causal relationship and chronology, two questions logically raised at this point are (a) how causes and effects are determined, and (b) how relationships among them are established. Practically, these questions are almost inseparable since it is partly with respect to the detection of a causal relationship that a cause is specified. The procedure actually begins with the study of effects of acculturation. Many of these are easily determined, as has been mentioned above, through comparison of the modern culture with the best available reconstruction of the aboriginal. The major effects thus stand out, though minor effects of acculturation may be overlooked. This much is fairly obvious and quite the standard procedure in acculturation study or in the study of culture change in general. Now causes, at least some of the more evident ones, might be specified from available history of the influence of whites upon Indians, as well as from the knowledge of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 white culture, generally. But not every aspect of white culture, of course—
128 not even every cultural difference between it and the indigenous culture—
177 enters as a definable cause into the acculturation of the native group; and the
178 history of contact is not a sufficient guide to causality without a joint consideration of what modifications actually occur in the native culture. Thus, in the specification of causes, the history of contact and the ethnography of the European group are always accompanied by the consideration of changes in Cayuá culture and of what possible relationships of causality pertain to them. Ultimately, therefore, one comes to the question of how causality is to be determined.

The method of determining the relationship between causes and effects of acculturation is implicit in much of the discussion of Chapter V. A number of considerations, logical, functional, and chronological-historical, enter in, as well as the projection of present relationships back into the past. Any or all of these considerations are raised for whatever light they may throw upon the nature and direction of trends. An example of a causal relationship predicated upon logical grounds is that between availability of the machete, as a cause, and its adoption and influence in the increasing scale of agriculture, as effects or phases of a trend (see p. 98). The functional consideration, which is closely akin to the logical, suggests the influence of the individualistic tendencies of wage-work, for example, upon joint economic usages of the extended family type (see pp. 108–109). The historical and chronological consideration indicates influence of the SPI upon the Cayuá, such as their assignment to reservations, and the centralization of political authority (see pp. 121–123). An illustration of projecting present relationships backward in time is the consideration of contemporary residence patterns in relation to the consequent need for shelters in some agricultural clearings (*poiois*). This present relationship is suggested as possible evidence of the origin of such shelters in Cayuá culture (see pp. 86–87). (The inherent dangers of projecting present relationships back into the past, by the way, are also well illustrated by the example of agricultural field shelters. The acculturational origin of these shelters could only be tentatively postulated in this manner, and was far from being proven.) These examples of the different considerations suggest how putative causes may be related, with varying degrees of certainty, to given effects of acculturation.

Two things remain to be pointed out about this method of establishing causality. First, in most actual cases no one of the foregoing considerations, logical, functional, historical, or reconstructive, would be employed singly; usually more than one is employed—all if possible. Bringing to bear various considerations upon a possible causal relationship, particularly if the indications lead to mutual confirmation, seems to hold a reasonable guarantee of correctness. This raises the second point, that there is no bias in favor of single

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

causes—quite the contrary. Indeed, most trends have been assigned more than one cause. Moreover, there has been no general attempt, especially in doubtful cases, to assess the relative importance or temporal priority of different causes of a given trend or effect—whether they were related merely as contributory or as initiatory causes. If strong evidence is lacking, the analysis stops at merely indicating the presence of a causal relationship of unspecified importance, between two factors. Other than the lack of a prominent concern with chronology, therefore, the essential difference between the configurational analysis and conventional historical treatment may be the latter's constant assessment of relative causal importance.

121
128 •
177*
178*

The foregoing description of the method, or configurational analysis, employed in the present paper is not meant as an unqualified recommendation of it. The analysis has obvious shortcomings and is certainly not proposed as a substitute for a fuller and more conventional treatment of acculturation whenever the necessary data are to be had. As suggested earlier, the present approach to the study of Cayuá acculturation has been largely dictated by the fact that many data essential to a more conventional, historical treatment are actually unavailable. Without these data not only can less be done in the treatment of the problem, but at many points there can only be less confidence in the conclusions suggested. It was necessary, nevertheless, to employ an analysis which could make maximum use of the kind of data available. At the same time, the analysis had to be one which would be handicapped to the minimum by the lack of full historical information of the time and circumstances under which many critical acculturational events occurred. The configurational analysis, largely omitting the chronological element and questions of the relative causal importance of factors, is the result.

In spite of shortcomings, however, the analysis has some partly self-corrective qualities which compensate for whatever risk there may be in assessing causes without complete historical data. For one thing, all known effects of acculturation are listed insofar as the culture was studied. The listing of effects or changes is reasonably certain, of course, the only source of error being inaccuracy or incompleteness of information about the aboriginal and modern cultures. All discoverable and putative major causes of acculturation are similarly listed and are fairly reliable, depending upon history, white ethnography, and so forth. This much is practically all that some studies of acculturation attempt and it is probably of some use by itself. The "cement" or relationships of cause and effect is what has further been supplied by the present analysis, via the logico-functional-historical-reconstructive considerations described. The risk in this operation, however, is again limited since in doubtful cases no attempt is made to assess the relative importance of different causes mutually related to a given effect. Thus the analysis is somewhat modest in what it attempts with modest data.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121 What does the configurational analysis accomplish and what are its limits? Given an emphasis on process, there appear to be two major problems of acculturation study. One of these has to do with the "Why?", so to speak, and the other with the "What?". The first problem is concerned with why the given causes, and only the given causes, were effective in producing change. In other words, why, of all the cultural differences, and hence potential causes of acculturation, between the donor and receptor cultures, do just the particular causes registered become effective? This appears to be a theoretical problem of the first water in the study of acculturation, but it has been largely ignored in the present monograph.

128 *177 *178

The second problem deals with what changes actually take place and the process through which they are realized. This has been the preoccupation throughout in the study of Cayuá acculturation. To this problem the configurational analysis seems fairly well adapted, and it highlights the direction of culture change. Considering present and past trends in their causation—as complete as possible—gives a fuller basis for prediction or extrapolation of known direction into the future. Present and past trends in the light of causal factors also provide a fuller understanding of the dynamic qualities of Cayuá culture. In this way can be seen the latent potentialities of the culture as revealed by their expression through time under these certain conditions. The synchronic study of a culture is, by contrast, truncated: it affords only a more limited idea of what sort of future or past is probable, and the element of control is necessarily foreshortened. Here then, if anywhere, is a vital contribution that studies of culture change, including acculturation, can make to the completer understanding of cultures in particular and culture in general. The configurational analysis represented in this monograph purports to make such a contribution if only one which is limited because of limited data.

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

•128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

.128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-Unifo), in southern Mato
62 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Pelô), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1949.

Jacaré or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestino. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
• 131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Cainguá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking
[657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and
131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on
*175 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingué proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingué," (Cayuá) in the region of Pirassununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingué." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[13] This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area. 174* 501

What neither von Koenigswald nor Sampaio seems to realise fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apapocuva-Guarani,"[14] close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their congeners to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map[15] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.[16] [131]

NUMBERS

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios* (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the *matas* or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made. 131 161

Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caioás":

> The Caioás are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the hinter-

---

[13] Sampaio, 1890, *passim*. [14] Unkel, 1914. [15] Von-Thering, 1911.

[16] More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guarani-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1928, and Costa, 1939.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of
161 Guaranya.[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

101 Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ko'ã*) and "man" or "men" (*aBã*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced."
*[171 The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in
[797 fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognised to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[30] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani." 101

Métraux,[31] and Klimek and Milke,[32] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

101 114 101 131 167 174

[30] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[31] Métraux, 1928. [32] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay. 175* 648

Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.[46] They used the indigenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indigenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a certain piece of territory *and the inhabitants thereof* to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent. 174* 175* 648

Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.[48] Whatever and wherever the

---

[46] The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guarani, and Lothrop, 1932 finds that the archeology bears this out. 174* 131* 648

[48] The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in living between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassable. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the threat of Mbayá and Spanish movements.)

[footnote continues on p. 46 bottom]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 797 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[64] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the *174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[65]

*175 648 797 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mameluces* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

---

*[174] [131] [648] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[64] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[65] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
• 131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

101 [131] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carearañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

•131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the [361] Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

101 131 175 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thuua, Kaingua, Cayuá, Montesés*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

131 175 About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

101 131 175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101
131
[175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterá, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pañ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101
131
167
175
[162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauiva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauiva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

101
131

The *Apapocuva, Tañyguá, Oguauiva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai, Paiguaçu, Yvytyiguá, Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Centro Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
•191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo*
[300] because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24°
[178] S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[241] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131.
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Calowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826* (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

[p. 3]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Económicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1892).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

/316 cont./

G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
(Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

GU 175 167 648

/321 cont./

2,000 to 3,000 Indians "who left their fatherland to go to settle in foreign territory... When these Indians arrived at a place 30 leagues from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, they settled there and called it Itatin, thus alluding to their native province. They stayed there and immediately began to sow." (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 207)

Some years later these same Itatin assassinated Nufrio de Chaves, who had come to their villages to accompany Felipe de Carceres and the Bishop of Asunción, Francisco Pedro de la Torre, who was going back to Paraguay. It is strange that these Indians killed the man who had made them change their fatherland and found a new nation between Xaray /322/ and Santa Cruz. Some say that this murder had revenge as its motive; others, the violence of Nufrio de Chaves, who addressed severe admonitions to the caciques. However that may be, the Spanish avenged the death of this conquistador by massacring guilty and innocent with their usual ferocity when a weaker people was concerned. On the return trip, Carceres and his band had to fight the Itatin of Paraguay, who harassed him and often put them in a difficult situation. (See Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 207-215; Groussac, pp. 294-314 and Gandía, 2, pp. 134-140.)

G [167] [131]

It was the Spanish then who transplanted the Itatin to Bolivia. It is not impossible that several Guarani groups were already established in the country, having come either from Paraguay or from regions occupied by the Chiriguano.

GU [131]

The recent date of the settlement of the Itatin between the San Miguel River and the Blanco River explains a passage from an Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 918) of 1589 where allusion is made to the pain of a woman who dies without avenging herself for the slap she had received from a Spaniard 20 years before in Paraguay. That takes us back more or less to the year of Nufrio de Chaves' trip to Peru, thus to 1564. If the Itatin followed the Spaniards willingly, it is because the previous migrations of the Guarani had familiarized them with these regions and made them consider such an expedition as an easy and normal thing. By accompanying the Spaniards they were imitating their neighbors and going near their relatives.

/333 cont./

E
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
• 132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *maíz* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

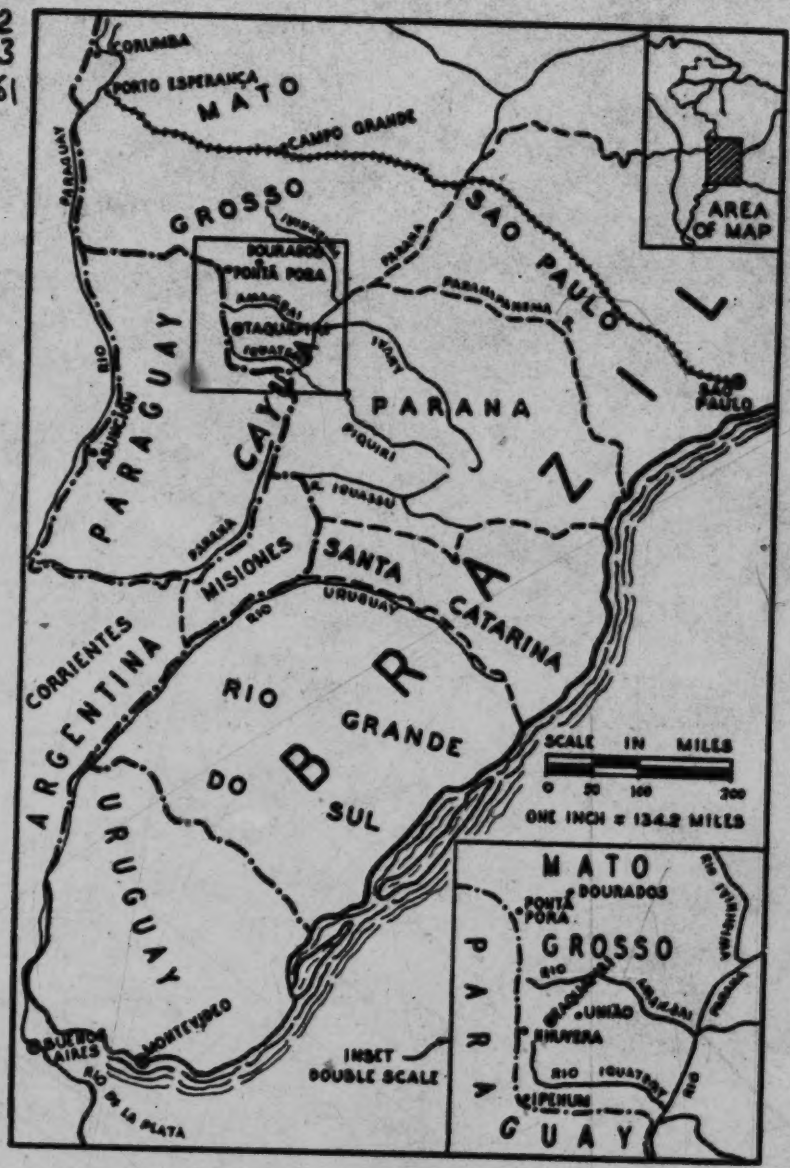
136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[103] [31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

102
133
361



MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

[P. 8]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brazil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *peroba*, *cedras*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mata* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*amambaí*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambaí, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[27] James, 1942, p. 505. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá
[417] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

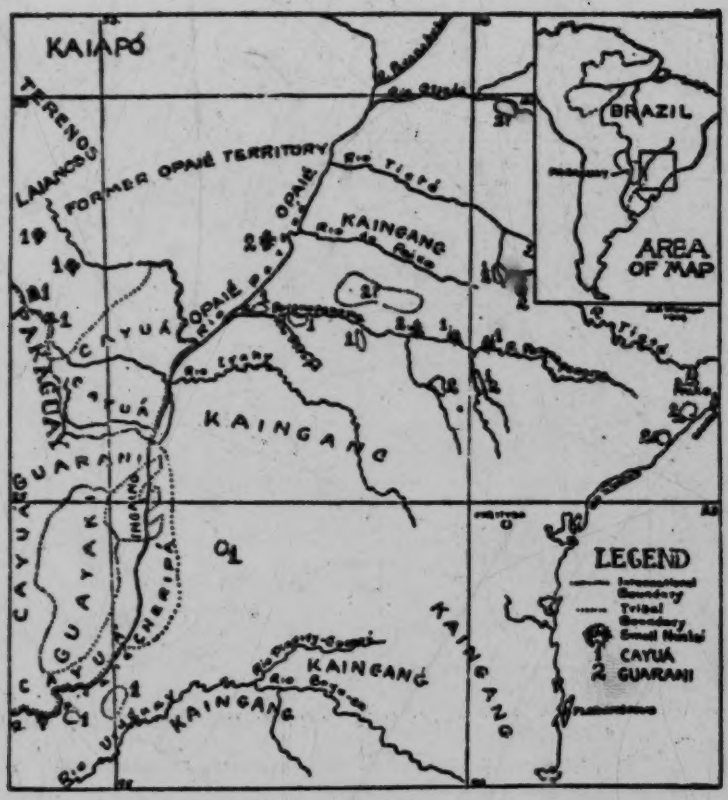
136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapé* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village
[103] studied.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

102
.133



Ethnographic map of southern Brazil—About 1911
Based on map by H. von Ihering
(See footnote 7)

[p. 4]

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brazil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *perobas*, *cedras*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mato* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*omambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 • 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[27] James, 1942, p. 505. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brasilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between 132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[50] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora [411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[51] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá [342] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with [417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain [283] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to [342] be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes [262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

• 136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[50] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[51] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village [103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

bird, no more than 6 or 8 inches long. He has a ringing cry for all the world like a sharp hammer blow on a piece of steel pipe, followed by sounds incredibly like a large file being applied to the same material.[36] The emu and a number of smaller field birds are common. Snakes, lizards, and frogs abound. Alligators are to be found along the larger water courses. Fish of large size are encountered only where the streams broaden out into rivers and are relatively scarce in much of the southern Mato Grosso Cayuá region. One should not forget to mention the insects. They include, besides a large-sized component of the mosquito and fly-like biting insects, fleas, foot-burrowers (*bicho de pé*), *carrapatos*, a clinging, bloodsucking bug, and numerous other representatives of the phylum Arthropoda, not by any means restricted to this part of Brazil. 136 •

It would not be in contrast to our knowledge of other primitive peoples to point out that the Cayuá know their physical environment in great and minute detail, its flora, its fauna, its weather, its water courses and topography. An indirect testimony of the extent of Cayuá nature lore is the enormous contribution of the Tupi-Guarani languages to the general Brazilian vocabulary, not only of place names, but also of the vulgar names of Brazilian plants and animals. The Cayuá have apparently lost little or none of their store of this knowledge since aboriginal times. 82

[36] This relatively lengthy note on the *arapongo* does not reflect his importance to the Cayuá nearly so much as the amazement of the writer.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brazil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[37] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *perobas*, *cedras*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mata* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[38] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[39] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*omambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[37] James, 1942, p. 505. [38] *Ibid.*

[39] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between 132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora [411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible [342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with [417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and [283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain [342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarusú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes [262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village [103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *araticú* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [252] [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambú* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[064] [804] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

• 142
302
291
516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/227 cont./

793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. --. They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
• 142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
• 142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

[142] [481]

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
761 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
826 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[804] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

• 142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbüá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pytã, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mula tos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva; the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I obtained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that [144] the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbüá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians them- [551] selves are conscious of this; in the Mbüá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Nĩ-ũ," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

/26 cont./

• 142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ hiatodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[789] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
[192] loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[482]
[164]

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Ñandéva
Kayová

142
302
291
463
114
←
142
853
302
291
→

I. Marçal de Souza, Ñandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

2: Schaden--55 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbüa
Ñandéva

482
415
291
142
184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbüá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--167 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

796
535
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

764

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

252
291
354
415
516

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

291
302
853

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tiquipiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbüá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pytã, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva: the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I ob- [144] tained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbüá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians them- [55] selves are conscious of this; in the Mbüá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Nã-ã," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my ob- [143] servations among mestiso children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of [173] thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbüá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pytã, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva: the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I ob- [144] tained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbüá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin [551] color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians themselves are conscious of this; in the Mbüá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Nĩ-ñ," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

/28 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. [173] But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

Guarani S14

A
136 son gradually diffusing itself through all the members. It takes away the use of the foot, arm, ear, and eye on that side which has been bitten, and presently, passing to the other, causes extreme torture, continual delirium, and acute pains, especially at the extremity of the feet and hands, which contract a cadaverous paleness from being deserted by the blood, which is rendered torpid by the coldness of the venom. All this I observed in two Guarany
G youths who were bitten by a rattle-snake. Both
[165 147] were under eighteen years of age, both were robust and of strong constitutions. The first struggled with his pains twelve days, the other fourteen, at the expiration of which period they both died, the strength of the poison baffling the virtue of the most established remedies. Whenever I heard of any person's being bitten by a rattle-snake I immediately prepared him for death, by administering the sacrament to him, before the delirium began. An Indian woman, in the flower of her age and strength, was reduced to the last extremity by the pestilential bite of one of these rattle-snakes. However, to the astonishment of all, she escaped death, but having lost the use of her limbs, dragged on a miserable existence for many years.

A
000 A letter dated Williamsburg, a town of Vir-

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is [301] [192] [554] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and [147] [482] [164] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[141] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbhá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tupí rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/29 cont./

854 In part the not very rational methods of raising the children
855 are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the oc-
165 casion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open,
[164] exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia.
[536] During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest pre-
[828] occupation with body cleanliness. A Mbiá from Xapecó told me that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat
[147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent
[146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical
[733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by
[751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pñtã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovelhã tagwã), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

2: Schaden--45 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse [286] cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing [192] gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbyá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--84 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made [171] with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause [171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

•15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[781] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[179] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Nanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152• 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 600

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese una comodidad el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

.152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

557 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

can suppose that all this is produced by chance? The waggon, as you yourself know, is overturned, unless the oxen have some one to guide them. A boat will either sink, or go out of the right course, if destitute of a pilot. Who then can be mad enough to imagine that all these beauties of the Heavens are the effect of chance, and that the revolutions and vicissitudes of the celestial bodies are regulated without the direction of an omniscient mind? Whom do you believe to be their creator and governour? What were the opinions of your ancestors on the subject?" "My father," replied Ychoalay, readily and frankly, "our grandfathers and great grandfathers were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the Heavens, and who was the creator and governour of the stars."

A 821 771

I have observed the Abipones, when they are unable to comprehend any thing at first sight, soon grow weary of examining it, and cry *orqueendm?* what is it after all? Sometimes the Guaranies, when completely puzzled, knit their brows and cry *tupâ oiquad*, God knows what it is. Since they possess such small reasoning powers, and have so little inclination to exert them, it is no wonder that they are neither able nor willing to argue one thing from another,

A G● 153●

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1780) 1822
514 Abipon
GUARANI 514

000
G
153

pectation. Of this, however, I am perfectly certain, that the Indians comprehend what they see sooner and more easily than what they hear, like the rest of mankind, who are all more readily instructed by the eyes than by the ears. If you desire a Guarany to paint or engrave any thing, place a copy before his eyes, and he will imitate it and execute his task with accuracy and elegance. If a pattern be wanting, and the Indian be left to his own devices, he will produce nothing but stupid bungling work, though you may have endeavoured to explain your wishes to him as fully as possible. Neither should you imagine that the Americans are deficient in memory. It was an old custom in the Guarany Reductions to make the chief Indian of the town, or one of the magistrates, repeat the sermon just delivered from the pulpit before the people in the street, or in the courtyard of our house; and they almost all did it with the utmost fidelity, without missing a sentence. Any piece of music which they have either sung or played on the flute, or organ, two or three times from note, becomes so infixed in their memory, that if the music paper were caried away by the wind, they would have no further occasion for it. From these things a theologian will infer that the thinking powers of the Abipones are not circumscribed by such

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

GUARANI SM4

G 802 177 lized life, and above all, in confession, the Guaranies were daily taught at church to count in the Spanish language, in the public explanation, or recitation of the catechism. On Sunday, the whole people used to count from one to a thousand, in the Spanish tongue, in the church. But it was all in vain. Generally G [153] speaking, we found the art of music, painting, and sculpture, easier learnt than numbers. They can all pronounce the numbers in Spanish, but are so easily and frequently confused in counting, that you must be very cautious how you credit what they say in this matter.

A *192 *193 For the conjugation of verbs, no paradigm can be given; as the singular number of the present tense of the indicative mood differs in almost all words, and is more difficult to learn than the augments of the Greek verbs. The second person particularly takes new letters, not only in the beginning, but also in the middle, and the end, as will appear from the examples which I shall lay before you.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I love	Rikapit	*We love*	Grkapitàk
Thou lovest	Grkàpichi	*Ye love*	Grkápichil
He loves	Nkàpit	*They love*	Nkapitò
I know	Riáralge	Graáralgò	Yaralge
I remember	Hakalcènt	Hakalcènchi	Yakalcènt

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piêta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
• [154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
• 177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--77 E-4,5 (1946-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 157 [858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. [855] Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

[524]

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé
524 177 155 fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child
[156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 157 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In
[828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/61 cont./

177 178 433 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 177 178 433 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 178 181 433 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

2: Schaden--74 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/63 cont./

128 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance ooo to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Ràriri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 177 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 157 [828] The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament: as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[179] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4 Kayova

/97 cont./

881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
[624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest
[596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au-
[623] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at
[648]

623 /100 cont./
128
114
624
courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and con-
756 firmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
• 156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Nandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/101 cont./

624 In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain
•156 prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic,
[577] have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvixá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking
756 the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-
555 sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The
648 institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was
177 imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
• 156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
• 156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] vvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy •156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a perahŭi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piéta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
• 156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--230 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[135] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
594 to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
596 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
621 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
182 (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
156 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ness such as might exist if *changa* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *changa* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *changa* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *changa* "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result. 177* 182 156

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *changa*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *changa*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods. 177* 182 43 181

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *changa* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *puhirão*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbbá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbbá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- ñúdo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2t Schaden--77 E-4,5 (1948-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit
157 of independence. To the extent that his physical development
[858] and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical
[855] means. Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is
[857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

2: Schaden--79 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 197 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative 157 process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In [828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament: as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

2: Schaden--80 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[171] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot: I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

Zt Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15 [861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[177] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Nanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani Sh4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Ñanderú Bastão used to tell me unhappily:
•157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--164 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/127 cont./

753 Among the South American Indians the most common
754 opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individ-
171 uals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This
753 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however,
754 it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or
753 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in
571 a short space of time can cause important social consequences,
578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of
[182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves
[177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní
• 157 society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

2: Schaden--165 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/128 cont./

754 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily
157 preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are
771 looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not
[171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc.
754 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.
754 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously --
756 tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon
[115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die
761 only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be
[624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

• 158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
179 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

842
• 159
787

Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the Ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahẽi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
• 159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
756 of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
183 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takurú pỹtĩva ñesyrũ: in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú pỹtĩva rysýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerõnimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
• 159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
[199] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
[155] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

2: Schaden--172 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
•159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo --I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínia, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestiço children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children prostrate themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbyá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[182] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the
• 159 "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/140 cont./

771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
772 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
778 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[159] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
777 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[441] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
• 159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Banamal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahéi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piéta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators:
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
• 159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--191 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

/146 cont./

[771] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words: they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.: I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs: they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[553] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[787] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles
[851] the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
• 159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
179 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation
is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds
in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct
phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are
accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/330 cont./

E 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

E Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

E 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato
621 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[146] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Ferô), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

• 161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Cainguá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking
[657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and
131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on
*175 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingué proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingué," (Cayuá) in the region of Pirassununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingué." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[13] This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area. 174* 501

What neither von Koenigswald nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apapocuva-Guarani,"[14] close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their congeners to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map[15] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.[16] [131]

NUMBERS

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios* (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the *matas* or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made. 131 161 •

Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caioás":

The Caioás are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the hinter-

---

[13] Sampaio, 1890, *passim*. [14] Unkel, 1914. [15] Von Ihering, 1911.

[16] More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guarani-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1928, and Costa, 1939.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of
• 161 Guaranya.[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

101 Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ka'á*) and "man" or "men" (*aBá*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced." *[177] The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in [797] fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

---

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

121 *177 *178 A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brasil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier significant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

[167] [161] [168]

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of Unifo and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
[628] counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

•161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

175
648
797

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaró*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Limites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased. [161]

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Económicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1850. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

• 161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161]• [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [77]

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G /19 cont./
C
101
175

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G
175
[261]
[649]
[162]

C
161
[361]

G
Ki
M
161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]
G
[177]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a [361] large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./

175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

[115] [114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbïá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbïá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis- [166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en- [768] tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [564] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Ratiri, in the Serra dos Ratins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the flanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Ratins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[935] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[933] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[84] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
[177] Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
[114] achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[162] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[177] post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tõldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecõzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians 621 [162] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the [168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perô), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1948.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in [361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in 131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil 648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
• [162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has
been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might
happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which
in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be trans-
formed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion,
the primitive aspiration, agnydjé, which includes the desire to
escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the
contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon
as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then,
it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phe-
nomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized
in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former
times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the
honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of ex-
cessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the
body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen
were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known,
yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the
sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to
enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-
Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the
southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal
Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for
the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December
of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not
know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter
worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the
seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who
lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
•162

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G
175 I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
167 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
484 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
[162] of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G
114 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
175 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
167 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
484 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
174 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the
C G Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the
175 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
167 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
648 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
484 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101
131
[175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbwiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterĕ, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pañ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101
131
167
175
[162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

101
131

The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauíva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaire Falls.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ce
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

3:Oliveira--13 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G 464 [463]
G [172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G 464 648 [101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G 114 177

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162
G begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

• 163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, "/29/ created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

own eyes were he to see men, almost a hundred years old, leap on to a fiery horse, without the aid of a stirrup, like a boy of twelve years old, sit it for hours, and even whole days, beneath a burning sun, climb trees for honey, travel or lie upon the ground in cold or rainy weather, contend with the enemy in battle, shrink from no toils of the army or the chase, evince wonderful acuteness both of sight and hearing, preserve all their teeth quite sound, and seem only to be distinguished by the number of their years from men in the prime of life. All these things will hardly be credited in Europe where they are so rare. In the colonies of the Abipones I daily beheld old men, like youths in every other respect but that of age, without surprize. If a man dies at eighty he is lamented as if cut off in the flower of his age. Women generally live longer than men, because they are not killed in war, and because the moistness of their nature renders them more long lived. You find so many old women a hundred years of age, amongst the Abipones, that you may wonder at, but will scarce be able to count them. I cannot say that the pedestrian nations of Paraguay enjoy equal strength and longevity. The Guaranies, Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, and other pedestrian Indians, are subject to diseases like the Europeans, and

145 887 165 Gu 165 [164]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
314 Abipon
GUARANI 5174

165 both feel old age, and discover it by their habit
[164] of body. Their lives, like those of Europeans, are sometimes short, sometimes long. You find very few men a hundred years old, or even approaching to that age amongst them. It is worth while to investigate the causes of this exceeding vigour of the Abipones,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

GUARANI S14

A 164 disease during the two last centuries, defy all
G calculation. In the thirty Guarany towns some
[165] thirty thousand persons died of the small-pox
in the year 1734.

000 It is not true that the Spaniards and other Europeans in America are exempted from small-pox; but it cannot be doubted that the Indians take it sooner, and more frequently die of it. I am of opinion that their habit of body has less strength to repel or overcome that poison. They generally eat half-raw and unsalted meat; they always go with their heads and feet bare; they drink nothing but water, and that not of the best kind, except at a few festive drinking parties in the course of the year; all which tend to weaken the stomach. The heat of the sun, and the constant use of maize, cause a ferment in their blood which, on the accession of small-pox, very frequently proves fatal. This must be understood of the pedestrian Indians only, for the Abipones, and other equestrian Indians, who do not labour under those
A 164 miseries to which the pedestrians are subject, generally have the small-pox in a milder form.

G In the year 1765 this plague carried off great
A numbers in the Spanish colonies. Having swept
731 away about twelve thousand persons in the thirty
165 Guarany towns, it spread to the distant hordes
164 of the savages scattered throughout Chaco, and

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

though almost all took the infection, yet few died in proportion to the number of the sick. I speak of the equestrians, who were saved by the strength of their constitutions. In the town which I founded for the Abipones, one woman only escaped the contagion, yet out of the many hundreds that took the disease, twenty alone fell victims to it.

Often no mention is made of the small-pox for many years amongst the Indians; but this calm is the sure forerunner of an approaching storm. We have always found the small pox break out first in the colonies of the Spaniards, and spread from thence to the farthest hordes of the Indians; who, having learnt from the experience of their ancestors, to dread this disease as their death, separate from their hordesmen as soon as ever they have the least suspicion of its approach, and fly, some one way, some another, in precipitate haste. Upon this occasion they travel not in a straight line, but by various meanders and windings. That this method is superstitiously observed by the Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, Homoampas, and Chunipies, I was told by Fathers who had resided long amongst them. Through fear of the contagion, fathers desert their sick sons, and sons their fathers. They leave a pitcher of water, and some roasted maize at the sick

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SM4 Abipon SM4
GUARANI SM4

sons of a cheerful disposition, fair complexion, 164
and less advanced period of life, underwent little trouble and danger from this disease. The burning of the throat, occasioned by the small-pox breaking out there, together with the cough and sort of quinsy it produces, are highly dangerous, and frequently fatal to the Indians. Water, mixed with sugar and citron- 600
juice, is very refreshing to persons afflicted in this manner; a decoction of plantane leaves is also of use to rinse the throat, and sometimes for the purpose of washing the eyes. The old physicians advised persons in the small-pox to stay within doors, and keep themselves well covered, lest the spots which are ready to come out should be repressed to the inward parts. The Abipones, on the contrary, 758
after taking the small-pox, passed days and nights in the open air, or in huts half closed, and admitting the air on every side. Whilst flying to the recesses of the woods they received the cold air into their whole bodies: might not this be the reason why, out of so great a number of sick persons, so very few died of the small-pox? For I have since learnt A G 758
that modern physicians think the open air wholesomer for persons in the small-pox than the heat of a room; therefore I now no longer wonder at this disease proving fatal to so many

2: Schaden--19 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at
[114] Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[36] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--28 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my [143] observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. [173] But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Jariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/2[illegible] [illegible]./

304 184 tor [illegible] meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ũ djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tupã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

2: Schaden--32 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

own eyes were he to see men, almost a hundred years old, leap on to a fiery horse, without the aid of a stirrup, like a boy of twelve years old, sit it for hours, and even whole days, beneath a burning sun, climb trees for honey, travel or lie upon the ground in cold or rainy weather, contend with the enemy in battle, shrink from no toils of the army or the chase, evince wonderful acuteness both of sight and hearing, preserve all their teeth quite sound, and seem only to be distinguished by the number of their years from men in the prime of life. All these things will hardly be credited in Europe where they are so rare. In the colonies of the Abipones I daily beheld old men, like youths in every other respect but that of age, without surprize. If a man dies at eighty he is lamented as if cut off in the flower of his age. Women generally live longer than men, because they are not killed in war, and because the moistness of their nature renders them more long lived. You find so many old women a hundred years of age, amongst the Abipones, that you may wonder at, but will scarce be able to count them. I cannot say that the pedestrian nations of Paraguay enjoy equal strength and longevity. The Guaranies, Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, and other pedestrian Indians, are subject to diseases like the Europeans, and

145
887
165
Gu
165
[164]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon
GUARANI 5174

165 [164] both feel old age, and discover it by their habit of body. Their lives, like those of Europeans, are sometimes short, sometimes long. You find very few men a hundred years old, or even approaching to that age amongst them. It is worth while to investigate the causes of this exceeding vigour of the Abipones,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI SM4

A 164 disease during the two last centuries, defy all
G calculation. In the thirty Guarany towns some
[165] thirty thousand persons died of the small-pox
in the year 1734.

ooo It is not true that the Spaniards and other Europeans in America are exempted from small-pox; but it cannot be doubted that the Indians take it sooner, and more frequently die of it. I am of opinion that their habit of body has less strength to repel or overcome that poison. They generally eat half-raw and unsalted meat; they always go with their heads and feet bare; they drink nothing but water, and that not of the best kind, except at a few festive drinking parties in the course of the year; all which tend to weaken the stomach. The heat of the sun, and the constant use of maize, cause a ferment in their blood which, on the accession of small-pox, very frequently proves fatal. This must be understood of the pedestrian Indians only, for the Abipones, and other equestrian Indians, who do not labour under those
A 164 miseries to which the pedestrians are subject, generally have the small-pox in a milder form.

G In the year 1765 this plague carried off great
A numbers in the Spanish colonies. Having swept
731 away about twelve thousand persons in the thirty
165 Guarany towns, it spread to the distant hordes
164 of the savages scattered throughout Chaco, and

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

though almost all took the infection, yet few died in proportion to the number of the sick. I speak of the equestrians, who were saved by the strength of their constitutions. In the town which I founded for the Abipones, one woman only escaped the contagion, yet out of the many hundreds that took the disease, twenty alone fell victims to it.

Often no mention is made of the small-pox for many years amongst the Indians; but this calm is the sure forerunner of an approaching storm. We have always found the small pox break out first in the colonies of the Spaniards, and spread from thence to the farthest hordes of the Indians; who, having learnt from the experience of their ancestors, to dread this disease as their death, separate from their hordesmen as soon as ever they have the least suspicion of its approach, and fly, some one way, some another, in precipitate haste. Upon this occasion they travel not in a straight line, but by various meanders and windings. That this method is superstitiously observed by the Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, Homoampas, and Chunipies, I was told by Fathers who had resided long amongst them. Through fear of the contagion, fathers desert their sick sons, and sons their fathers. They leave a pitcher of water, and some roasted maize at the sick

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

Guarani S14

A
*36 son gradually diffusing itself through all the members. It takes away the use of the foot, arm, ear, and eye on that side which has been bitten, and presently, passing to the other, causes extreme torture, continual delirium, and acute pains, especially at the extremity of the feet and hands, which contract a cadaverous paleness from being deserted by the blood, which is rendered torpid by the coldness of the venom. All this I observed in two Guarany youths who were bitten by a rattle-snake. Both were under eighteen years of age, both were robust and of strong constitutions. The first struggled with his pains twelve days, the other fourteen, at the expiration of which period they both died, the strength of the poison baffling the virtue of the most established remedies. Whenever I heard of any person's being bitten by a rattle-snake I immediately prepared him for death, by administering the sacrament to him, before the delirium began. An Indian woman, in the flower of her age and strength, was reduced to the last extremity by the pestilential bite of one of these rattle-snakes. However, to the astonishment of all, she escaped death, but having lost the use of her limbs, dragged on a miserable existence for many years.

G
[165
147]

A
000 A letter dated Williamsburg, a town of Vir-

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
• [165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [535] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties: see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[170] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambaí. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[197] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[177] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brasilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
596 or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
• 167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teñi (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokíva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá ((Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapüté.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
• 167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

101 /12 cont./
• 167
[114]

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in
114 the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it
186 will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá í (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom we call Üütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

101 hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he
186 even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the
[756] body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With
[648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented
[101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally
[825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times.
175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west,
• 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last
[773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the
[787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a
[361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./

175 In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or al-
361 most totally, dispersed (15).
[162]

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./
[115] One of my principal informants comes from
there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do
[114] Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of
twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there
is a note by me among those that accompany
"Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt
Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

175 The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some
167 families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and
[361] Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change be-
cause of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste
/Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to
help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The
episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accom-
[361] panying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later
settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is
found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory con-
[361] tiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

/13 cont./

• 167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
• 167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poĩpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 167 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components [829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
• 167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[789] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
179 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/167 cont./

772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóú oky ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance: one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying; but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief--prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro
771 Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of
• 167 the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous
173 generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý
772 would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morn-
771 ing they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,
173

/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167] Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114] With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184] It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjê, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184 /170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.

771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [176] Ketxuũta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuũta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many • 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at [184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderü does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

2: Schaden--224 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[1756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Cainguá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking
[657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and
131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
* 167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on
*175 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingué" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingué proper were a Guaicuruan tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingué," (Cayuá) in the region of Pirassununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupí-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingué." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

and ancient Guayra,[20] that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayuá." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayuá" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayuá" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani." 101

Métraux,[21] and Klimek and Milke,[22] who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayuá groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayuá and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayuá will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest. 101 114 101 131 167 174

[20] The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

[21] Métraux, 1928. [22] Klimek and Milke, 1935.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

174* 175* 756 786 [197] [167]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[94] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[95]

175+ 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

174+ 175+ 167 648 668

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[96] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[97] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[95] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapirí, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[96] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [97] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

167 they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of
175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
174 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
648 in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic
668 movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *município* of Piracununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911. [102] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[183]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[184]

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[183] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [184] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12–13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

121 *177 *178 A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brazil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier significant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

[167] [161] [168]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140.

[113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

/300 cont:/

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and xîmeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126] [412] [177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

177
181
169

there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169
177
799

/304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174
169

Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721]

Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

Tupinamba S09
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta /305 cont./
175 left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course
167 of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last
G in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one
175 which led the Apapokúva-Guarani /Apapocuva/ from the frontier
167 of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

Ti
175 The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had
167 about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the seacoast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti
[174] If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil.
Ta Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one
174 justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru
175 after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to
167 enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one
773 explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without afflication." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

G 173 173 175 GU [176] [173] /308 cont./
Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 173 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 721 [177]

/309/

174 167 721

Contingents from several neighboring villages combined, probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass . . . " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish con-

484 175 648 quest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity . . . they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

G /311 cont./
175
484
648
[262]
G
[271]

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G
[721]

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G
175
167
721
C
167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G
175 I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
169 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
484 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
[162] of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G
114 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
175 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
169 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
484 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
174 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the

C G Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the
175 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
169 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
648 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
484 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

G /314 cont./
175
167 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

G Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the pre-
175 ceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the
167 Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to
721 attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them
726 by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the
I authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the
726 frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the
G Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani
[727] withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

I Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place
[712] during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

G The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the
175 same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).
721
726
I
726
701
G
[291]
[266]

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

C
G
175
721
726
I
[726]
[701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C
E
114
175
721
726

I
[712]

C
G
114
175
167

E
175
167
721
726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce
[648]
[567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
G
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 129 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./
G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
169 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
C (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
C the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
G 175 added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
167 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
[172] whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He
answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much
water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs,
lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
C asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
G [172] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the
villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques,
/320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small
vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they
were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some
silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them
when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them.
Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it
said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this
silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war
upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had
carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
E 175 character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
648 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
[167] 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to
this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken
the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose
of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians.
The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding
on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law,
burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of
C 14 trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
137 of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
175

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II,
C p. 281) gives us of the large house of the
175 Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very
342

Guarayu SF!!
Guarani SM4

Gu 175 167 648

/321 cont./

2,000 to 3,000 Indians "who left their fatherland to go to settle in foreign territory... When these Indians arrived at a place 30 leagues from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, they settled there and called it Itatin, thus alluding to their native province. They stayed there and immediately began to sow." (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 207)

Some years later these same Itatin assassinated Nufrio de Chaves, who had come to their villages to accompany Felipe de Carceres and the Bishop of Asunción, Francisco Pedro de la Torre, who was going back to Paraguay. It is strange that these Indians killed the man who had made them change their fatherland and found a new nation between Xaray /322/ and Santa Cruz. Some say that this murder had revenge as its motive; others, the violence of Nufrio de Chaves, who addressed severe admonitions to the caciques. However that may be, the Spanish avenged the death of this conquistador by massacring guilty and innocent with their usual ferocity when a weaker people was concerned. On the return trip, Carceres and his band had to fight the Itatin of Paraguay, who harassed him and often put them in a difficult situation. (See Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 207-215; Groussac, pp. 294-314 and Gandía, 2, pp. 134-140.)

G [167] [131]

It was the Spanish then who transplanted the Itatin to Bolivia. It is not impossible that several Guarani groups were already established in the country, having come either from Paraguay or from regions occupied by the Chiriguano.

Gu [131]

The recent date of the settlement of the Itatin between the San Miguel River and the Blanco River explains a passage from an Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 918) of 1589 where allusion is made to the pain of a woman who dies without avenging herself for the slap she had received from a Spaniard 20 years before in Paraguay. That takes us back more or less to the year of Nufrio de Chaves' trip to Peru, thus to 1564. If the Itatin followed the Spaniards willingly, it is because the previous migrations of the Guarani had familiarized them with these regions and made them consider such an expedition as an easy and normal thing. By accompanying the Spaniards they were imitating their neighbors and going near their relatives.

G4 175 642 /322 cont./

Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

G 175 648 167 In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

Ce [101] In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapîi, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

Ce 101 241 323 199 The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

A 181 174 The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

A [114]

1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

A 181 172

C
Ce
175
648
[797]

/325 cont./

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C
175
72
167
Ce
175
648
C
[266]
Ce
[113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C
G
175
72
567
Ce
175
648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406). 101 131 [175]

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterè, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Pañ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912. 101 131 167 175 [162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast. [162]

The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State. 101 131

The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauíva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 [756] [792] [177]

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
● 167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

/5 cont./

M4 M5 167 645 It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113] 7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de limites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

M4
175
167
648

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

/6 cont./

174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
645 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
c after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
645
175
[567]
[727]

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

VI. SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

WAS CAYUÁ ACCULTURATION GRADUAL AND PACIFIC?

121 *177 *178 A SUMMARY of the acculturation of the Cayuá of Brasil could scarcely fail to point out that these people have not been completely displaced territorially, although they have been located on rather small reservations; nor have they been uprooted culturally, though their sociocultural character has undergone considerable change over several centuries. The local groups of the tribe still live a way of life which presents a picture both of organization and of notable continuity with the aboriginal past. Unfortunately, however, no close comparison of the degree of organization of the modern culture and the aboriginal Cayuá can be made. Such a comparison would justify us in concluding more about the overall effect of acculturation. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Cayuá local groups have not been broken but in fact demonstrate much cohesion.

The Cayuá have not been obliged to turn to some alien economy for their mainstay but for the most part only to modify the relationship among different components of the aboriginal economy. Providentially this was possible with a minimum of stress through adopting white technological traits, principally several metal cutting tools of great agricultural utility. Other than that shift, which was one of degree rather than of kind, the major economic novelty has been agricultural and extractive wage-work for the settler. Even this, however, is limited in its effect. The full list of acculturational changes of the Cayuá is longer, as anyone who has followed the discussion this far will recognize, but those just mentioned include most of the factors of the primary list in the analysis.

Yet it would be easy to be wrong, in casting up an idea of the whole of Cayuá acculturation, if one were to conclude from the present cultural adjustment that the course of change in the past was unmarked by stormier times. The possibility of error is greater the less detail there is of the history of Cayuá contact with whites, and this sort of knowledge is distinctly limited. There are only one or two hints, which unavoidably remain unelaborated, of earlier sig-
[167] nificant acculturational difficulties. One is the fact that Cayuá migrations of a messianic order took place in the early middle 19th century (see pp. 51–54), and these migrations likely were connected with disturbing influences of white
[161] contact. The other hint is less certain and one for which no confirmation was found, that the birth rate of at least some groups of Cayuá was dropping dangerously at one time. Allegedly this went on until it reached such a point that the people themselves became concerned, whereupon they took deliberate
• [168] steps to correct the situation. According to a local white woman, these steps included public exhortation of the women against the use of contraceptives

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

121
177*
178*
[168]

and abortives, apparently with favorable results. This story may be without any foundation whatsoever—and probably is not literally true at best. But it is just possible that conditions existed at one time in Cayuá history which gave rise to such a truncated and apocryphal tale. It is our very uncertainty in this respect that urges the present caution against predicating much about earlier difficulties and disorganization in the history of Cayuá acculturation. Thus, though the modern Cayuá of Brazil appear to have emerged from their past with a relatively good adjustment of means and ends, this alone does not preclude the chance that the process was at other times more painful.

The primary factors of change mentioned above indeed do not seem sweeping or radical, and the present organization of the Cayuá suggests a tranquil acculturational adjustment; but a confrontation of secondary changes, nonetheless, makes the suggestion of earlier periods of stress appear at least a possibility. The scope of these changes is unmistakable. The secondary effects can be summarized for consideration here without tiresome repetition by considering them from the angle of the changing Cayuá concept of goods. This approach, in fact, might have been adopted before as a means of bringing out important changes and relationships, but it is characteristic of much of present social science analysis that what has been accomplished in one particular manner may equally well be achieved by another. Apparently, there is often no necessary or "natural" mode of treatment or point of departure: any one of a number will serve. In any case, the changing Cayuá concept of goods and its ramifications provides a sufficient key to how far the culture as a whole has changed from the aboriginal and a key for understanding the change.

The first question is: What at present constitute "goods" for the Cayuá? What items does this category include? Here, of course, we find numerous changes, both additions, such as trade goods, and displacements, such as certain types of aboriginal manufactures. If we also consider frequency of use, occurrence, and general significance of goods, more differences between aboriginal and modern goods are seen. Many old items which would still have to be listed as goods, since they are still recognized, are of such rare occurrence and small use as to be radically in contrast with the conditions of the past. Pottery or certain hunting products illustrate this. On the other hand, a number of innovations are of first rate importance, such as metal tools. The point could be elaborated further, each succeeding elaboration only serving to emphasize greater differences.

The second question: What is done to produce or obtain the various goods at present recognized? again reveals certain contrasts of degree and kind with the past. Wage-work, money purchase, and barter are all either relatively or absolutely different from the past as means of obtaining goods. Obviously certain technological operations are also different, even in the more traditional lines of activity, such as agriculture. Far-reaching differences are implied in

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thui, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[634] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[177] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytĩ or puitĩ of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (oreyá raguí), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

2: Schaden--45 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean region. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but [286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of [192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbbá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
771
796

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
22 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
22 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
184 calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
22 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 396 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is [171] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahã djarú ñandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 ñandé avatí ñahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá ñandé avatí djýguẽ); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahẽi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
771 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
562 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
[171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parĩ kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parĩ kãtĩ is added mandió pỹ, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. [192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads fomeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /Prom p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[71] [192] But the white flour, parĩ vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuĩ morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/56 cont./

436 From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní
829 have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta; pirápirẽ,
177 paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú,
[192] big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign
436 to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no
829 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture
177 corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once
454 told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txirigüno /Chiriguano/,
423 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs
171 /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

2: Schaden--66 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/57 cont./

423 Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for
[171] all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization
178 of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-
177 cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some
476 among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable
829 to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,
476 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already
171 revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõomoõõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9), also know or knew institutions of this type.

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/72 cont./

829 87 177 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in order that their son could keep company with the scholastic group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children [171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 [596] The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an 15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/75 cont./

582 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal
•171 uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5),

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage: the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim,
582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among
121 the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece
582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
• [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. [171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- [114] it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," [196] but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá used for the mother, [827] and only the Mbiá consider her (odjéko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, [115] remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; [184] the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, [189] precautions of the couvade type are required, [114] that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

[171] [352]

2: Schaden--112 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[ML] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
•[171] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

2: Schaden--129 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
• [171] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
[184] Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbiá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts [62] with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121 According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [171] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

/111 cont./

774 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poydjú from Araríba, nowadays many Ñandéva already [174] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old [833] belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý." [774] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the 842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream, 787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When [174] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is [176] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of 842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure 846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi- 611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 171 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

842
159
787

Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avíkaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

2: Schaden--140 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [796] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 • 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--141 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775
774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poydjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the Ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the Ñanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a *region of the firmament*, the yrukúýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétã: it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
• [171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
756
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbiá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the porãí (name of the prayer in the Mbiá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[776] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--164 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in 571 a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. 764 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp. 754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery: in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned,
[114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, but of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguêry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mbogué, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mbogué would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrojá confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] [171] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 178 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to the what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [782]

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã ey, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[773]

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. [184] In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Ikariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvytá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. [533] The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

534 723 796 177 534 171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and [171]

/153 cont./

534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 [322] [824] The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] [787] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
177 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
987 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength: the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [176]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it: nobody sees it,

2: Schaden--204 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjý, tũpã ray; djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

[172] [128]

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171]

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

2: Schaden--205 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Prestillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

/161 cont./

171
172

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

[177]
[197]

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

[668]
[171]

171
172
181

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

2: Schaden--209 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773
171
114

The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txirigwãno /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybẽ will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

773
171

In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyoí, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

INTRODUCTION

101

THE Cayuá are a little known forest people of Tupí-Guarani stock. They have lived on the fringes of European settlement in the New World for some three hundred and fifty years but, as far as we know, they were not extensively influenced by European culture during most of this time. The Spanish and Portuguese never came in sufficient numbers, or often enough, or close enough seriously to disturb the Cayuá culturally or geographically. At times, however, they came close enough to the Cayuá as to leave no doubt about the fact of white presence, and they did extensively affect other Guarani-speakers, neighbors of the Cayuá. We therefore have the case of a people "introduced" to European ideas gradually over a long period of time and without shock, having only a limited acquaintance with the invading culture for two or three centuries before direct or intensive impingement. The last fifty years almost certainly comprise the period of more intensive contact. (Undoubtedly such cases as the Cayuá will become more frequent in the literature as certain remote tribes are studied.) We should expect the result to be a much more satisfactory adjustment, with less internal cultural conflict for the Cayuá, when finally they faced the direct and unabating influences of the alien culture.

177*

Early cultural influences from the whites were in a very real sense mediated or even "filtered" for the Cayuá through the cultures of other, missionized or peonized, aborigines who were in direct contact. The filtering effect of this cultural mediation was, moreover, increased because the intervening groups were apparently of much the same culture as Cayuá. The results of the adoption of a given trait, or the reaction to a new condition, would therefore tend to be substantially alike in both Cayuá and intervening groups. The Cayuá might in this manner receive alien influences already reworked, or partially so, into forms, uses, meanings, and functions immediately more harmonious to their culture. An analogy can be made with the position of Europeans who arrive in a colony where others before them have worked out many of the problems of life under colonial conditions. As a result of such filtering and because of their indirect contact with whites, the Cayuá might tend to adopt only the more viable of alien traits; they would in any case have a long and relatively unhurried period for adjusting to whatever new elements were presented.

Something of the same type of acculturational result as suggested for the Cayuá is also indicated by Nordenskiöld for the Ashluslay of the Chaco:

[171]

> The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

171 Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.[1]

There is an interesting question as to what might be the long-run differences between tribes of the same or near-identical culture, when one has been rapidly acculturated and the other more slowly and less intensively. An hypothetically ideal situation would be one in which all factors, except the rapidity and intensity of exposure, were equal—the same culture in the two aboriginal groups, the same alien cultural influences playing upon them in the same way, and the same ultimate amount of influence. Even in such a situation, however, there probably would still be some final acculturational differences between the two groups. Though such a situation is ideal, this problem is not entirely hypothetical. The Cayuá (at least those of Brazil) are now subject to intense influences, comparable to those experienced by the Guarani to the south in the early contact period; on the other hand, the modern survivors of the more southerly Guarani peoples apparently are now less intensively subject to white influences than their northern cousins. If we were to find significant differences in the amount and quality of acculturation in these two groups, it would suggest that rate of acculturation—all other things equal—was partly responsible.

Cayuá culture itself is negligibly reported in the literature of ethnography to date. Although this study refers directly to a single Cayuá village, some of its implications would hold for other Cayuá groups and possibly for closely related groups of Tupi-Guarani. Despite the fact that in the 16th and 17th centuries certain Tupi-Guarani tribes were probably among the best and most extensively reported native peoples in the New World—particularly the Coastal tribes of Brazil—relatively little has since been done with living Tupi-Guarani peoples. We have little idea of aboriginal variations among these related tribes, or of the changes resulting from their contact with European culture. Many hints remain unelaborated and many questions still unsolved, even for the rather well known tribes of early European contact. Since the Coastal Tupi are no more, we can only turn to present surviving Tupi-Guarani peoples for some of our answers.

It is necessary to give some indication of the kind and amount of data available for this study before describing the way in which the material was used. (The specific sources are indicated later on, when references are first made to them.) Pertaining directly to the Cayuá, past or present, only the meagerest of literature exists, as far as the writer was able to ascertain. No single definitive monograph is known for any period of their culture history, only a few short articles, some so general as to be of little use. References to the Cayuá in the earliest chronicles of the discovery and exploration of eastern South America are infrequent. The reason is apparent since the Cayuá

[1] Cited in *Handbook of South American Indians*, 1946, 1: 212.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sevabud*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokué* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the *Jesuits* and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of c[illegible]lture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *coitetu* (sometimes *toitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *coitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

*174 224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

*174 222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aratica* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [252] [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at [273] the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocó* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[33]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[34] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[35] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[36]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[37] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[33] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [34] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[36] *Ibid.* [37] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*194 301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[66] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which 297 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[67]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple [462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *194 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[68]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large 227 animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *194 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[69] but no other *194 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[69] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or *[178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *saraúá*, was the [171] primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their 881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[66] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [67] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [439] [68] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[69] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [70] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

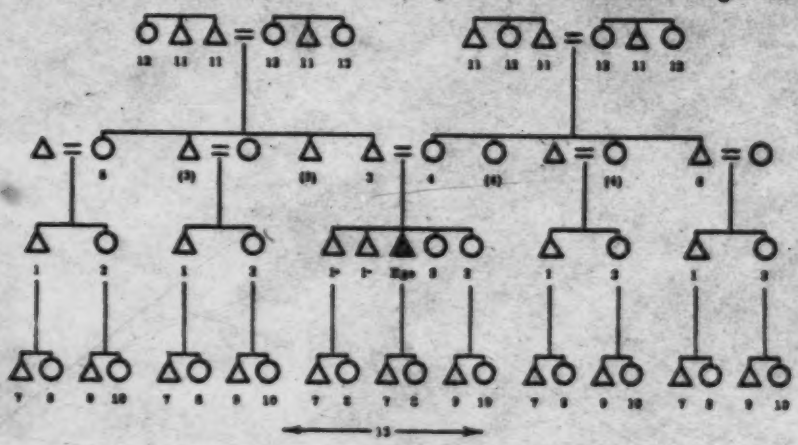
3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174*
582

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations

175*
582
583
171

601



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

175*
171
582
591

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupí-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Iari'ý*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapái* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776 [171] [771]

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 *774 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá [764] (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. • [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[76] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the 346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from *175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[76] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

175* 778 [346]

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapéi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

174* 171 534 755 756 778 [353] [562] 174*

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

174* 171 773 174* 177* 776 824 796

SHAMANISM

174* 756

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambignous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied
[562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great
[622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could
[628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[88] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel.
[797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the
[786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was
[171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups
[276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true
[824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been
[755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[88] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[117] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milrèis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brasilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[117] Gras, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[143] The *puʒirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puʒirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[144]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puʒirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[145] Some individuals say that *puʒirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puʒirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãwĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãwĩ'* that keeps the *puʒirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puʒirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puʒirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãwĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[146] Nor is the large-scale *puʒirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puʒirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puʒirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puʒirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[171] [143] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[19] [144] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puʒirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[145] It is true, of course, that the *puʒirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[273] [433] [146] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãwĩ'*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãwĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãwĩ'*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brasil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[116]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[116] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[100]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[101] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

---

[583] [100] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal
[171] Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[101] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapái*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapái*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapái* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapái*, they have certainly not made *tapái* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupí-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapái* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[175] 177* 182 575

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[176] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[177] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

---

[175] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[176] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[177] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

• 171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
•171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
•[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Cainguá*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solis expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be
[433] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[262] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[71] fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method
[821] in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-
[412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
[752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium*
[824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'*
[411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
[262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] •[171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

[413]

352 [178] [532] [353] [239] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

231 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
•[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paã'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[172] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [170] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

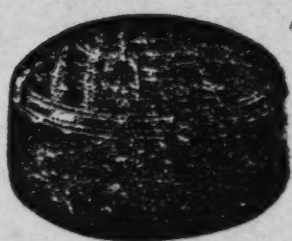
172
415

a

b

c

172
415
•171



d

e

PLATE 12.—**Guaraní and other pottery from Paraguay.** *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guana* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located
C east of the Andes."
A 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
415 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
171 valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[1] is almost the same as that of the
C [126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[1] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Cainguá*.

101 [131] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172●

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

172 Funeral urns, which originally were chicha jars, are of two main types: (1) those decorated on the upper part with rows of corrugated impressions or markings produced either with the fingers or with a stick, and (2) painted ones.

The urns of the first category usually have a conical shape with a bulging upper part and a low outflaring or direct rim (pl. 11, *bottom, left*). Those of the second type are usually biconical with a flat or rounded bottom and a direct rim which often presents a median ridge (pl. 12, *a*). The height of the urns normally varies between 40 to 70 cm. (16 to 28 in.) and their diameter between 46 to 76 cm. (19 to 30 in.). A few specimens are one meter (3 ft.) high.

Smaller vessels are (1) undecorated, (2) covered on their entire outer surface by fingernail marks (pl. 11), (3) painted (pl. 12), and (4) painted on the inside and decorated with fingernail marks or corrugated impressions on the outside.

Several nail-incised vessels were found by Ambrosetti (1895 b) on the Alto Paraná and by Lothrop (1932, pp. 134–135) at Arroyo Malo, near Buenos Aires, and at Paraná-Guazú.

Most of the specimens of small ware known up to the present are shallow bowls, or bowls with inverted rims. Some painted specimens have a characteristic biconical shape with a flat bottom. A few globular pots with outflaring rims seem to have been used in cooking. A single specimen with a tubular neck has been published by Vellard (1934, fig. 8, *3*).

Some of the funeral urns and wide bowls found by Lothrop at Arroyo Malo are covered with a grayish slip and are adorned with red paint on the exterior.

The decoration of the polychrome urns and bowls consists generally of red lines on a whitish background, but sometimes white patterns have been traced on a red background. Often the red designs are underscored by black strokes or bordered by incisions. On a few specimens coarse red patterns have been applied directly on the surface of the vessel. The motifs are always geometrical. They may be described as sigmoid curves, labyrinths, Greek frets, and elaborations of the chevron. A few vessels are decorated with plain red bands on a white background.

Many urns show on their lower portions striations resulting from the use of corn husks in the smoothing process.

Guarani vessels are, as a rule, without handles, though, according to Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 465), they may occur in a few instances. Some vessels were suspended through holes in the rim or through lateral prominences.

At Arroyo Malo were found some clay "hemispheres," or lumps decorated with incised patterns. Lothrop (1932, p. 143) calls them fire

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chaná* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [77] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jataiy resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [72] [654] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
[P. 90-A]

172•
415

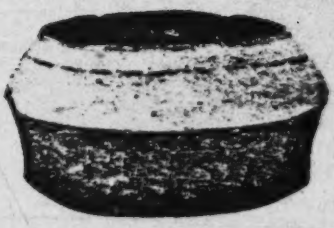
PLATE 11.—Fingernail-marked Guaraní ware. *Top:* Sherds from Martín García, Argentina. *Center:* Vessels from Arroyo Malo, Paraná Delta. *Bottom:* Vessels from Paraguay. Funerary urn at left. (*Top*, after Bruzzone, 1931; *center*, after Lothrop, 1932; *bottom*, courtesy Max Schmidt.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

172
415

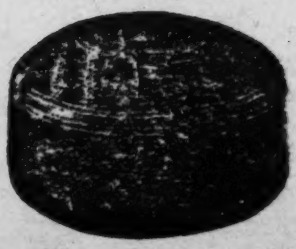
a



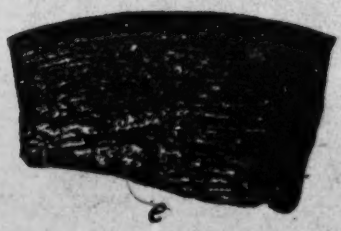
b

c

172
415
171



d



e

PLATE 12.—Guarani and other pottery from Paraguay. *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guana* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

/333 cont./

E
172
131
[114]

The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

T-G
[764]

Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2, pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.

C A /406 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A
415 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
171 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
C valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[1] is almost the same as that of the
[126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
C Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[1] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee
301
304
174
Gi
301
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee
[199]
[325]

C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/167 cont./

772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóũ oký ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance; one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying: but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief-prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro
771 Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of
167 the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous
173 generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others re-
772 turned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý
001 would come to look for them. At night all prayed: in the morn-
173 ing they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuará) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuará), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far,
[173] however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *iups'* than *monoit'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoit'*) and a more recent flint type (*iups'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
224 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The
bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
222 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
412 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
415 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of
433 her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

Tupinamba 509
Guarani SM4

/305 cont./

Ta 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary: the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 173 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/306 cont./

173 The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small
173 Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared
175 to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the
[648] bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

/307 cont./

193 sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds,
195 which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world; gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itatí, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 924), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

G 173 173 175 GU [176] [173] /308 cont./

Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 173 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 721 [177]

/218/

000

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Cainguá. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbüa (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its • [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

65 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--50 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
771
796

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

• 174

[For reconstructed historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14-57 and 79.]

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
131 becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
• 174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
412 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Cainá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shctá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Cainguá* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Cainguá*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Cainguá* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Cainguá* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese sus almacenado el alma aunque estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 elements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guarani languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranis". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guarani" or "Northern Guarani". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guarani" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Calaguá (= Cayuá).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as "*puro de Cayuá*", while they consider that they, themselves, speak "*meio paraguaio.*" Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174• 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

•174
797

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174
648

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241
174
648

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupi-Guarani peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupi-Guarani peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

Guarani SH4
Chane SF8
I2020

C
Ca
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (2) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nord. 2, pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ca
101
17
121

Gi
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guarayú," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Fulgencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) there

Gi
175

Gi
[113]

3. Ministerio de Exteriores. Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomaticas. 1915-

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[927] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

Guarani SM4

/5 cont./

174 175 167 648

It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113]

7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

M4 175 167 648

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113] As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

C
Gi
177
174

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

Ce
[177]

C
Ce
128

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 418 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126] [412] [177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

177 181 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

● 174 169 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

G 773 173 175 GU [776] [773] /308 cont./
Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 773 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 721 [177]

/309/

174 Contingents from several neighboring villages combined,
167 probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).
721

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137]

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass . . . " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127]

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity . . . they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

[252]

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C G 175 167 648 484

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

• 175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [789] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tañiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./

175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

[115]

[114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbiá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Rasanal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde • 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[787] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendaju found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendaju himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
[184] gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

• 175

[For recorded historical data, passim, see category 116, pp. 14 and 35-58.]

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122

1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

•175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162
[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/. Vol. 2, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of Unifio and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassuí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
• [175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
412 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
-175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
• 175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the maiority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*. 101 [131] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers. 101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River. 131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrúa* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

131
175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

[361]

101 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people,
131 the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes
175 by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taiobe.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang*, or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí*, were scattered among the *Guaraní*.

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin*, were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú*, a Chaco tribe.

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingué* (*Kaa-thawa, Kaingua, Cayuá, Montesses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

131 About 1800, the *Caingué* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the
175 Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Caingué* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Tarama* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

101 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right
131 side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers
175 and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101
131
[175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Caingué* (*Caiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuiha, Avo-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterá, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Caingué*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Paiñ'* (*Terenãhé*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Caingué* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuvo* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Caingué* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemi River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guará, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahi River. The *Tañygua*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemi River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101
131
167
175
[162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

[162]

The other *Caingué* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Chaiva*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemi; the *Avehugueni*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaymã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yuytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachirípá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catuadeva Jatahy*, in the same State.

101
131

The *Apapocuvo*, *Tañygua*, *Oguauíva*, and *Chaiva* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avehugueni*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yuytyiguá*, *Avachirípá*, and

[1] There are also Chaiva in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigines of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Río de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Río de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent controversies. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175- 649 [916]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

-176
648

rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a *Guaraní* raid against the *Inca* border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that García and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramirez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the *Guaraní* Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the *Guaraní* of the region of Itati, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez *in* Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the *Guaraní* were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Cario* (*Guaraní*), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the *Guaraní* served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175. 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

•175
648
797

River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-mirí on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guaraní" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martin and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last incursions, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapé-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guarani* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaré*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guarani* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased.

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [410] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[36] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[36] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuvo-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [995] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

178 668 786 [756] [792] [177]

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

•175 167 786 772

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175.

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional do Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

[113]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

131 175. [161] [657]

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[501]

[3] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204. [113]

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro). [113]

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Economicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890). [113]

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
.175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
596 or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[22] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175. 182 721 175 722 182

[22] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[657] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá roças still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the mata, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, roças are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

Tupinamba S09
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta 175 167 /305 cont./

left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one which led the Apapokúva-Guarani /Apapocuva/ from the frontier of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

G 175 167

Ti 175 167

The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the sea-coast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti [174]

If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil. Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

Ta 174 175 167 773

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without afflication." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

Tupinamba S09
Guarani SM4

/305 cont./

Tg 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 173 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/306 cont./

773 The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small
173 Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared
175 to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the
[648] bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

793 /307 cont./
193 sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds,
195 which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world; gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itati, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 934), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

G 173 173 175 G4 [176] [173] /308 cont./

Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 173 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 169 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [921] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 169 921 [177]

/310 cont./

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ...." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

G 195 484 [242] G [291] /311 cont./

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 261): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G [291] "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the men from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

G 195 169 921 C 169

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions taking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Tarairí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Tarairí, having learned

C
173
539
648
484
484
C
[443]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Isoso and they went to fight on the side of the Guaraní and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Aleyn Garcia's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C
173
648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 30]

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guaraní did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guaraní entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guaraní that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 78) Guaraní whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Perú formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guaraní territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guaraní lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guaraní into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guaraní groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guaraní, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Perú. For long years there were uninterrupted communications and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/314 cont./

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca forteses of Cusco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Misque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Turubuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the hardness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the inga /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscontuyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanas. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

/314 cont./

E
E
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the yuga, which news upset the yuga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[778]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

Guarani SM14
Inca SE13
Chane SF8

C
G
175
721
726
I
[726]
[701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C
E
114
175
721
726
I
[712]

C
G
114
175
167

E
175
167
721
726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce
[648]
[567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E 167 175 721 726 Ce 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 127 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/315 cont./

G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 167 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./

G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
C (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

C
G /319/

175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/321 cont./

E
G
175
648

In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

G4
114
175
167
174

The Guarayú and the Pauserna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 16th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliguely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

G4
175
167
[101]
[131]

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pauserna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1);

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

G4
175
167
648

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

64
175
642

/322 cont./

Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

G
175
648
167

In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

Ce
[101]

In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapii, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

Ce
101
241
323
197

The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

A
181
174

The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

A
[114]

1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

A
181
172

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguanos as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

Ce 175 72 167 Ce 175 648

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

Ce [266] Ce [113]

Ce G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

E 175 567 72 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Ce 175 648 Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

E 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the E [266] [439] plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

/327 cont./

C 175 569 72 [266] [439] they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there

C 175 556 721 727 are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed

C 175 648 721 many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of

Ce 175 101 181 648 Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but

C [361] [197] foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians

Ce [131] toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a

C 175 947 676 608 678 367 more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

Ce 404 175 [161]

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SC9
Guarani SF8
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can be asserted that /Fig. 96 appears here/ this industry remained foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kaingua /Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness of the several fabrics which have been collected among them. These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in its beginnings among them. /438/ as is shown by their loom. It is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled. The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave, and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/ very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their successors and usurpers, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

C
Ca
101
17

/4 cont./

and divides (7) the sum of Chiriguano cultural elements into

2. Nued. 2. pp. 196-213.

different categories depending on whether they received them from the whites, from the culture of the ancient Peruvians, or from the Matacos, Toba, and other tribes of the Chaco, or have them in common with the tribes of the north and the east related to them, as well as those that they brought with them from their primordial homes between the Paraná River and the Paraguay River. In what follows we shall often run into this matter, and inasmuch as these cultural influences have taken place in historical times and we know the history of the Chiriguano through existing documents dating from the first days of the Spanish conquest, I would like to make a resumé of these historical data in what follows, insofar as they have influenced the cultural development of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C
Ca
101
17
121

G1
174

In one of my previous publications which appeared in this journal, entitled "Los Guaraní," I ran into the point at issue, to wit: whether the first Guaraní immigration into the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco took place before the expedition of the Portuguese Alejo García to Peru or whether it took place after that time. In that paper I then deduced that it can be supposed that before Alejo García's expedition there were no Guaraní in the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, because no author mentions that García, who was accompanied by many Guaraní, had met other Guaraní in those regions. With this opinion that the Guaraní immigration to the west occurred after García's expedition, which is based principally on indications by Guzmán, the opinions of Manuel Domínguez and Erland Nordenskiöld also agree. This question of the Guaraní invasion into the western part of the Paraguayan Chaco is also dealt with in detail by Pelgrencio R. Moreno in his work Cuestión de límites con Bolivia (3). In that place (4) Dom

G1
175

G1
[113]

3. Ministerio de Relaciones. Cuestión de límites con Bolivia. Negociaciones diplomáticas. 1913-

/4 cont./

● 195 [113]

1897. Second edition. Vol. 3: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Policarpio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Policarpio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1898. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 83-84 and 88-91.

6. Moreno II, pp. 84-85.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Monte Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacone to conquer the Itatas of Grigura. Guacone's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigura, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypanu, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the Itatas rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacone and Condori, reached the ears of the Guarani in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xarayes. Of the 8,000 Guarani, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatin; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

[Text continues on p. 10]

6-4-1958: 589

175 cont.!
175
172

there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Captiva Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savayperta abandoned by their garrisons. In Savayperta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Apparon Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Apparon. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 500 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174
175
167
642

Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it provides us with two important clues about the first immigration of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King Guacane. According to Alvar Nuñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (1).

1. Moreno II, p. 90.

/3 cont./

174 It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the
175 Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of
167 the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after
645 García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Zarayo "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 88.

more definite news of the Guaraní and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigora, scarcely 110 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was beginning to put into effect and oversee the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with these battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113] 7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /8/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/2 cont./

174 175 177 178

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Chaneyes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113] 8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios históricos, N. 32, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 36, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

Gi 174 175 167 645 c [Dm]

/8 cont./

Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ge [173] [645]

In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi 175 645

The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

Gi [569] [929]

Ce [648] [81]

C Gi 644 175 [567] [927]

C
G1
175
G48
[567]
[527]

/1 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuño de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Porco or of Misque, but Nuño de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1580 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 281.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[127]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ca
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ce
Gi
175
648
567

C
Ee
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./

they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ee
Gi
113

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

C
Gi
175
648

/8 cont./

this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

Gi
C
175
648

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), [illegible] interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

C
Gi
175
648

/9 cont./ While
Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

C
G1
175
648

/9 cont./

The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648

/10 cont./

some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

G1
C
175
648

/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C.
Gi
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
• 177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little: the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/222 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tebyuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumí-Mbaengué, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 197 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingué in

532 179 124

532 524

532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/222 cont./

Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caingáng. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European one.

The music and the musical instruments of the Caingáng also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the gunnpel, an analogue of the guaimbés of the remote Caingáng groups in Paraguay. The gunnpel, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /this/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. -- The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbó, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbó. --

At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

Like almost all Indians, the Caingáng are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/[illegible] cont./

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudius; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Cocomá-Shamgará.

/[illegible]/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier conciliation, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand to which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gaucó cactus, feather tiaras, chest bands.

/220 cont./

776 dreadful abyu Anharepỹ. Cuarahỹ grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhã. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahỹ found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasỹ. He carried all the parts up out of the abyu and put the body together again. Then Yasỹ awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhã, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
• 177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rũ-Vusú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhã overpowers them and takes them to Anharepỹ.

/230 cont./

793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Détoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 [534] [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

177 178 574 576 [192]

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[193] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yabečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yabečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yabečá itymbý-rieźui Yacairá
yahá yabečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yabečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[193] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
179 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
• 177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, [113] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit [179] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, [182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbiá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbiá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

2t Schaden--19 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 23 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[179] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[361] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[162] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[361] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

621 [62] [168] [114]

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Peró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

[361]

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

[361] [162] [177] [162] [114]

161 131 648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/19 cont./

• 177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [178] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/20/

621 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village
• 177 of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos partici-
[433] pate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detri-
621 ment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into
182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive
563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the per-
177 formance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires,
78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village
177 of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been
[437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost
[735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/20 cont./

121 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience
• 177 of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the
184 Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing
[114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular
[177] aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

121
184
[197]

the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type. /The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestiso children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjokuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

2: Schaden--32 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbiá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbiá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbiá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestiços cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestiço born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguaú (large
[192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cravar/), or, in Portuguese "casa baixa-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The gen-
[192] eral shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. ombros cf. ombros, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 19 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. ombros/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the inclem-
[824] ent weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 178 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/56 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
• 199 to the caboclo dwellings /26/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture
is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the ramada (port. of
"ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch,
sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used
as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical
example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwell-
ing and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Ishapé
of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the
Iberic veranda on the south side: moreover, instead of a door,
some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type
or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and
more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional
Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
[57] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-
family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate
community of life, with economic, religious, and political
interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been
subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see,
the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the re-
placement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane
dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance
area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the tradi-
tional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions
of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which
would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the cebocio
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
177 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

2: Schaden--39 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
• 177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
291 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not
178 been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetxá ragué), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typóí?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsï) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, [177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226]

Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbiá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

/45 cont./

241
433
• 177
182
648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177
439

In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177
182

The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
771
796

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
• 177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 [171] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

2: Schaden--52 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character: it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 flandé avatí flahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí djýguê); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynahú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or
262 aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient
[114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases
[171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi-
[177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for
[192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parĩ kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parĩ kãtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuẽra drains off.
[192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads fomeia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parĩ vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuĩ morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I
[114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use
[126] of the grater.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíí or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[178] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jicara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, fio I, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
• 177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta; pirápirẽ, paper money; among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent; there is no 436 829 177 454 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbiá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/, 423 171 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/57 cont./

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõmoõõa as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/59 cont./

476 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive
• 179 change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the aban-
178 donment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live
182 in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão
563 may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole
621 local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800
245 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the
[423] society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

/80 cont./

476 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the
491 maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of
•177 collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the
177 contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new
463 forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá
439 of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the
574 last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the
476 joint repast. To organise the puxirão, six to twelve liters of
574 drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow,"
273 at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those
476 that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner
574 provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and
[262] drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

/81 cont./

177 178 433 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 177 178 433 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the aborigines as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a resource for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 178 181 433 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process /82/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualistic economy. Besides a section of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 • 177 155 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 157 [828] The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
867 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed.
[171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children
[171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
156 niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
157 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
177 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of • [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 203 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the flanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name flemongaraí (1). The flanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the flanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/63/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakũ (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Pañ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacũ." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Pañ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

2: Schaden--127 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
• 177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] vvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
• 177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guarani religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his 797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2). 177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echoe 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omnipotent, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (other of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fall to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distraction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

771 781 184 First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outweighing though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving inspiration, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and spiritual inclinations of his personality.

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbïá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts [62] with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 142 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [191] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the female preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterĩ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúytétĩ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúytétĩ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted pompously that man has only one soul, Ñanéneĩ (guĩ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been repeated innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
• 175 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
777 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each man, plus the moral demand

/115 cont./

774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead
822 of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñanã Ã, our shadow, of those different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuã-porãvã) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvýy), located above the yvýkuarinbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called angaúry (in life, angýguã); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (Ñandesú Sebastião). It is called ayvúkuã /sic/ (1).

1. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poyétjé explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okáita Ã vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is nonsense; dead have no earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the soul /see p. 221 f./." Poyétjé accepted the rectification.

/116 cont./

795 oó dyvý yvýmárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguéry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguéry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguéry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguéry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguéry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast. [184]

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguéry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguéry": that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguéry does harm: it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers: Ñandeyvaí is asked to make it go away: this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical. [1753] [1161] [1755]

The anguéry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are 795 828 1999

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
• 177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguéry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvuçú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existance of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguéry differs from our "wicked spirit": bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a blasphemer, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

The relations that the divine part of the soul of the de-
[176] ceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (ryvaíja) to their protected
[177] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[176] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[187] It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
189 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social economy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dyscomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacaraí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñembosarái) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white men, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign concepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
782 [illegible] Thereby.
189

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [582] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact [199] with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 159 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/130 cont./

753 121 [82] [79] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Sesso, former chief of the village of Sanaal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some *quid malignum*, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 121 [158] [111]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
• [199] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
[155] not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sickness and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill: her father took her to
753 Dr. Millán, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandejára himself carries the person through. When it is

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Nandery omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death. Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nandery kaffiguéra ombó ypy," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan: it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

[179] [149]

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/135 cont./

764 178 184 [171] [756] [534]

Guaraní subgroups, bit also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul. The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 177 178

The Ñandéva of Ñanansl, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead o the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and Itanhaém: they bury hem in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and abovethe grove they set a cross: on the other hand, the dead personis lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatuá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were nothem) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to th radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal t first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact [775] that they transport ther dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along ver well with the fear of the angaíry that the Guaraní have.

768 [764] [178]

In the south of Iato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having had among them the iterment inside the dwelling: they abandoned the house, withut burning it, and went to live at some distance away: today sch a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Nyowá, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they ade graves inside the houses: but even today many abandon (burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adulr child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one cmy informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one some distance, because in the old one "many children died"(perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shows sockoo sdmaxcos.

764 177 178

In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional usages, in part more ofen Christian customs coming from the neighboring populationwith whom the Indians come in contact.

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrofyã confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamin Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive: a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night: guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all mixed with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní [175] [177]

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 178 [775] 171 [829]

religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 132 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they knew prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 198 [182]

764 995

Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the *yvy maré ỹ*, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Mengel's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[993]

/138 cont./

771
• 177

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of cabocios or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771
177
178
184

It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Nandéva and Mbyá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Nandéva of Bananal and of Ibirité, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771
177
178

/138/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indifferent visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Nandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Bananeiras in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

[177]

2: Schaden--182 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/139 cont./

Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moítendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the flanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôno at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the Kaadéva, as well as among the Mbiá of Rio Branco, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Batitó I knew several Kaadéva who had been baptized repeatedly: Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/140 cont./

the woman, the children, and other elements of the community with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the father of half a dozen mestiso children. Hehimself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in their significance and in their functions. Time and again the children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbyá of Palmeiritha and the Kayová of Panambí ad Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is nowow less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the religious acculturation. As a consequence ofrivalries, misunderstandings, and internal quarrels, the village / Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mangaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of cooperative spirit, did not succeed in being had. When Arnaldo, capitão and principal man of prayer of the Indios of Bananal, died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, ad Campoder Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is untranslated in the original text/ cover from the vicinity, "to per a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araçatuba to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholicchurch of Avaré, which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a colonia cow from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 50 cruzeiros to the cover to pay for the mass. Aldhi results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered byhis group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as thanes of prayer,

/140 cont./

Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the parent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a man prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

/141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Benzenal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche: he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Cosme, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora: before it the homeowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his,
the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the
middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an
old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then
his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on
the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal,
when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the
miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was: and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da.
Lampada, appeared in João Samuel's house: he was angry about
the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay,
of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which
seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his
father had already been a guitar player and "already had some
prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individu-
778 als, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
• 177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Pojéjó's house there was an image of
São Roque. If I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José;
in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory
with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all
provided with a *ojaraná* made of sewing thread and in front of
them were put small candles to prevent illness. Pojéjó did not like
it when reference was made to these things and even seemed
somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the de-
votional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from
the *ojaraná*), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the
magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuẽ, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjẽ, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

/143 cont./

which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aňã). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aňã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aňã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
• 177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
[184] monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the pierc-
• 177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators:
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
• 177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbarakā, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious [184] ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbarakā, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, 534 in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a 723 Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbarakā (or also 796 mbarakā i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbarakā or 177 simply mbarakā), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings [533] to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the 534 men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many 171 signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534 As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth: one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also ex- [171] isting in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãmũ ĩ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ĩ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ĩ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ĩ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[654] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbiá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poipé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and,
177 when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in
167 part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that
182 the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components
[829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potrý.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
177 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-paradjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

825 787 773 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ũ, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

/157 cont./

751 •177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [176]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184 ??!] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ); it [184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim [177] Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterẽ, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterẽ whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterẽ with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterẽ with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharẽ rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterẽ drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is 776 obvious that the primitive native representation has been trans- 177 formed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

779 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to 121 collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

/161 cont./

771
772

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

[177]
[997]

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

[668]
[171]

771
772
181

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./

Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/162 cont./

703 in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this
797 hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní
177 who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin
[184] in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

/163 cont./

773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

2: Schaden--213 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

772
771
[128]

It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as Ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

[62]
[177]

539
772

For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
• 177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural
182 elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
• [177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772
771
[114
167]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772
771
177
[114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772
771
[184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77
184

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [177] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re- [597] membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/173 cont./

77 182 829 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 179 182 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 182 829 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
• 177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527 855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 •177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77
177
178
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

777
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

/179 cont./

181 182 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities. After the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to detribalization.

/180 cont./

181 182 179 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
177 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
18 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
596 chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
797 (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
• 177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[183] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [184] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[178] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disnivellation stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/183 cont./

The frustration of the Guaraní in the effort to be looked at and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration. /Page 184 is blank: pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*191 301 Cayuá, and diadema, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which 237 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple [462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *194 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from 227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early • [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *194 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other *174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or [178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the [171] primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their 881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[68] *Métraux*, 1928, p. 150. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

• 177

For data on acculturation, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 9-16, 41-80 and 92-132.]

175 /31 cont./
797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
162 Indians (2).

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

• 177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [423] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[84]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [115] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paŭ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

231 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [283] [531] [386] [824] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
•177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[275] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 [756] [792] 177

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez in J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177].

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [24] [36] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175 182 721 175 722 182

[25] Gay, Cónego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

•177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guayeurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
•177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
177 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde- 437
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact,
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 496
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182 476 170 434

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence. 121 177 178

São Paulo, Brasil.

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 179 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126] 412 [177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

177 181 169

there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

G 173 /308 cont./
173 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
175 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
GU gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[176] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[173] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
173 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
174 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
G 174 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
167 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
721 ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their
[177] turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

Ce 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

Ce 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

Ce 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/330 cont./

E G 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

E G Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

E G 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

Ce /331 cont./

178 The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white
439 men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has
323 at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture
[177] considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases
G of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they
177 mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in
178 the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering
342 several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes,
596 they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we
G see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today,
177 intended to house only one family. In the same way one can
178 witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th
266 century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface.
17 With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic
175 family.

C They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in
[167] the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

8: Schmidt--25 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8

C
Gi
177
174

/11 cont./

little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

Ce
[177]

C
Ce
128

In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000

/12/ Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354. Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335. Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361. Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359. Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360. Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362. Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243. Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244. Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245. Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon 314

GUARANI SM4
Mbaya SK11

A All the Abipones have thick, raven-black
302 locks; a child born with red or flaxen hair
[142 would be looked upon as a monster amongst
826] them. The manner of dressing the hair differs in different nations, times, and conditions. The Abipones, previously to their entering colonies, shaved their hair like monks, leaving nothing
M but a circle of hair round the head. But the
[302] women of the Mbaya nation, after shaving the rest of their heads, leave some hairs untouched, to grow like the crest of a helmet, from the forehead to the crown. As the savages have
M neither razors nor scissars, they use a shell
[413] sharpened against a stone, or the jaws of the
M. fish palometa, for the purpose of shaving. Most
[337] of the Abipones in our colonies let their hair grow long, and twist it into a rope like European soldiers. The same fashion was adopted by the women, but with this difference, that they tie the braid of hair with a little piece of white cotton, as our countrymen do with black.
A At church, and in mournings for the dead,
[765] they scatter their hair about their shoulders.
Gu The Guarany Indians, on the contrary, whilst
302 they live in the woods, without the knowledge
GU of religion, let their hair hang down their backs:
●[177] now that they have embraced Christianity, and entered various colonies, they crop it like priests. But the women of the Guarany towns wear their hair long, platted, and bound with a

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1780) 1822
S14 Abipon
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SH4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

M
G
Gu
P
301
Gu
301
GU
[177]
Gu
301
304

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaeverá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the tembetà; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree abati timbabỹ, and falls gradually into the models of tembetàs, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree abati timbabỹ were not possessed of singular hardness, the tembetà made of it, after remaining whole

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI SM4

A
153
797

to the divine law. Although the Americans are but slow of understanding, yet when the good sense of the teacher compensates for the stupidity of his pupils, they are successfully converted to civilization and piety, and even instructed in arts of all kinds. If you wish to see, with your own eyes, to what a degree instruction sharpens the wits of the Indians, and enlarges their comprehensions, go and visit the Guarany towns; in all of which you will find Indians well skilled in the making and handling of musical instruments, in painting, sculpture, cabinet-making, working metals of every kind, weaving, architecture, and writing; and some who can construct clocks, bells, gold clasps, &c. according to all the rules of art. Moreover, there were many who printed books, even of a large size, not only in their native tongue, but in the Latin language, with brass types, which they made themselves. They also write books with a pen so artfully, that the most discerning European would swear they were printed. The Bishops, Governours, and other visitants, were astonished at the workmanship of the Indians, which they saw or heard of in the Guarany towns. The Guaranies were instructed in music, and other arts, by the Jesuit Missionaries, Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who found the Indians docile beyond their expectation.

G
177
797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14,
GUARANI SM4

A 622 554

Roÿ, Capitâ Tupânchichu, Capitâ Veraripotschiritù, neglecting their own word, *aba rubicha;* so universal and honourable is the title of captain amongst the savage nations. Should an Abipon meet a Spaniard dressed very handsomely, he would not hesitate to call him captain, though he might be of low rank, and distinguished by no dignity or nobility whatever. Moreover, in Paraguay, Spaniards of the lowest rank, who live in the country, are extremely ambitious of the title of captain, and if you do not call them so every now and then, will look angry, and refuse to do you any kind of service, even to give you a drop of water if you are ever so thirsty. The Christian Guaranies have the same foolish mania for titles. After having laboured hard for two or three years in the royal camps, they think themselves amply repaid for their toils and wounds, if, at the end of the expedition, they return to their colony honoured by the royal governour with the title and staff of a captain. At all times even when employed, barefoot, in building or agriculture, they ostentatiously hold the captain's staff in their hands. When they are carried to the grave, this wooden ensign is suspended from the bier. When a man is at the point of death, and just going to receive extreme unction, he puts on his military boots and

G 554

G [177]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

G 554 177

spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

G 622

Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or

A 622

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

chit; but as they are unable to express *second, third, fourth*, in their language, instead of these numbers, they place before the commandments, *and another, and another, &c. Cat laháua, cat laháua, &c.* They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Enàm cahèk*, that which goes before, and *Iñagehék*, that which comes last. A 192* 802

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè*, and *Iñbakatapè*, which answers to the Latin, *bini*. *Liñoaka yahat*, means twice. *Ekátarapek*, and sometimes *Haûe ken*, once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, who cannot go beyond the number four. They call One, *Peteÿ*. Two, *Mokoÿ*. Three, *Mbohapĭ*. Four, *Irundÿ*. First, *Iyipĭbae*. Second, *Imomokoyndaba*. Third, *Imombohapĭhaba*. Fourth, *Imoimrundÿhaba*. *Singuli, Peteÿteÿ. Bini, Mokoÿmokoÿ. Terni, Mbohápĭhapĭ. Quaterni, Irundÿ rundÿ.* Once, *Peteÿ yebĭ*. Twice, *Mokoÿ yebi, &c.* The Guaranies, like the Abipones, when questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi*, or *Ndipapahai*, innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi- G 192 802 G 802 177

* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

G 802 177 lized life, and above all, in confession, the Guaranies were daily taught at church to count in the Spanish language, in the public explanation, or recitation of the catechism. On Sunday, the whole people used to count from one to a thousand, in the Spanish tongue, in the church. But it was all in vain. Generally G [153] speaking, we found the art of music, painting, and sculpture, easier learnt than numbers. They can all pronounce the numbers in Spanish, but are so easily and frequently confused in counting, that you must be very cautious how you credit what they say in this matter.

A *192 *193 For the conjugation of verbs, no paradigm can be given; as the singular number of the present tense of the indicative mood differs in almost all words, and is more difficult to learn than the augments of the Greek verbs. The second person particularly takes new letters, not only in the beginning, but also in the middle, and the end, as will appear from the examples which I shall lay before you.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I love	Rikapit	*We love*	Grkapitàk
Thou lovest	Grkàpichì	*Ye love*	Grkápichil
He loves	Nkàpit	*They love*	Nkapitò
I know	Riáruige	Gruáruigè	Yaruige
I remember	Hakalcènt	Hakalcènchì	Yakalcènt

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1780) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

faces by this name as if they were a terror to the eyes. A 192* 193*

Latè, indicates the place of action, thus: *Nahamátr̃alatè*, the place of the fight. *Kiñier̃alatè*, the place where one eats, that is, the table. A

They ingeniously invented names borrowed from their native tongue, for things introduced from Europe, or made by Europeans. They did not like either to appear poor in words, or to contaminate their language by adopting foreign ones, like the other Americans who borrow words from the Spaniards. Horses, which the Spaniards call *cavallos*, the Guaranies call *cavayù*, and oxen, which the Spaniards call *nobillos*, they call *nobì*. The Abipones, on the contrary, call a horse *ahëpegak*, an ox, *ỳúihàk*, and a bull, *ỳúihàk lepà*, an uncastrated ox, a name derived from their own language, though, before the coming of the Spaniards, they were unacquainted with these animals. They call a church *loakal lëëriki*, the house of images, or *natamenr̃eki*, where thanks are given to God. A gun is expressed by *netelr̃anr̃e*, which means a bow from which arrows are cast. Perhaps it is derived from the word *neetè*, a storm, because a gun resembles the thundering of a storm. Gunpowder is called *netelr̃anr̃e leenr̃a*, the flour of the gun; a book, *lakatka*, which means a word, tongue, speech. They call a letter, or any 192* 177 G [177 192]

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Cainguá tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/220 cont./

798 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. *Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have* gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

773 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubora.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 [534] [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

177 178 574 576 [192]

178 796 533 178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/232/

796 539 782 783 533 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that Ĩe rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song Ĩe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body [776] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed [778] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that 796 539 533 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĕe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĕe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[778] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to
him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in
connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he
combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabit-
ants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid
beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash dis-
played with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 [237] [533] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

[342] [291] [535] [574] [576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] [784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/10 cont./

178 184 [101] In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, particularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal brothers." [114] [101] I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbüá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirü, Ñaneirü ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apüteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetü /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokíva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a
• 178 patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-
[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal
621 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos
162 married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port.
166 fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for
[768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his
[755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-
[964] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The
182 number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo
[563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.
621 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having
433

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[361] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[162] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[361] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[177] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The
[361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex-
[61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred
[554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com-
182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
[177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the
[563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the
[78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva: the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms: nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short: most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck: when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women: the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the flanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolas in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/35 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle- [824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it: everything is tied with cipo.

When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields 341 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, • 178 it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/36 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
177 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture
is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of
"ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch,
sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used
as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical
example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwell-
ing and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí
of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the
Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door,
some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
• 178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type
or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and
more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional
Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
[596] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-
family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate
community of life, with economic, religious, and political
interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been
subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see,
the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the re-
placement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane
dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance
area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the tradi-
tional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions
of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which
would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/38 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

• 178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tíkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 flemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
called iporavõhaguẽ. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
178 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paí Vitaliano,
178 who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest
178 in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old paí dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of Jesuit times?

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.
[286]
[192]

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbiá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbiá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party; see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of [178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food: it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") [101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva. [824] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands: add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguĩ: furthermore, kỹ ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions
[415] that the Caingua (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. ticara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows,
[178] although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one matching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/57 cont./

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõomoõõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9), also know or knew institutions of this type.

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[184] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Ikariri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 178 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it [273] to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/59 cont./

476 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive
179 change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the aban-
•178 donment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live
182 in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão
563 may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole
621 local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800
245 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the
[423] society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

/61 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
181 /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes, instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only (so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the regional economy. This integration takes place through activities unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surrounding environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos, hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms, baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and, finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/ activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immediate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1):

524 411 1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

[524]

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
• 178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza -- a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably
[115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an
[178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the
[829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

2: Schaden--90 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648]

I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595

Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581]

An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

830 [586]

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambi), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
[014]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462
[184]
[178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[577]

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/88 cont./

846 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for
178 the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound
[184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, par-
784 ticularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list
846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

/89 cont./

them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is menstruating.

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals, brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation. Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who, instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[ML] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however, the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing, to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ naturally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother, paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and supernatural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise it would not be understandable that in their mythology they represent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the [752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [115] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [868] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/99 cont./

756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the fianderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. 623 178 But it is also possible that the Guaraní may have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the fianderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [114] [624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
• 178 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
114 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
624 munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/111 cont./
704 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[778] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--175 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/134 cont./

761 773 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 764 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, [114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 178 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 178 184 [171] Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perusbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his home, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

2: Schaden--178 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/136 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 177 religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or [775] [171] sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all [829] should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an op-764 portunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one [114] could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying 764 out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, 178 whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the chil- [782] dren they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its di- 775 verse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã ey, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's ex- [773] planation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2: Schaden--181 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771 177 There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771 177 178 184 It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbüá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771 177 178 /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin [797] mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moátendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Arariba. At the Pôsto at Arariba I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Arariba it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
170 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are seen modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
170 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
082 all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re- [437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuẽ, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjẽ, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[183] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
776 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aŋã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of aŋã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
[182] has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aŋã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
771 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
177 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
178 the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
• 178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
179 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuã í, with a string of pindó ryví (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá í has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá í djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá í would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[654] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbhá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[756] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
• [118] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go: the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýheý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy minĩ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduĩ (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less desirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living 772 186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáĩ. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/171 cont./

771 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the re-
•178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural
[182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[176] Ketxuũta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuũta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
[177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
[197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many
167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
[184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Nanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
183 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./

177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
177 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
178 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
182 reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[756] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[624] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[186] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and
[157] poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

177
182
733
[184]

273
828
[177]

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77
177
178
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

777
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

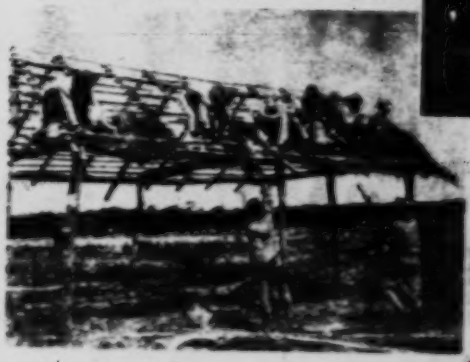
Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

123
331

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapéi* at Taquaperi. Log tanks for *chuí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *chuí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.



178
342

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapéi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbojirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

• 178

[For data on socio-cultural trends, *passim*, see category 116, pp. 25, 62-92 and 124-132.]

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162
[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.
177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
125 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship
197 terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in
Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters
are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that
we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation
for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does
not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's
son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison
of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day
Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively
long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking
groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have
children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but
there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to
have children. In the case of not having children, it is always
admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being
attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the
pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [136] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [423] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[304] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[753] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[262] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[824] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
.178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a general way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays [178] they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the [173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
• 178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Cainá*
131 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[301] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [862] [171] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Cainguá*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Cainguá* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Cainguá* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Cainguá* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Cainguá* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strebicher.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve [145] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched [824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti- [712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paŭ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., [413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [332] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 199 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [993] [621]

[9] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:62.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

543 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
715 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

581 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[239] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "a, a" (yes) for the adult masculine "ia."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178* 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [766] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anly unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingué*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingué* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and bearing disks.

The ancient *Itatín*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingua* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 173 534 [56] 178 [756] [533] [542]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingua*. The *Pai'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingua*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingua* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [272]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingua* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingua* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [79] [70] [55]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (*kagüini*) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Caingua* prepare *nawal*, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voices" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their *ayvucué*, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman commands the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their enemies.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Rain fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinambá* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Aliau, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Pai'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Aliau demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Aliau who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock. [174]

The *Ará* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61-64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The *sapucuru* birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Ará*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 521 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Pai'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936-37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVITALIZATIVE MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 665 786 178

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 756 756 756 777

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 756 172

During the last century, three *Guarani* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

756 172 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guarani* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Amoroso, 1908, 1924; Baldus, 1929; Barbosa, 1928, 1932; Blanco, 1931; Boas, 1918; Borba, 1908; Cardoso, 1925; Carvalho Aranha, 1927-28; Charlevoix, 1757; Commentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fürbringer, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Deming, 1905, 1924, 1926; Jaeger, 1930; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kuery, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1926-27; Lizot, 1926; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873-75; Magaldi-Ramos, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Mayer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1926-28; Muratori, 1734; Nuñez, 1885; Nimuendaju, 1914 a; Osório, 1927, 1928; Ramírez de J. T. Medina, 1908 (also Ramírez, Luis, 1895); Rengger, 1827; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1930; Strelnikov, 1928; Taube, 1879, 1887; Tavares, L. M., 1912; Ulrich, 1908; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayuá

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present reserves of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The posts from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" date only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the
648 former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a
433 limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both
178 canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between
484 Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio re-
[48] cords that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate divesters of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes . . . in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175] [18] This would probably place the time of the first permanent limitation of territory at Taquapiry as almost 1900.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these reserves and the S.P.I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S.P.I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, op. cit., p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

in order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accommodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because [182] they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of making canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from [415] solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of [293] ceremonial *chicha*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture.

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in [648] the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-canoe routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted 226
that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart 178.
from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presum- 177
ably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting 241
and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only nega- 182
tive in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in 721
agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave 175
little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived 182
in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found 721
to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[22] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[23] states that at the time of 175
his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a 722
little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared 182
to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[22] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[23] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
•178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taqua-
piry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of
distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain indivi-
duals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to
get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive re-
course to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various
parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely
arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter
persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at
a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and,
furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, ex-
cept for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large
group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispen-
sable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely
participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of
view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too,
incomplete integration within the group (there are several new-
comers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "af-
ford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or
other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality
these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing
individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing
out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
.178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde-
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost cer-
tainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão.*" But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with suf-
ficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institu-
tion of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
— and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and im-
mediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

177
178

476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão,* and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
182 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão,* or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão,* and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça.* He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in
177 payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão.* These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
476 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça.* He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão,* to help "catch up." In this case, the
184
434

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182 476 177 434

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence. 121 177 178.

São Paulo, Brasil.

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 177 174 C [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
● 18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestiso population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[179] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/184 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-maré-ỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yvýr (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name kíbaévegíguaní occurs.

771 /185/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
•18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the kíbaé of Xapenó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer here good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[95] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[118] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[124] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/121 cont./
income to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact provide.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-civilized Guaraní, who works irregularly, dislikes comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers. In the same way as, for example, the Tenhéo and Kadiwéu /Caduveu/ apply their knowledge of shipbuilding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock farmsides. But the change in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive intermediation of the tribal culture by a spirit of providence of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the change "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /121/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the consanguineous economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/[illegible] cont./

religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of his time on farmdom or yerbaism, the man develops interests and attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption, yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

It is in the religious sphere that, in spite of the great differences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the eschatology (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted to the catechism, finding points of support in certain sectors of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the combining that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious socialization of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Guaranían ancestrals, auxiliary divinities, which the Kayová Guaranían mythical

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/ Guaraní believes, makes him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbyá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[183] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation
[184] proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural
[185] punishes (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[186] It is in consequence of misinterpretation and destitutionation that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a hacienda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural destitutionation stemming from this, there is no ground for a community spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative distrito in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and traditionalists, would more disown their native ancestry.

/149 cont./

The frustration of the General in the effort to be invited or and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, from new and again the appearance of anticonstructive attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a revitalization, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors. In cases where the latter already down signs of disintegration.

004 /Page 104 in blanks pp. 105-108 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

/48 cont./

178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of 433 production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /48/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [521] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: [496] see below, p.68 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/81 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolas as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
• 181 /82/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[771] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the
[561] things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóakú, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fall to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbiá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/109 cont./

manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism; the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753
[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
177 lore takes on local color: they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/161 cont./

771
772

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

[177]
[797]

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

[668]
[171]

771
772

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

• 181

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773
771
184

The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77
177

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77
181

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, káãguy minĩ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduĩ (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less de-
772 186 sirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáĩ. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves • 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at [184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
173 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní,
who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not
know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy
the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong
inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for
economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the cul-
ture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the tra-
ditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and
Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and
their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock
fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them
with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely be-
cause it does not promote the replacement of the primitive im-
mediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the
future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the
changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the
yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbi-
tant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as
batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end
in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages,
of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
177 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
18 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
596 chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapéi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *pulirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ehd4 Guarani Ehd4

new such as might exist if *chaaga* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *chaaga* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *pake* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *chaaga* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *chaaga* "exposes" the *pake* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *chaaga*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *chaaga*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *chaaga* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *pakirão*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

*199 one sense this is exportable class sense of the goods and services which enter
182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. c.) such that did not exist
43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
* 181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the Indians—
or the price connotation of such goods and services were also become quite
apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal change," one
Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which
did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to
the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money value
action may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves.
Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type
of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational
causes.[illegible]

*199 II. B. d. "Polygyny: has disappeared since aboriginality, possibly accultura-
182 tion."[illegible] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially
595 in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. a.) the *chaco*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Now, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

[illegible] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them or a group than among the Cayuá. The local Non-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[illegible] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the coming of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with mental ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, bowed and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (Q. p. 32, notes 1 and 7). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/304 cont./

169 169 169

there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and live throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these cacies have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypitiñ and thus likewise cacies villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

169 169 169

/304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

169 169

Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[178]

Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests: but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

/

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177] clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C 181 171 When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C 177 181 Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177 It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178 The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

1.Dobrizhoffer Ms-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14

ongan, yet, however. *Encha klatùm keèn èúèuek, ongan netackaik:* Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán aýte apatáye ken nepark, máoge chik àátèkan:* Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Meń, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men naetaŕat*, As the father, so the son. A 192*

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kimill naáchik!* Oh! how useful this will be to me! is their way of thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abipones nor Guaranies have any word whereby to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ángà:* This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked the giver with nothing but the word *Kliri:* This is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat! Ta yeegàm!* or A G 181 576 G [192] A 192* 576

2: Schaden--6 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, [113] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit [177] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, [182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes:

[648] Tafliguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-

[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal

621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for

[768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his

[755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-

[464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Iguape region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive 563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the per- 177 formance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbiá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 [147] [482] [164] Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
• 182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
179 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high
[182] degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

/45 cont./

241
433
177
182
648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177
439

In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177
182

The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Remongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is [71] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá pïá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind,
as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the
Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the
Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particu-
lar person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first
case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three sub-
groups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have
prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus,
the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests,
[182] that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family.
Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases
to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open
a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his
house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did
not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later
he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food
is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this
group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the
puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius
of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one
another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbiá and Ñandeva)
[84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/.
His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group,
helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind
rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 504 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 178 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it [273] to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/50 cont./

476 177 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 •182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

/83 cont./

128 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the green-families), the institution of the green-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with • [82] destribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything: they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families: [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group: finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/78 cont./

no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayowá is like a beast, because he does not know the opinion of the old people nor that of the civilized man." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayowá a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the Kandeí or pai (contrary to what Manoel de Souza said such), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayowá the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 In bygone times the Kayowá used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha: nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 A curious combination of traditional elements with others
182 of recent adoption is observed among the Kandéva of Aranhá.
177 It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adapted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the description to old Capitão Manoco, Poiõã. This is his statement:

584 There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the
585 girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/85/

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121 571 829 182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akũ or odjékoakũ, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akũ. Akũ is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akũ, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
•182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the Ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the Ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
• 182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 624 • 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking. [177] [648]

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least yvyráídjá (cult assistant). [622] The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the departure for the Land without Misfortunes. [622] The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/110 cont./

771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
•182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
184 nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

/113 cont./

[775] [774] [842] [796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--141 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775
774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the flanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the flanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuẽ(porẽvẽ) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguẽry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
• 182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to
[786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753
[753] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 578 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] [177] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[182] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

775 /143 cont./
776 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
• [182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

2: Schaden--189 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer: he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
179 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/184 cont./

534 one is of yvukí ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[524] yvyrá ñhaã ỹ, with a string of pindó ryvỹ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (ambiwahí) on the
masculine one (imõãna) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth: the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapé ỹ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapé ỹ djaoná
829 (the ending ñetã, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic: there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous): to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapé ỹ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride: to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
533 miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
177 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
• 182 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poĩpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 167 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components [829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
• 182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbũá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuſta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuſta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbũá. Those that arrived at [184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá, as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrãídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/173 cont./

77 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or
182 less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the
829 impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colo-
179 nists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the
182 Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast
182 and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies
829 designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

2: Schaden--224 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/174 cont./

the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./ wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 • 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77
177
178
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

77
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

/179 cont./

1977 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to
182 disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities; after the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to detribalization.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[935] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-cabocloized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[189] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapúi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapúi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapúi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[189] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

V. ANALYSIS

IN this chapter consideration of Cayuá acculturation is directed to the analysis of three principal questions: 128

1. What changes have occurred in the culture of the modern Cayuá, insofar as the sources of such changes are acculturational? 177*

2. What are the specific acculturational sources of these various changes? 182

3. How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; or what is the configuration or structure of Cayuá acculturation? Is there in all respects a uniform trend, or does one result of acculturation sometimes conflict with another?

In Chapter IV, Cayuá Culture: The Present, the various changes, the concern of the first question above, are considered in comparison with Cayuá Culture in the Past. (See Chapter II.) Since the comparison also provides some description of the modern cultural setting of these innovations, it will only be necessary here to present a summary list of acculturational changes, without the previous detail of context, in order to see them in aggregate. A list of acculturational changes in Cayuá culture has been organised into a chart, pp. 96–97, the items under II. A. and II. B., "Effects of Acculturation."

Many of the changes listed represent only differences of degree, compared to the past; a few are differences of kind. Differences of degree are usually indicated by words such as "more," "greater," or "less," "diminished," and so forth, as the case may be. These acculturational changes form no strict chronological group except, of course, that they are all post-European contact.

The reason for subdividing acculturational changes, that is, the distinction between primary and secondary acculturational effects, will concern us presently.

The second question we are to consider in this chapter (What are the acculturational sources of these changes?) calls for a summary of the points of impingement and influence of European culture upon Cayuá culture. (Strictly speaking, of course, "European culture" means the several temporo-spatial variants which enter into the case.) These influences are discussed in their historical (temporo-spatial) context in Chapter III, so it will here be necessary only to list the acculturational sources already elaborated, as we have done above with the acculturational changes. Such a list may be seen by referring again to the chart, pp. 96–97, under the heading of I. "Causes of Acculturation."

While the points of European cultural impingement and influence are naturally related to the character of European culture itself, they are not all strictly *traits* of European culture. In fact, many of the points of European impingement upon the Cayuá are not in the least features of European culture *per se;* rather, they are conditions peculiar to the particular context of Euro-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 pean culture we happen to be dealing with, that is, European culture *vis-à-vis*
177 Cayuá culture. In this sense, it was not a trait of European culture, for exam-
182 ple, to guarantee the Cayuá freedom from hostile attack. However, the character of European culture was such that, when Europeans had settled in sufficient numbers about the Cayuá, something in the nature of an SPI was organized which would guarantee and impose order, in the European sense, in the situation. Had Cayuá culture been other than it was, the particular acculturational causes effective in change might theoretically have been as different as if European culture itself had been something else. Both cultures, European and Cayuá, were necessary to the definition and determination of the acculturational causes which can now be recognized as operative in the Cayuá instance. Thus, some of the acculturational factors recognized can little more be said to be traits of European culture than they can properly be called traits of Cayuá culture. So far in this chapter we have dealt with two broad classes (lists) of factors. These are characterized as (1) "Causes of Acculturation" and (2) "Effects of Acculturation." But "Effects of Acculturation" are further broken into two subclasses, (A) "Primary or Immediate Effects of Acculturation" and (B) "Secondary or Derived Effects of Acculturation." The basis for the distinction, which will concern us throughout this chapter, is that secondary effects are the longer range or "derived" acculturational changes; primary effects are the "immediate" changes. It will be our task now to examine these factors in their structural or configurational contexts.

How are the various acculturational causes related to their respective results; what is the structure or configuration of Cayuá acculturation? For purposes of clarity and brevity, we may refer again to the chart (pp. 96–97). The three aforementioned lists or classes of factors are given in separate columns, showing diagrammatically, in the simplest possible manner, the principal causal relations among the factors. This chart will be made the basis of subsequent discussion of the relations of factors, and occasional reference to it may save some time. Some of the connections represented are fairly obvious, but others are probably less immediately apparent or may even be controvertible. Lines indicate factors which stand respectively in cause and effect relation to each other, left-to-right direction showing which is the effect and which is the cause. (Note: dotted and solid lines are equivalent; dotted lines are employed only to make the chart easier to read.)

The chart is concerned primarily with a *configurational* analysis of the factors of Cayuá acculturation—not with a temporal one. At the same time, of course, it is obvious that "effects" must stand in a particular temporal relationship to their respective "causes" since a singular cause necessarily precedes its effect. However, this point will not carry us far as to specifying time relations. In a large number of instances several causes, coming into being at different times, are recognized as contributing to a given effect. Furthermore,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not all of the several contributory causal factors necessarily become operative in the situation before any realization of the effect; some factors merely reinforce an effect already observable. Let us take as an example of our analysis (II. A. a.) "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the Cayuá." At least six different causal factors are indicated on the chart as playing a part in this effect. One factor is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements which serve to make modern agriculture more efficient and practicable on a larger scale than aboriginally. This particular factor is one which occurred relatively early in Cayuá acculturation since the Cayuá probably had acquired a slight knowledge of metal implements even before they knew much of the white man at close hand. Hence, as far as acculturation is concerned, this is an "old" factor making for agricultural expansion. Another factor which played a part in the present importance of agriculture is (I. g.) the "Development of an external market for small quantities of certain Cayuá products, principally agricultural products . . ." On a limited scale the Cayuá are now able to produce agriculturally for exchange with whites in return for white trade goods. But such trade is quite recent; it is much more recent, certainly, than the introduction of metal implements. Moreover, Cayuá agriculture necessarily had expanded much beyond its aboriginal scale before any regular exchange of agricultural produce with whites was feasible. Here, then, is a "new" factor in Cayuá agricultural expansion.

128 177* 182 •

One point this illustration makes is that a trend in the direction of a given acculturational effect may already be initiated before all the ultimate contributory factors become operative. Causal factors, therefore, are not inevitably "causal" in the sense of *initiating* their related effects. Some causes are actually secondary in time and are effective mainly in consolidating or increasing effects already in process through other causes. Metal tools might be one of a number of initiating factors before which no expansion of agriculture was likely. But the possibility of exchanging an agricultural surplus with whites was not in any sense necessary to agriculture nor has it, *per se*, initiated the larger scale of Cayuá production; it has, however, favored an increase which was already present or in process, possibly contributing to expanded plantings.

As we have said above, our analysis is more concerned with the configurational aspects or interrelatedness of factors of cause and effect and less with questions of temporal sequence. There are other comparable points of general implication regarding the method of analysis represented by the foregoing chart. These can be better appreciated after a discussion of the actual relations between factors which the chart summarizes.

The factors will be considered by classes. First we shall take up, each one separately, the (II. A.) primary or immediate effects of acculturation, and, thereafter (II. B.), the secondary or derived effects. It is scarcely necessary or possible to consider separately the causes of Cayuá acculturation since these

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 98]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

CONFIGURATIONAL ANAL

*177
● 182

I. CAUSES OF ACCULTURATION

a. Cayuá practically guaranteed protection from hostile attack by whites or other Indian tribes; are effectively prevented from participating in attacks themselves.

b. Metal implements introduced by whites, especially machete, axe, and hoe.

c. Cayuá gradually restricted as to territory, by retreat from whites, by encroaching settlers, and finally by SPI settlement of them upon designated reservation.

d. Game supply of animals formerly used by Cayuá for food gradually reduced because of coming of whites with firearms and their domestic animals.

e. Introduction of trade goods, cloth, salt, soap, tools, pots, lard, mate, meat, hats, and "luxury" and non-essential items.

f. Growth of an external (white) market for varying amounts of Cayuá male labor, with some desire to make such labor obligatory for Cayuá.

g. Development of external market for small quantities of some kinds of Cayuá products, principally agricultural products, but also certain craft items.

h. White political usages which tend to centralize authority in single individual for whole community.

II. EFFECTS OF AC

A. Primary or Im

a. Agriculture becomes more i economy.

b. Relative economic importan (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficienc agriculture. Not only more possible but can be done cla

d. Loss or decline of certain n

e. Labor relations with Neo-Br entailing dealings for white terms of it. (Incidentally th intimate present point of con societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Br and increase involving both
1) buying--white goods
2) selling--small amou Cayuá products.

g. Establishment of office capit margaret.

[P. 96]

[P.
F

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

CONFIGURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF CAYUA ACCULTURATION

II. EFFECTS OF ACULTURATION

A. Primary or Immediate Effects

177*
182 •

a. Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy.

b. Relative economic importance of hunting and fishing (gathering?) decline.

c. Greater individual efficiency and productivity in agriculture. Not only more agricultural work possible but can be done single-handedly.

d. Loss or decline of certain native industries.

e. Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers (change), entailing dealings for white goods or for money or in terms of it. (Incidentally a most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the two societies.)

f. Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase involving both
1) buying--white goods and
2) selling--small amounts of certain Cayua products.

g. Establishment of office capitão and his deputy, the sargento.

II. EFFECT

B. Secon

b' Individual economic di specialization (both m male alternatives (Lib own agriculture or in

c. Division of labor: indi work) becomes relativ basic activities, notab

d. Polygyny: less frequen extent.

e. Production-consumpti basic unit shifts from family. Closely relate
1) a change to co
2) a modification location of hou

g' Economic attitudes: (become more individua ness and helpfulness.) greater commercializa

a. Division of labor by se in work of agriculture.

f. Kinship system: disco rights of mother's bro considered incestuous.

h. Political structure: community and establi aboriginal household (s decentralized control.

[P. 96-A]

P. 2.

* "e" and "f" have been of the complication of

[see errata,

[P

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

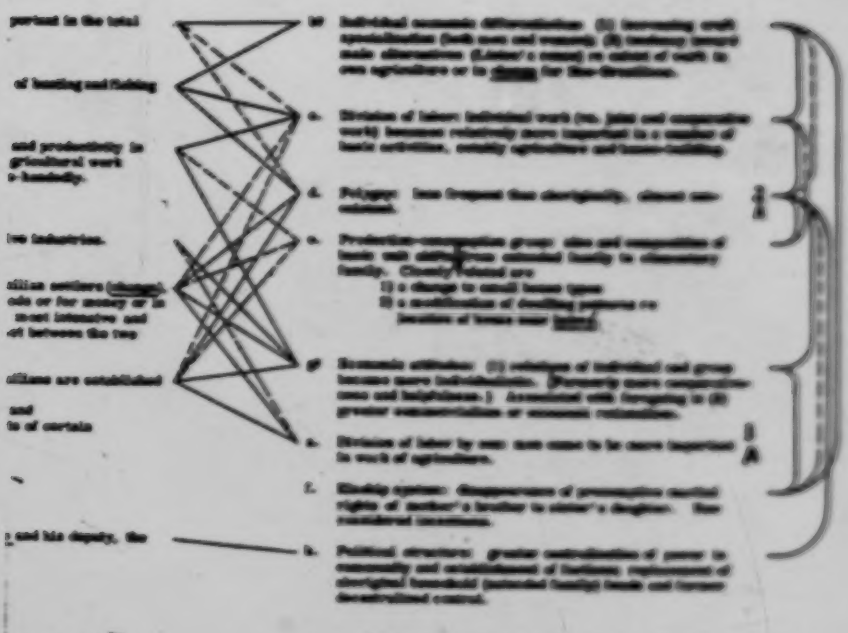
SIS OF CATUA ACCULTURATION

ULTURATION 177* 182

Main Effects

B. EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION 177* 182 *

B. Secondary or Derived Effects



* "A" and "B" have been placed out of alphabetical order because of the complication otherwise of transposing them.

[see [illegible], ch. 16, p. 132 - [illegible]]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is
• 182 no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in
each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any
factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of
recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other
pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed
source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale
which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to
abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making
clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated
agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of
work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller
expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with
the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding
less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened
efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less
arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
241 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the
reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive
agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes,
but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside.
Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory
tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *chaqra* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
• 182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[28]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
*177 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[29]

182 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
241 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
412

[28] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculture, however. These being near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their behind shrubs and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[29] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

[411]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *chaage* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *chaage* for local whites. The *chaage* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
• 182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
286 stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*chaaga*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact
648 between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *chaaga* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *chaaga* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *chaaga* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *chaaga*. Historically, however, the *chaaga* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *chaaga*.

The *chaaga* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *change* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *change* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *change* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *change* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *change* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" as distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, traditional

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
*177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists
• 182 in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *chaaga*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Chaaga* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *chaaga* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
*177 (II. A. e.) the *chaaga* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
182 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[188]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalisation, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182

By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[189] 241 462

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

---

[188] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not really recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *kandá*. [435]

[189] Lowie, 1946, p. 28.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *chaaga* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *chaaga* (II. A. c.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *chaaga* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 149).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *changa* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *changa* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools. 177* 182 241 462

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasised by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor. 177* 182 241 462 476

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in [226]

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for crude Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109-111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the crudos, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of meat.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *hokuá* for planting, along
• 182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *chaga* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *chaga* and trade.) Neither of
464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *chaga* a
476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *chaga* isby definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *chaga*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal time. In other words, as the *chaga* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singleanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
182 *chaga* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
43 is related to the question of whodoes the work of producing them. Hence, if it
464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production ach as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis withi extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as in the case ingeneral in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no classtratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced fod. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, article of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, nd this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yeto the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural product) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[20]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), *re* location of house *near hahud*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[21]

---

[20] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analyzed.

[21] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," operations, sentiments, and interactions (Homans, 1947, pp. 11 f.). "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of
• 182 (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater indi-
vidual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the in-
594 creased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have
already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooper-
596 ative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building.
621 Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *chaspa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

---

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is closely Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attending to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[36]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[36] What if matrilocality were the prominent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite considerably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family,
• 182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapái*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapái*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapái* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapái*, they have certainly not made *tapái* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupí-Guaraní, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warfareness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapái* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapirí) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling patten represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[169]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow least used in

---

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple element would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural cascade."

[169] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses closely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
594 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
596 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian popula-
621 tion, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
(Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
182 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in senti-
156 ments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed
(II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ness such as might exist if *changa* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *changa* is normally free of most conceivable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the residuum for the Cayuá *peão* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *changa* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *changa* "exposes" the *peão* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result. 177* 182 156

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *changa*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *changa*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods. 177* 182 43 181

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapiri—in which what was actually Cayuá *changa* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *peãrda*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to perform the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less superordinate and domineering toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapiri, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
*182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist
43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—
or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

*177 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexist-
182 ent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially
595 in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

---

[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173] 177* 182 595

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

---

[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
• 182 polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has
595 been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
182 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the
582 avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former
602 presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[178]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapái*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177] 177* 182 •

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con- 582 601 602

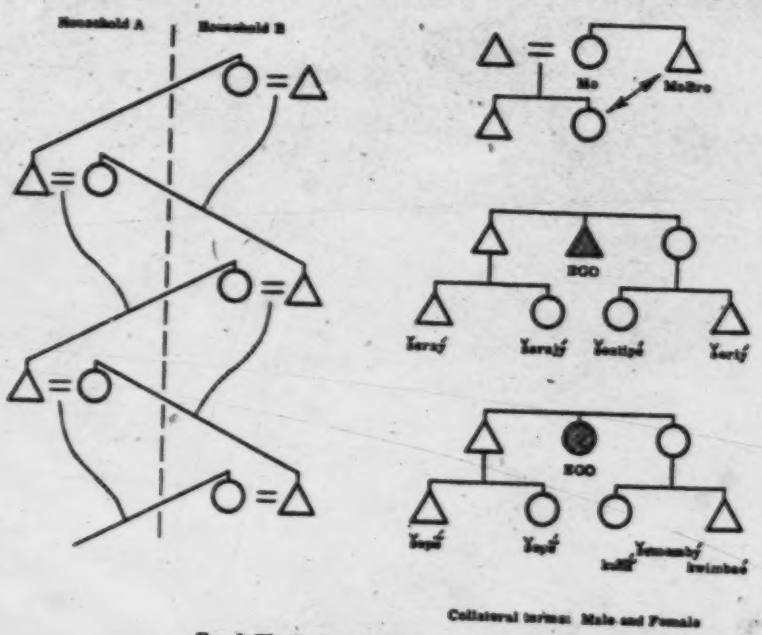


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person
• 182 from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in
582 Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain
601 matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance
[596] have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family
[591] and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate"
182 a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its
582 women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with
59 (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
• 182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
648 *capitán* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
721 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*paʔi*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
756 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province
622 of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *vox populi*.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
.182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

•182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [293]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175 182 721 175 722 182

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *roça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182. 476 177 434

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence. 121 177 178

São Paulo, Brasil.

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
756 of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
183 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytéva flesyrã; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú pytéva rysyi," which means red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá, as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá(d)já. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/10 cont./

178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, par-
[101] ticularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no difficulty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal
[114] brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the
[101] extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications, should correspond approximately to the probable point of departure of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbüá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirü, Ñaneirü ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apüteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetü /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
735 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
133 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
[114] achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[162] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[177] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueí-
rinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tõldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecõzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
• 184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
[179] conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupation of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 • 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing [114] line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

121
184
[177]

the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type. /The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestiso children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá: I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
• 184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[189] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
[192] loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[482]
[164]

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/38 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoïá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/39 cont./

291 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not
184 use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay;
he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé."
In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and
[192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with
cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common cloth-
ing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and
caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the men-
tion of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the gar-
ment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain,
in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very
suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to
[115] me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a
txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at
the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes
down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes
294 very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest,
and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters
long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the
two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one,
made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters
[283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while
the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the informa-
291 tion of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors
386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá
824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from
the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of
the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together
with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same
294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as
286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks
352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in
184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed
with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking
291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around
the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse
[286] cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
[192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbhá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

291 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the
• 184 other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort
[192] of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsï) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I
[114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes.
[286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth,
[177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the
[184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another
[184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
[84] Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[84] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year:
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [173] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbüa
Ñandéva

482
415
291
142
184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbüá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ; furthermore, kỹ ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Caingua (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
• 184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/58/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíí or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the
[221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, [192] throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[184] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have
[654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus,
[182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 178 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it [273] to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putÿvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organise them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytÿvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiotis.

[596]

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[097] Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the Ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the • 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/83/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] [179] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakü (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paĩ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Paĩ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pĩi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

462
415
[0
114]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462 [184] [178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[577]

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, pécro-avyký-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuítí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative": the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the func-
[114] tions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her (odjéko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/88 cont./

846 178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attached, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound [184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbïá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 784 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list 846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the [184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drink: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
846 wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
[114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
[783] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
973 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstrusting girl from exposing herself to

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day
881 of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl
301 makes -- for her father, brother, or another
• [184] person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each
881 one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-
301 kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva,
184 who already have almost completely abandoned
192 it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmãguá and tetýmãkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guaraní" to be distinguished from other Indians.
881 But they also indicate the magical end of
301 avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the
827 arms and legs, the tetýmãguá therefore being
75 considered indispensable on long walks.

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-azó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name: it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

[751] [824]

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbïá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

[171] [352]

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poydjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

2: Schaden--112 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbïá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbïá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
• [184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbïá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
• 184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbiá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. • [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the flanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[756] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

2: Schaden--121 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

622
756
192

sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar divinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"), a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

[624]

[184]

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

2: Schaden--128 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] yvyráidjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
• [184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--129 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
[184] Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his 797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2). 177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/110 cont./

771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
184 nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

/110 cont./

771 •184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts [62] with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [191] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
• 184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more: when one goes up, another one comes down."
[776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
• 184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukútýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukútýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneã (gua), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks nonsense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

[053] [055] 184 774 828 755 774 828 755 [775] [753]

2: Schaden--149 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./
[775] có dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombraçÃo"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast. [184]

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

[753] [761] [755]

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

775 828 177

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuẽ(porãvẽ) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguẽry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/118 cont./

77 What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of
115 Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend
115 Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title
ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious
life.

774 For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the
[826] human being is divided into txeretê ("my body") and txeñeẽ
(my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech").
In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the
idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt
at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view
of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given
• [184] for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute
[114] an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan
also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

774 The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls
828 in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are
[191] manifested through communication, that is, by means of lan-
guage and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy.
The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representa-
tions or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be
found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore
a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings.
The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of
the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him
when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear,
a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is,
but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of
Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three
souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguéry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
[537] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; peteín areko txepyáre, peteín areko txeakẽre, mokõi areko okápe, oñẽgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguéry

/122 cont./

782 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 182 [796] [424] [787] Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each individual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová, [184] [424] [787] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to [786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 424 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it; a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
• [184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/124 cont./

782 869 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspiration and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our mother"); they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

[869] [868] 756 159 [582]

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

[783]

2: Schaden--161 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayovás when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takurú pỹtãva ñesyrũ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú pỹtãva rysyí," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

2: Schaden--163 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissentions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I
[184] never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753
[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one
wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones
in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some
829 way the domain of religions they have a "prayer to do evil,"
[782] called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound
of the maraca, according to Marçal): in order to neutralize the
harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs,
[533] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá: they are sung (softly and without
mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object be-
longing to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes
sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take
hold in the civilized": on the other hand, there is always the
danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white
man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along
with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in
order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is,
the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí José). Perhaps it was with
mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy
the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance
on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied
by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name
mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.
[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still
do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly
speaking is called mohã vaí, done with food remains (orange
and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not
want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person
who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges
himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the
former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

2: Schaden--171 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/131 cont./

possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resignation. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who prescribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the Ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofleĕgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [776] of the solar god Paí Kuarány. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
•184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perulbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grave they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771
177

There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771
177
178
184

It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbüá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Ikariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771
177
178

/139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

[797]

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
171 father of half a dozen mestiço children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbyá
• [184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mengaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atyýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuẽ, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjẽ, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

2: Schaden--188 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aňã). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aňã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aňã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little steps being taken by its adepts as an

2: Schaden--139 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
•[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer: he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--192 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
• 184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechising. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbarakâ, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbarakâ, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Rariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbarakâ (or also mbarakâ ñ) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbarakâ or simply mbarakâ), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184] [533] 534 534 723 797 177 171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth: one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

2: Schaden--197 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poépé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [176]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ); it [184] [177] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is 776 177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

/159 cont./

538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
• 184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Itariri few Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbüá recently arrived from Faraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piẽta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomíaré, kutxára ñomíaré, rorítoridjú rorí týimã; ararakãre nde yguáryrú riré. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétỹguá mirí djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretã mombyrý; ndavýái. Avaká porã repotí ndaútsẽire; djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away; I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjú, txeirũ í, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú káí, ityryrú káí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight; it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái; oró ú ñuã takuarý-porã. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djaterei katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djirodjý, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

/162 cont./ Under the
771 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
772 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
167 the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[756] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[787] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
[175] Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--208 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167] Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114] With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184] It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184 /170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [176] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 18 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at [184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá'ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
183 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned: they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./ wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527 855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
121 Rengger,[30] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[31] Sampaio,[32] and Ambrosetti[33] at the turn of the century. Müller[34] and Strelnikov,[35] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the
433 same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[36] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups,
244 because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

[30] Rengger, 1835. [31] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [32] Sampaio, 1893.
184 [33] Ambrosetti, 1894 [34] Müller, 1934–35.
[35] Strelnikov, 1928. [36] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangáro* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuká* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new
241 clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of
[192] charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*saraiwá*)
[192] and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to
*174 the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the
241 Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did
462 the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive
[224] with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for
[226] cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative
[184] data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive
*174 hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer,
224 *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus
*174 and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out
224 of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have
261 long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat
262 family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[237]

[171] [a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. 174* 415 [285]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mácoti* (the word for "two"?). [192] [462] [192]

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano 174* 501 [171]

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Paá," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86] 174* 184 291 291 174* [714]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the 174* 301 237 [171]

---

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[234]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[234] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

881 /38 cont./
son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).

• [184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

[413]

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [154] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [79] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of 184 the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional 782 prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of 797 help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

773 776 [171]

In a *Pañ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guaraní*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Pañ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

668 786 178

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [77]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

177
178

476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
182 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
184 he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in
177 payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
476 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the
184
434

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182 476 177 434 121 177 178

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.

/219 cont./

301 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is
314 regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different
trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás
[192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former
is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun-
down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the
[184] following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden.
Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the
bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their
• 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the
whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan
was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans
have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests
and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed
for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only
the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people
no longer know how to make them around the bow string. --
/220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels in-
stead of feather tufts have appeared.

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

197

101 /12 cont./
167 confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is
[114] understood that the former advanced as far as
the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619 In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in
114 the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according
to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it
186 will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./
I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá í (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

101 hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he
•186 even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the
[756] body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With
[648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented
[101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally
[825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times.
175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west,
167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last
[773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the
[787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a
[361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/15 cont./

62 [433] [578] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group; a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--214 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4 Nandéva

/166 cont./

539 772

He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

539 772 186

One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
• 186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy minĩ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage: a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narĩ (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less de-
772 sirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living
186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man 774 the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 824 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretê ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puĵirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puĵirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puĵirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puĵirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puĵirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãwĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãwĩ'* that keeps the *puĵirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puĵirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puĵirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *pãtrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãwĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puĵirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puĵirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puĵirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puĵirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[171] [148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[19] [149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puĵirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puĵirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãwĩ'*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There [273] is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãwĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãwĩ'*.

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Marití.

778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 • 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
• 191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[119] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for
464 them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[120] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of confacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
• 191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
562 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-
*178 words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[121] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[119] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[120] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[121] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

301 /219 cont./
314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin; in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sundown. The man who does it must fast after midday and the [184] following forenoon: drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their
186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/225 cont./

353 778 [192] 778 789 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

142 291 301 534 778 304 ← 291 534 576 →

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/230 cont./

773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubórá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of [173] thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[189] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
[192] loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[482]
[164]

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

361 621

621 596 178

Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and religious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to discover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

178 184 592 621

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large
• [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields
341 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families,
178 it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/34 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
177 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of
[192] "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type
or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and
more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional
Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
[596] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-
family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate
community of life, with economic, religious, and political
interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been
subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see,
the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the re-
placement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane
dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance
area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the tradi-
tional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions
of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which
would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoïá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the kiákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
[283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
• [192] low and orange toucan (tíkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
778 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
• [192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovetxá ragué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but
[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
[192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort [192] of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsä) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsä. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, [177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/49 cont./

243 824 [193] too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 824 121

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó rosá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguẽ, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

[115] [192] [824]

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parĩ [192] kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parĩ kãtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

But the white flour, parĩ vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kúĩ [171] [192] morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ; furthermore, ký ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Cainguá (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/54 cont./

224 When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity
[192] of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered
[361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably
184 cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example,
[192] limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one,
[192] throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokã é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta; pirápirẽ, paper money; among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent; there is no question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

436 829 177 454

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txirigüano /Chiriguano/, Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

423 171

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves, which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar /Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies, and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva of Ikariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations. Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction, stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the flanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name flemongaraí (!). The flanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the flanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881 301 [184]

881 301 184 192

881 301 829 751

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

[751] [824]

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

[191] [352]

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý rý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 192 622 056 273 The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name Ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

/99 cont./

622
756
.192

sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
[624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráidjá.

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears [192] someone say Ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterĩ, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterĩ, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes-
[828] tial region called yrukitýtétĩ. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwá* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild-pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] • [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock [513] among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins [854] of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, *174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of 412 these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[b] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 Long troughs for *cãwĩ'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a [322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women them- [322] selves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited [462] in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct *177 cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re- [312] placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cãwĩ'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cãwĩ'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse [192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakũ'* (or *adjakã*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[b] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as *"Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil"* (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loin-cloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*' (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[b]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[b] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iera'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Ierajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iera'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Ieatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Ieatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Iepé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapái*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Tuŷ*, a son. *Cheraŷ*, mine. *Nderaŷ*, thine. *Tuŷ*, his. *Guaŷ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Penduba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives. G 193 192 601

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelè*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kaldm*, to whom does this A 193* 192*

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

chit; but as they are unable to express *second, third, fourth*, in their language, instead of these numbers, they place before the commandments, *and another, and another*, &c. *Cat laháua, cat laháua*, &c. They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Enàm cahèk*, that which goes before, and *Iñagehèk*, that which comes last. A 192* 802

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè*, and *Iñóakatapè*, which answers to the Latin, *bini*. *Liñoaka yahat*, means twice. *Ekátarapek*, and sometimes *Haûc ken*, once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, who cannot go beyond the number four. They call One, *Peteÿ*. Two, *Mokoÿ*. Three, *Mbohapĭ*. Four, *Irundÿ*. First, *Iyipĭbac*. Second, *Imomokoyndaba*. Third, *Imombohapĭhaba*. Fourth, *Imoimrundÿhaba*. *Singuli, Peteÿteÿ*. *Bini, Mokoÿmokoÿ*. *Terni, Mbohápĭhapĭ*. *Quaterni, Irundÿ rundÿ*. Once, *Peteÿ yebĭ*. Twice, *Mokoÿ yebi*, &c. The Guaranies, like the Abipones, when questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi*, or *Ndipapahai*, innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi- G 192 802 G 802 177

* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

another. *Hapagrani*, I teach thee. *Riápagr̃ani*, thou teachest me. *Riapagr̃an*, he teaches me. *Yapagr̃an*, he teaches him. A 192* 193*

Hamelk, I whip. *Hámelgi*, I whip thee. *Riámelgi*, thou whippest me. *Riamelk*, he whips me. *Gramelgi*, he whips thee. *Yamélk*, he whips him.

Hakleenté, I remember. *Hakleenchitápegr̃ari*, I remember thee. *Hakleenchitapegii*, thou rememberest me. *Yákleentetápegil*, he remembers me. From these instances, you will perceive the variation in transitive verbs, as sometimes *er̃oà*, sometimes *yégarige*, sometimes *rar̃i*, or other particles, must be added to the different persons. Believe me, the learning of them is extremely tedious to Europeans, and can only be effected by long acquaintance with these savages. Other Americans also use these transitive verbs, but their form is the same, whether mutual action or passion is expressed. Thus the Guaranies say, *Ahaĩhù*, I love. *Orohaĩhù*, I love thee. *Ayukà*, I kill. *Oroyukà*, I kill thee. *Amboé*, I teach. *Oromboe*, I teach thee, &c. What can be easier or more expeditious than this? G [192 193]

They sometimes express the relative who, by *eknam*, or, in the plural number, *enonam*, thus: *Dios eknam Kaogarik:* God who is the creator.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

GUARANI SM7

A
*192 Spaniard come, I shall be brave: *Tach hanèk*
+193 *Kadmelk, la riapotam.* See how well the Abipones do without the verb *to be!* as also the verb *to have.* I have many horses: *Ayte yla ahëpega:* many horses mine. I have many fleas: *Netegink loapakate enò! Pop.* I have no meat: *Chitkaekà lpabè.* I have no fishes: *Chigekoà ndayi. Hekà* has the same meaning with the Abipones that *datur* or *suppetit* has with the Latins, *es giebet* with the Germans, and *hay* with the Spaniards. *Chitkaekà* is a negative, and signifies that there is no meat, fishes, &c. In the plural number it changes to *chigekoà.* Is there food? *Meka kanàk?*

A *Neogà* means a day, and likewise time.
[805] *Grauek,* the moon, is taken for a month. *Yñicra,* the flower of the alfaroba, also denotes a year. Hence, when they wish to ask any one how old he is, they say, How many times has the alfaroba blossomed during your life-time? *Hegem leyera yñiegari?* which is a very poetical expression. For the body they name the
A skin or bone, thus taking the part for the
[196] whole. *Yoalè* means only a husband; it is however used to signify a man. In the same way
G the Guaranies use the word *Aba,* which denotes
192 a husband, and the Guarany nation, as they
196 have no word for man. *Aba che* has three meanings, I am a *Guarany,* I am a *man,* or I am

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

GUARANI SM4

a *husband;* which of these is meant, must be gathered from the tenor of the conversation. Perhaps there are nowhere more virgins than in the country of the Abipones, yet they cannot express a virgin except by a paraphrase, as *haayè* simply means a young girl. For never, they say *chik* or *chit*, thus, I shall never go hence: *Chik rihiukàm.* They more frequently say, *Chitlgihe rihiukàm. Chitlgihe* means, there appears no time in which I shall go hence. They express *eternal* by interminable, thus: Life eternal, *Eleyra chit kataikañi*, the life which is not finished. We used the Spanish word for God, whose name they are ignorant of: *Dios, eknam Kaógarik*, or *Naenatranak hipigem, kachka aalò.* God, who is the maker of all things, or the creator of heaven and earth. *Kauè* signifies to make; *Kaógarik*, a maker. They call eggs *Tetarik l'kauetè*, the hen's work.

They cannot express *everywhere* in one word, but explain it in this way: God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not; *Menetchegem quem hipigém, menetañi quen aalòd, ka chigekòr amà, chig enaè.* I omit innumerable other words which they want, but which they make up for in various ways. Many things which we always express with one and the same word, they distinguish with various names, or entirely transform, by clothing the original word

G 192 196
A 192* [836]
A 177 192*
A 192*

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

grow. *Neboke* is a kind of palm. *Nemelkehat*, a field sowed with wheat, which is called *nemelk*. The Guaranies make use of the same compendious expression, substituting *ti* for the particle *hat*, thus: *Abati*, maize. *Abatiti*, a maize-field. *Petĩ*, tobacco. *Petĩndi*, a place where tobacco is grown. For the sake of the euphony, to which the Guaranies are particularly attentive, *ndi* is substituted for *ti*.

A 192* 193* G 192 193

Ik. The names of almost all trees end in this syllable. *Apèhe*, the fruit chañar. *Apehìk*, the tree. *Oaik*, the white alfaroba. *Roak*, the red. The trees which produce it, *Oáikik*, and *Roaikik*. Though the alfaroba is also called *Hamáp*.

A 192* 193*

Rĕki signifies the vessel, place, or instrument in which any thing is shut up, kept, or contained. *Nañamrĕki*, a cup, from *nañàm*, I drink. *Nectrĕki* signifies the same thing: for *ñcèt* and *nañàm* are synonimous. *Katarañrĕki*, an oven, a chafing-dish, from *Nkáatèk*, fire. *Keyeerán-rĕkì*, a tub in which clothes are washed with soap, for *keyarañràt* is their word for soap.

Layt has almost the same signification as the former particle. *Yabogék layt*, a snuff-box, *yabogék* being Abiponian for snuff. *Ahĕpegrlayt*, a fold for horses.

Landà is a very useful word, and often serves as a sacred anchor, which beginners, slightly

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

faces by this name as if they were a terror to the eyes. A 192* 193*

Latè, indicates the place of action, thus: *Nahamátr̃alatè*, the place of the fight. *Kiñier̃alatè*, the place where one eats, that is, the table. A

They ingeniously invented names borrowed from their native tongue, for things introduced from Europe, or made by Europeans. They did not like either to appear poor in words, or to contaminate their language by adopting foreign ones, like the other Americans who borrow words from the Spaniards. Horses, which the Spaniards call *cavallos*, the Guaranies call *cavayù*, and oxen, which the Spaniards call *nobillos*, they call *nobì*. The Abipones, on the contrary, call a horse *ahëpegak*, an ox, *ỳúihàk*, and a bull, *ỳúihàk lepà*, an uncastrated ox, a name derived from their own language, though, before the coming of the Spaniards, they were unacquainted with these animals. They call a church *loakal ḱëriki*, the house of images, or *natamenr̃eki*, where thanks are given to God. A gun is expressed by *netelr̃anr̃e*, which means a bow from which arrows are cast. Perhaps it is derived from the word *neetè*, a storm, because a gun resembles the thundering of a storm. Gunpowder is called *netelr̃anr̃e leenr̃a*, the flour of the gun; a book, *lakatka*, which means a word, tongue, speech. They call a letter, or any 192* 177 G [177 192]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

When they have the head-ache they cry *Là ỳlvichigi yemarat*, now my head is angry. When fatigued with manual labour, *Là ỳlvichigi yauigra*, now my blood is angry, they exclaim with a smile. When in anger, they say, *Là ànahegem yauel*, now my heart hath risen. When impatient at any inconvenience, they vociferate: *Là lanamouge yapik*, now my patience is ended, now I will bear this no longer. A 192* [827]

Although the Guaranies and many other people of America have none but post-positions in their language, the Abipones use prepositions likewise. Thus the Guaranies, in making the sign of the cross, say: *Tuba haè layra, hae Espiritu Santo rera pipe.* Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For *pipe* means *in*, and *rera name* with them. The Abipones, on the contrary, say: *Men lakalátoèt Netà, kat Náitarat, kachka Espiritu Santo.* Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c. *Men* signifying *in*, and *lakalátoèt*, a *name*. *Men, mek, kèn*, or *en kerà*, signifies *in* or *at*, either with or without motion. *Men aaloa, men hipigem*, in the earth, in heaven. *Lahik ken nepàrk*, now I go to the plain. *Là rihi mek Kaáma loètà*, now I remove to the lands of the Spaniards. They are unacquainted with the preposition *with* which denotes society: they would express the G 192 193 A 192* 193* A 192* 193*

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

oagan, yet, however. *Encha klatùm keèn èúbnek, oagan netackaik:* Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán aýte apatáye ken nepark, máoge chik dàtèkan:* Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Meń, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men naetarat*, As the father, so the son. A 192*

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kimill naáchik!* Oh! how useful this will be to me! is their way of thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abipones nor Guaranies have any word whereby to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ángà:* [192] This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked the giver with nothing but the word *Kliri:* This is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat! Ta yeegàm!* or A G 181 576 G A 192* 576

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

A 192x 193x

Nekététàk, a goose	Neketéteri, geese
Oachígranigà, a stag	Oachigranigal, stags
Iñieřà, the flower of the Ma-roba, or a year	Iñiegari, flowers, or years
Neogà, a day	Neogotà, days
Eergřaik, a star	Eèrgřaiè, stars
Aápařaik, linen or woollen cloth	Aapařaikà, pieces of cloth
Yapòt, a brave man	Yapochì, brave men
Lachaogè, a river	Lachaokè, rivers
Letèk, the leaf of a tree	Leteghè, leaves
Ketélk, a mule	Ketelřa, mules
Panà, a root	Panarì, roots
Ìibichigì, angry, *sing.*	Ìibichigeri, angry, *plur.*

From these few examples it appears that nouns ending in the same letter have different plurals. Moreover, as the Greeks, beside a plural number, have also a dual by which they express two things, so the Abipones have two plurals, of which the one signifies more than one, the other many: thus *Joalé*, a man. *Joalcè*, or *Joaleèna*, some men. *Joaliripì*, many men. *Ahëpegak*, a horse. *Ahëpega*, some horses. *Ahëpegeripì*, many horses.

I wonder that the Abipones have not two words for the first person plural, *we*, like many other American nations. The Guaranies express it in two ways: they sometimes say, *ñandè*, sometimes *ore*. The first they call the inclusive, the second the exclusive. In their prayers, addressing God, they say, We sinners,

G 193

G [182]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARAN 514

G 193 [782] *ere angaypabiyà*; because God is excluded from the number of sinners. Speaking with men, they say, *ñandè angaypabiyà*, because those whom they address are sinners likewise, and they accordingly use the inclusive *ñandè*.

A *193 601 *192 As they have no possessive pronouns, mine, thine, his, the want of them is supplied in every noun, by the addition or alteration of various letters. Amongst the Abipones a great difficulty is occasioned by the various changes of the letters, especially in the second person. Take these examples. *Netà*, a father indeterminately. *Yità*, my father. *Gretay*, thine. *Letà*, his. *Gretà*, our father. *Gretayi*, yours. *Letai*, theirs.

Naetarat, a son, without expressing whose. *Yaetrat*, my son. *Graetrachi*, thy son. *Laetrat*, his son.

Nepèp, a maternal grandfather. *Yepèp*, mine. *Grepepè*, thine. *Lepèp*, his.

Naàl, a grandson. *Yaàl*, mine. *Graall*, thine. *Laàl*, his.

Nenàk, a younger brother. *Yenàk*, mine. *Grenarè*, thine. *Lenàk*, his.

Nakirèk, a cousin german. *Ñakirèk*, mine. *Gnakiregi*, thine. *Nakirek*, his.

Noheletè, the point of a spear. *Yoheletè*, mine. *Grohelichi*, thine. *Loheletè*, his.

Natatra, life. *Yatatra*, my life. *Gratatre*, thine. *Latatra*, his.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14

But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Tuŷ*, a son. *Cheraŷ*, mine. *Nderaŷ*, thine. *Tuŷ*, his. *Guaŷ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Pendaba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives.

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelà*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kalàm*, to whom does this

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

another. *Hapagrani*, I teach thee. *Riápagr̃ani*, thou teachest me. *Riapagr̃an*, he teaches me. *Yapagr̃an*, he teaches him. A 192* 193*

Hamelk, I whip. *Hámelgi*, I whip thee. *Riámelgi*, thou whippest me. *Riamelk*, he whips me. *Gramelgi*, he whips thee. *Yamélk*, he whips him.

Hakleenté, I remember. *Hakleenchitápegr̃ari*, I remember thee. *Hakleenchitapegii*, thou rememberest me. *Yákleentetápegil*, he remembers me. From these instances, you will perceive the variation in transitive verbs, as sometimes *er̃oà*, sometimes *yégarige*, sometimes *raĩri*, or other particles, must be added to the different persons. Believe me, the learning of them is extremely tedious to Europeans, and can only be effected by long acquaintance with these savages. Other Americans also use these transitive verbs, but their form is the same, whether mutual action or passion is expressed. Thus the Guaranies say, *Ahaĩhù*, I love. *Orohaĩhù*, I love thee. *Ayukà*, I kill. *Oroyukà*, I kill thee. *Amboé*, I teach. *Oromboe*, I teach thee, &c. What can be easier or more expeditious than this? G [192 193]

They sometimes express the relative who, by *eknam*, or, in the plural number, *enonam*, thus: *Dios eknam Kaogarik:* God who is the creator.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
Guaraní SM4

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCERNING OTHER PECULIARITIES OF THE ABIPONIAN TONGUE.

At this moment, I am doubtful whether to call the language of the Abipones a poor or a rich one: after I have told you what words they want, and what they abound in, you yourself shall decide on this point. The Abipones are destitute of some words which seem to be the elements of daily speech. They, as well as the Guaranies, want the verb substantive to be. They want the verb to have. They have no words whereby to express *man*, *body*, *God*, *place*, *time*, *never*, *ever*, *everywhere*, &c. which occur perpetually in conversation. Instead of I am an Abipon, they say *Aỳnì Abipon*, I Abipon; instead of thou art a plebeian, *Akami Lanaĩaik*, thou plebeian. They often substitute some neuter verb for an adjective and verb substantive, like the Latins, who say *bene valeo* as well as *sum sanus*. Thus, I am strong, *Riahòt*, thou art strong, *Grihochi*, he is strong, *Yhòt*. I am brave, *Riapòt*, thou art brave, *Grapochì*, he is brave, *Yapòt*. I am fearful, *Riakalò*, thou art fearful, *Grakaloi*, he is fearful, *Yakalò*. Let the

A 192* 193*
G [193]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

grow. *Neboke* is a kind of palm. *Nemelkehat*, a field sowed with wheat, which is called *nemelk*. The Guaranies make use of the same compendious expression, substituting *ti* for the particle *hat*, thus: *Abati*, maize. *Abatiti*, a maize-field. *Petĩ*, tobacco. *Petĩndi*, a place where tobacco is grown. For the sake of the euphony, to which the Guaranies are particularly attentive, *ndi* is substituted for *ti*.

A 192* 193* G 192 193

Ik. The names of almost all trees end in this syllable. *Apèhe*, the fruit chañar. *Apehìk*, the tree. *Oaik*, the white alfaroba. *Roak*, the red. The trees which produce it, *Oáikik*, and *Roaikik*. Though the alfaroba is also called *Hamáp*.

A 192* 193*

Rẽki signifies the vessel, place, or instrument in which any thing is shut up, kept, or contained. *Nañamrẽki*, a cup, from *nañàm*, I drink. *Nectrẽki* signifies the same thing: for *ñcèt* and *nañàm* are synonimous. *Katarañrẽki*, an oven, a chafing-dish, from *Nkáatèk*, fire. *Keyeerẽánrẽkì*, a tub in which clothes are washed with soap, for *keyarañrẽàt* is their word for soap.

Layt has almost the same signification as the former particle. *Yabogék layt*, a snuff-box, *yabogék* being Abiponian for snuff. *Ahëpegrlayt*, a fold for horses.

Landà is a very useful word, and often serves as a sacred anchor, which beginners, slightly

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S74

When they have the head-ache they cry *Là ỳivichigi yemarat*, now my head is angry. When fatigued with manual labour, *Là ỳivichigi yauigra*, now my blood is angry, they exclaim with a smile. When in anger, they say, *Là ànahegem yauel*, now my heart hath risen. When impatient at any inconvenience, they vociferate: *Là lanamouge yapìk*, now my patience is ended, now I will bear this no longer. A 192* [827]

Although the Guaranies and many other people of America have none but post-positions in their language, the Abipones use prepositions likewise. Thus the Guaranies, in making the sign of the cross, say: *Tuba haè layra, hae Espiritu Santo rera pipe*. Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For *pipe* means *in*, and *rera name* with them. The Abipones, on the contrary, say: *Men lakalátoèt Netà, kat Náitarat, kachka Espiritu Santo*. Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c. *Men* signifying *in*, and *lakalátoèt*, a *name*. *Men, mek, kèn*, or *en kerà*, signifies *in* or *at*, either with or without motion. *Men aaloa, men hipigem*, in the earth, in heaven. *Lahik ken nepàrk*, now I go to the plain. *Là rihi mek Kaáma loètà*, now I remove to the lands of the Spaniards. They are unacquainted with the preposition *with* which denotes society: they would express the G 192 193 A 192* 193* A 192* 193*

/10 cont./

197 10 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañyguá and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbiá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

[114]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."
[195]

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known
in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations.
The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the
couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried
to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the func-
tions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned --
it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it
with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From
such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and
what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brood-
•[196] ing "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays,
to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This
is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the
paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however,
there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her
(odjeko)aku: the others do not have a special designation for the
state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the
Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day;
nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able
to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová
woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed,
lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In
any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the
father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to
neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming
from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1780) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

GUARANI SAY

A
*192 Spaniard come, I shall be brave: *Tach kamèk*
+193 *Kamèlk, la riapotam.* See how well the Abipones do without the verb *to be!* as also the verb *to have.* I have many horses: *Ayte yla ahëpega:* many horses mine. I have many fleas: *Netegink loapakate end! Pop.* I have no meat: *Chitkaekà lpabè.* I have no fishes: *Chigekoà nòayi. Hekà* has the same meaning with the Abipones that *datur* or *suppetit* has with the Latins, *es giebet* with the Germans, and *hay* with the Spaniards. *Chitkaekà* is a negative, and signifies that there is no meat, fishes, &c. In the plural number it changes to *chigekoà.* Is there food? *Meka kanàk?*

A *Neogà* means a day, and likewise time.
[805] *Grauek,* the moon, is taken for a month. *Yñieña,* the flower of the alfaroba, also denotes a year. Hence, when they wish to ask any one how old he is, they say, How many times has the alfaroba blossomed during your life-time? *Hegem leyera yñiegari?* which is a very poetical expression. For the body they name the
A skin or bone, thus taking the part for the
[196] whole. *Yoalè* means only a husband; it is however used to signify a man. In the same way
G the Guaranies use the word *Aba,* which denotes
192 a husband, and the Guarany nation, as they
196 have no word for man. *Aba che* has three meanings, I am a *Guarany,* I am a *man,* or I am

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

GUARANI S14

a *husband;* which of these is meant, must be gathered from the tenor of the conversation. Perhaps there are nowhere more virgins than in the country of the Abipones, yet they cannot express a virgin except by a paraphrase, as *haayè* simply means a young girl. For never, they say *chik* or *chit*, thus, I shall never go hence: *Chik rihiukàm.* They more frequently say, *Chitlgihe rihiukàm. Chitlgihe* means, there appears no time in which I shall go hence. They express *eternal* by interminable, thus: Life eternal, *Eleyra chit kataikañi*, the life which is not finished. We used the Spanish word for God, whose name they are ignorant of: *Dios, eknam Kaógarik*, or *Naenatranak hipigem, kachka aalò.* God, who is the maker of all things, or the creator of heaven and earth. *Kauè* signifies to make; *Kaógarik*, a maker. They call eggs *Tetarik l'kauetè*, the hen's work.

They cannot express *everywhere* in one word, but explain it in this way: God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not; *Menetchegem quem hipigém, menetañi quen aalodà, ka chigekòr amà, chig enaè.* I omit innumerable other words which they want, but which they make up for in various ways. Many things which we always express with one and the same word, they distinguish with various names, or entirely transform, by clothing the original word

G 192 196
A 192* [836]
A 177 192*
A 192*

/218/

000

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
II. Material Culture.
III. Art and Music.
IV. Religious Ideas, Myths and Fables.
V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.
VI. Influence of the Environment.

I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101
• 197

The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Cainguá. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113]

1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbüa (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

101
[174]

[113]

3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brazileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, [112] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of 101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there 197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit [177] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, [182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 101 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and nonmaterial culture. Reference will be made to these particularities at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

•197

/10 cont./

197 10 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañygua and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

[114] 5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

175 /31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162
[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
• 197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom: they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
•197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[161] Brazilian settlements of Unifo and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[628] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
[175] plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
•197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guaraní, or rather Tupí, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
125 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

101 [131] 101 121 [175] [197]

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

101 175 [131]

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

131 175 [172]

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Appa.ently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahẽi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
• 198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytãva ñesyrũ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru pytãva rysyi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *chaags* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22* 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
• 22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[186]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
*177 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[187]

182 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
241 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
412

[186] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agricultor, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *kokué* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [187] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadilloes, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

167 those routes would already have closed up again
174 with forest and grass ..." /translated from the
72 Spanish/.
[484]

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my
174 fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been
175 enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of
127 these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish con-
484 quest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the
175 commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the
648 Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

22 /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor
262 Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search
[127] of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside
[252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
• 221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
771
796

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in
221 December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year.
[249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the
464 months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food"
221 is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros
[434] and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is
[245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for
177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the
182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the
241 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is
296 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is
221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-
243 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases,
221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other
[171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/58/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the
[221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[199] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177
*178 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from
534 Jesuit times.

The Annual Economic Cycle

• 221 At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is
241 almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the
*[178] total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *changa;* they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cāwī'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBaiť tupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[125] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[125] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126] 412 [177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíl or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[178] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the
[221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

• 222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabotícába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBira* (?), and *aratícá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cãwí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambú* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

[224] In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in
*178 the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation,
*177 mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
342 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
412 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
•222 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
412 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
415 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

---

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [824] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

• 222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strömichev.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [70] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguini) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
• 223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá pïá (an
172 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[44] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[45]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[46] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[45] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226]

Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

241 433 177 182 648

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. ligara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

2: Schaden--64 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one matching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well; including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[43] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *iapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[44]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[45] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

---

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff. [43] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107. [45] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

• 224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabotícába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirébBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *araticá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cāwī* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guaraní SM4

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

174* 175* 648 [494]

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins. [657]

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians. [224]

[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26. [112] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
241 formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[562] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 342 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
412 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cāwī'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBatī ĩupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[128] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[128] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
• 224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs; clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
222 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
412 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
415 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[128] 224 •

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 241 462

[128] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*." [177]* [805]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[139] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[139] "*Changa*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokwé* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
• [224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
241 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changa* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambú, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnichov.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [77]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

.224 226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

464 648 [465] 439 648

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

462 [482] [241]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coatí* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[45] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[46]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[47] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[45] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177 182] 1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

241 433 177 182 648

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

• 226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mokĩ é), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

[462] [252] [192]

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

[262] [192] [432] [114] [224] [178]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new
241 clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[41] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of
[192] charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*)
[192] and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to
*174 the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the
241 Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did
462 the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive
[224] with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for
[226] cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the
[184] man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture
*174 was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive
224 hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus
*174 and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out
224 of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have
261 long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat
262 family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the
[237]

[171] [41] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 224 262 [261] [225]

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coatí* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[43] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

174* 223 [235]

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[44] [262]

174* 411 224 223

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

174* 226

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[45] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

---

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[43] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[45] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a [462] fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aralicá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cāwī'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambú* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[68] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāwī'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

*174 582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[68] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far,
[173] however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *iupi'*
than *monoiß'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The
flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the
Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and
supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoiß'*) and a more recent flint type
(*iupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The
present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In
any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agri-
culture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between
one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influ-
ence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
• 226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The
bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does
not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to
the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
222 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
412 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
415 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice)
bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of
433 her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing.
Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and
include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[128] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

241

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 462

[128] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*." [177* 805]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[139] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[139] "*Changa*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is
182 no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokwé* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that depended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *changa* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *changa* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools. 177* 182 241 462

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor. 177* 182 241 462 476

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in [226]

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim.*) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of *maté*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba, A. totai, Cocos yatay, Attalea,* and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica, Annona,* araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[3]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní.* The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[3] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnikov.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as
[465] peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking
439 grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The
[482] female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, • 226 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. 178 The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as [241] one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175 182 721 175 722 182

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

301 237 286 *174

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

[386] [462] *174

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

283 227 [177] *174

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

411 *174 412 [178] [171]

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

301 881 *174 304 000

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[797] [439]

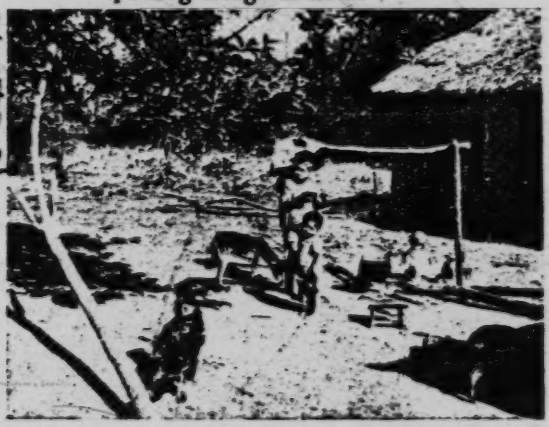
[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

2: Schaden--75 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756
797

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

*174
726

WARFARE

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

+174
231
648
726
*[175]

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gê-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

[71] 771

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba, A. totai, Cocos yatay, Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica, Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Streinichov.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *mate*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *mate* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *mate;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *mate*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[38]

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

---

[38] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
797 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
[462] apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[286] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
[241] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
[62] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[433] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
648 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes.
797 The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
*174 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapûi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[42] The *coatí* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[43] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[44]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[45] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

---

[42] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff. [43] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107. [45] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

Of great importance even today are the objects used in 793 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 292 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the • 237 down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

301 /219 cont./
314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun-down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the [184] following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their
186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
• 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/227 cont./

793
291
• 237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl:

/232 cont./

796 "Hoẽri yahá, hoẽri yahá, ĩe resá.
539 Nhanderykeỹ mbaraká ĩe resá,
533 Nhanderykeỹ ha dẽyroký ĩe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ yeguaka ĩe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ kuakuahá ĩe resá,
Nhanderykeỹ tembetá ĩe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeỹ has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[778] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
• [237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[778] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from
[784] Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the kũãkuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tũhã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 fiemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavôhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
178 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precau- [352] tion of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraitý (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, caêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] [775] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [776]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[41] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well; including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *taitú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[41] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 [513] [854] doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[21] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

*174 322 412 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[22] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 [322] Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 [323] [462] *177 [312] Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] [192] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjakā*), worn across the

[21] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[22] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocôi* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[53]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[54] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[55] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[56]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[57] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[53] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [54] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 706. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[56] *Ibid.* [57] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[58] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which • 237 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[59]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple [462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[60]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large 227 animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[61] but no other *174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[62] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or [178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is [171] still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This 881 ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

---

[58] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [59] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [60] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[61] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [62] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *lipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
• 237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *crus*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãwĩ'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cãwĩ'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãwĩ'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve [145] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched [824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti- [712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., [413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [332] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [293] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
715 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 243

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] 244
Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the 433
equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani. 184

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various 24
plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants 184
for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the 174*
north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here. 245

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea* 244
sp.), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuká* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) 243
pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognised, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn 174*
was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind 243
and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), 174*
and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through 243
the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color. 174*

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical 241
slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South. [178]*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cauí*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBatí tupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[130] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[130] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241
24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakwá*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

291
302
342
415
516

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Cainguá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

657 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of [241] the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962. SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226] Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéua/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

/45 cont./

241 433 177 182 648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 439 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 182 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. [434] And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 196 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, ayatí-mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbïa
Ñandéva

482
415
291
142
184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbïá. 2. Ñandéva.

• 241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú fiandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 fiandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá fiandé avatí djýguê); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

• 241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
771 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
[177] rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
• 241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears): that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, whic requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by mean of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficultie of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[935] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

000 enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *maté*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get
• 241 hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *maté* grove.
233 The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

554 The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots,
233 guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols
241 of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among
642 them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *maté;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *maté*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[28]

000 Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

---

[28] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The zones in which the Cayuá of Brasil live, including those of Taquapiri, can be divided roughly into three types according to plant cover. The first, which is called *campo cerrado*, or simply *cerrado*, is described as "a savanna with scattered thickets of deciduous scrub forest."[27] The trees are usually small, gnarled and twisted, and often widely enough scattered and open so that grasses fit for grazing grow among them. Indeed, the vagrant cattle of the region graze in this type of terrain as well as in the *campo limpo* or *chapadão*. Here one refers to the open expanses of grasslands which largely follow the divide between the waters of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, south from the town of Campo Grande to the Paraguayan frontier. Smaller stretches of grasslands are scattered among the *cerrados* and the *matas* (forests), the latter being the third type of vegetation which characterizes the Cayuá country. 137

The *matas* are composed of enormous trees, including the *perobas*, *cedras*, and other great hardwoods, and close growing vegetation; it is impossible to confuse the *mata* with the *cerrado* type of country. The *matas* are usually dense, and the trees are high enough so that one is out of the sun during the day and has a feeling of cool darkness. It is with the *matas* that we shall be primarily concerned in considering the Cayuá. The forest is their home par excellence, and their feeling of ease in it finds expression in many interesting ways.

As for the soils, as James[28] suggests, "the various kinds of grass-forest mixture have an important bearing on the physical quality of the land and its potential value for agricultural settlement." This principle is tacitly recognized by the Indians. For the Cayuá of Taquapiri the only soils worth farming are, in the first place, soils within the *mato*,[29] and, secondly, *mato* soils in which certain kinds of growth have developed, notably *taquara* (a type of bamboo) and a certain type of fern (*omambai*). In the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiri the *campo* and *cerrado* soils are generally light colored, sandy, and probably poor, while the *mato* soils are usually reddish, with considerable humus, and richer. 134 241

The location of the Cayuá in Mato Grosso and neighboring Paraguay is almost exclusively on the Rio Paraná side of the divide between that river and the Rio Paraguay. Numerous rivers large enough to be navigable drain this region into the Paraná. Two of these rivers, the Iguatemy and the Amambai, have their sources quite near to the Cayuá *colônia* of Taquapiri. Both enter 133

[27] James, 1942, p. 505. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] The distinction in Brazilian Portuguese between *mata* and *mato* is not very clear to the writer, but the former seems to refer more to a specific forest and the latter in general to forested or wooded country.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
121 Rengger,[32] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
• 241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the
433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture
244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

184

[32] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakubá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwá* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *taitú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[48] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was • 241 farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cáuí* and the [273] giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, #174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

---

[48] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
797 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
[462] apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[286] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
[241] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
[62] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[433] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
648 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes.
797 The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into
*174 their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples. 174* 175* 177* 648 797

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[47]

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[48] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[49] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri- [241] 174* 175* 177* 797

[47] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934–35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[48] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá.*

[49] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175
*177 marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change
797 the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little
• 241 more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

*175 The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties
648 in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in
797 the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

*175 The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the
245 fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the
648 missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[81] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[82] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization. 648 871 657 [177]*

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers. 648 657

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed. 648

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless 648 177* 241 • 657

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
• 241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[128] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to. 121 128

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[129] The importance of the machete 177+ 412 [247]

[128] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[129] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
• 241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177
*178 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from
534 Jesuit times.

The Annual Economic Cycle

221 At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is
• 241 almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the
*[178] total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *chonga;* they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cãwí*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBaíí tupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[126] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[126] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[28] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 241 462

[28] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "dia santo." [177* 805]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for *178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later head-
476 ing regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production
596 group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapái*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapái*. In other words, building a *tapái* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapái* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapái* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[148] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[148] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiais* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapéi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiai*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
• 241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
621 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[126]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
*177 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[127]

182 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
241 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
412

[126] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agricultor, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *hokad* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [127] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
*177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
182 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
464 (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
*177 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely
182 oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[188]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182

By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[189] 241 462

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

[188] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *hewká*. [435]

[189] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[160]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[161] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[160] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[161] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *changa* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *changa* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasised by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of *mate*.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
• 241 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
462 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
476 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
182 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
462 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
464 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
476 ment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
648 tural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become
more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
changa is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
182 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
43 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
464 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
476 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different
from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their ab-
original equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are
matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be dis-
tributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as
it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade
goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

123
331

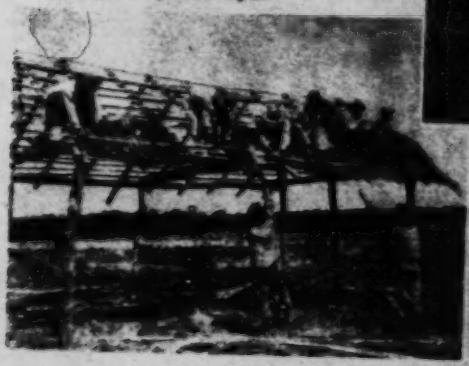


FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapéi* at Taquaperi. Log tanks for *cáuí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

178
342

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbufirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapéi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*suwakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*odjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauim* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catandwá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kaygwá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[94]

177 At present most of the *Caingué* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingué* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingué* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingué* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[17] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingué* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingué*. On the *Coyué* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingué*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingué*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paü'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241* [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[789] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[141] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[796] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[787] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine-men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[827] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[178] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[683] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *hierva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
[482] ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
• [241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174 648 If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

• 241 174 648 In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people." [14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as [241] one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted 226
that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart 178
from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presum- 177
ably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting
and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only nega- 241
tive in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in 182
agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a 721
more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave 175
little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived
in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found 182
to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his 721
statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other
tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of 175
his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a
little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared 722
to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might 182
betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
177 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
.241 enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
648 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far
182 as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[657] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
177 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
241 by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult
412 to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to *"changuear"* for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 • 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[33] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the *"serviço,"* or work involved, is

[33] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

.241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

/310 cont./

174 167 172 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 172 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont. /

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p.142]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *hokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[142] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *hokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *hokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other pingues to "discover" a *hokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *hokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

2: Schaden--50 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
22 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
22 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
22 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

2: Schaden--51 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. [434] And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is [171] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. These in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

2: Schaden--53 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/48 cont./

243 824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mñĩ, sometimes avatí karapé, sometimes avatí mirĩ. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtĩ (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtã (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakairá morõtĩ or avatí pukú morõtĩ, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground": it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakairá morõtĩ.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of [114] [115] Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí pukú, morõtĩ and pỹtã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatí puku pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.
[173] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An
243 824 12 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant: In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim
[115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle
[192] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the
[824] blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderoá kaýguã, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí
796 mberúre): when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 flandé avatí flahangá): after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí djýgué): and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahéi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call pytyvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytyvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[156] It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34]
121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the
433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture
244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

184

[33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934-35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangdra* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuhá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cāwī'*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBaiī tupī'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[126] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177 243

[126] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
• 243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

224 Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

---

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
[262] danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[291] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
648 region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter small amounts of their *kokwí* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
*[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
*[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
352 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
415 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
*262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[188] Hammocks are

[188] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapái*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapái*. In other words, building a *tapái* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With t[illegible]sitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily a[illegible]d at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[144] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[145] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapái* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapái* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[144] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[145] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
[84] Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[84] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

2: Schaden--51 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú ñandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 ñandé avatí ñahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá bovasá ñandé avatí djýguá); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kívira angá or djahá djaporabéi kívira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

• 244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
[171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or
262 aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient
[114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases
[171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi-
[177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for
[192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kĩtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kĩtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuẽra drains off.
[192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí
[192] morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem
[114] to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I
[126] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use of the grater.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts,
121 Rengger,[26] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[28] Sampaio,[30] and Ambrosetti[31] at the turn of the century. Müller[27] and Strelnikov,[32] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the
433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[33] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture
• 244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433
184

[26] Rengger, 1835.
[27] Müller, 1934–35.
[28] Von Koenigswald, 1908.
[30] Sampaio, 1890.
[31] Ambrosetti, 1894
[32] Strelnikov, 1928.
[33] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 243 244 433 184 24 184 174* 245 244 243 174* 243 174* 243 174* 241

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroideae sp.*), *mbakubá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognised, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South. [178]*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[40] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

*174 361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autocomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognised community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

*174 596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cáuí* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

*174 582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[244] [226] [273] [462]

[40] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cāwī*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBaît tupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[118] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[118] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *hokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[144] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[145] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[144] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *hokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *hokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[145] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *hokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *hokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is [171] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/69 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[64] [177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 243 244 433 184

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

24 184

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

174* 245

244 243

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *corá* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuhá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognised, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

174* 243

174* 243

174* 241

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South. [178]*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change
797 the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little
241 more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

*175 The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties
648 in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in
797 the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

*175 The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the
• 245 fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the
648 missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[81] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[82] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[94] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembeá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[95]

175+ 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[96] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[97] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

174+ 175+ 167 648 668

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[95] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[96] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [97] Von Ihering, 1907.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/47 cont./

244 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in
221 December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year.
[249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the
464 months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food"
221 is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros
[434] and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is
[245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for
177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the
182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the
241 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is
296 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is
221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-
243 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases,
221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is
[171] planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

• 249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
[824] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

2: Schaden--61 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 5M4 Guarani SM4

249 /53/

Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová,
[778] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient: the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats didnot take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish con-

484 175 648 22 quest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside

[252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

C
252 /352 cont./

The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, G [252] such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct C [251] [262] buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C
372
177

The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some C Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem [415] to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox [281] with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

2: Schaden--58 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/51 cont./

244 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or
222 aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient
[114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases
[171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi-
[177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for
[192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kítĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kítĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuẽra drains off.
[192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuĩ
[192] morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I
[114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use
[126] of the grater.

2: Schaden--64 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [852] the fish on the spot (mokã ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /58/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--116 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May,
[782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be-
[829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently
[782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in
[262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy
[752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior
[304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they
[262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings the
[752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[852] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A
[834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would
[562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman,
[304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticába* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Mirtaceo* [252] family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aratiá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuí* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *ysá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cáuí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cáuí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cáuí* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takwapú* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[130] 178* 469

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[131] 178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not. 178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *beliche* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puširão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puširão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cāwī'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are. 178* 464 465 476 648

[130] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[131] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cāwī'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembetá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tapiapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play: The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Caingué* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. [231] When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and [262] Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[8]) is part of *Caingué* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the [231] larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Caingué* prefer meat to any other food, their 224 main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with [262] abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingué* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have [231] dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the 226 ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast 178 used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided [433] with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and 231 178 many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a 262 heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with 252 maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, [178] abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingué* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingué* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, 252 dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingué* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingué* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin [178] grater—and washing the mass in water.

[8] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnicher.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [445] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ'*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

20 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*serakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *hokwá* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[44] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[45]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[46] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[45] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

2: Schaden--52 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

[262] [273] [433]

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[437] [177] [437] [173]

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

[126] [114]

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 flandé avatí flahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí djýguê); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporabêi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynahú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

2: Schaden--58 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kãtã (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kãtã is added mandió pỹ, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kúí [192] morõtí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

167 174 172 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127]

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

[252]

G /311 cont./
175
484
648
[262]
G
[271]

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G
[721]

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G
175
167
721
C
167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

/51 cont./

• 262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
[324] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokã ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered [114] a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one matching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organise the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 [262] 273 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

2: Schaden--111 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
• 262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

2: Schaden--112 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
•262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[MC] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
[184] the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[756] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [252] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should main- [834] tain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [562] [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

2: Schaden--146 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

774 828 825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguaníva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 828 [175] Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[10] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[11] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguaretê*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[10] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[103] [11] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new
241 clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[41] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of
[192] charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*)
[192] and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwé* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to
*174 the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the
241 Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did
462 the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive
[224] with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for
[226] cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the
[184] man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture
*174 was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive
224 hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus
*174 and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out
224 of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have
261 long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat
• 262 family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the
[237]

[41] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having
[171] been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coati* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[45] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tesoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[46]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[47] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[45] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognised proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as bandanas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but occasionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter small amounts of their *kokwé* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant. Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a hammock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers, which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[136] Hammocks are

[136] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned. 648 439 352 415 262

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*. 439 648 433 464 [463]

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so 437 648 435 [465]

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes. [171]

[137] Gras, 1930.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[784]
[843]

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[304] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[753] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[262] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[824] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [403] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Cainguá*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Cainguá* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Cainguá* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Cainguá* are very fond of sugarcane, which is [262] for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Cainguá* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood. [231] [262] [231]

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars. 224 [262] [231]

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204). 226 178 [433]

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals. 231 178

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty. 262 252 [178]

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water. 252 [178]

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strehlicher.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, fio I, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows,
[178] although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstrusting girl should
• [263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

•263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [745] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, ~~which are~~ often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

E /314 cont./
175
167

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E
175
167
721
726
I
726

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E
[727]
I
[712]

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E
175
721
726
I
726
701
E
[291]
[266]

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

C Ce 175 648 [797] /325 cont./ of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a C [266] member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to Ce [113] escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648 In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon

5

Guarani 544
Brazilian Indians 544

G The Brazilians and Guaranies formerly disliked the
266 trouble of digging pits for sepulchres. These
764 hungry anthropophagi buried within their own bowels the flesh of those that yielded to fate.
G It must be confessed however that the Gua-
764 ranies of after-times, more humane than their ancestors, placed dead bodies in clay pitchers. Seeking the savages in Mbaeverà in the midst of the woods, I met with a plain artificially made, the trees being cut down for the purpose, and there I found three pitchers of this kind, each of which would contain a man, but all empty. The bottoms of the pitchers were placed toward the sky, the mouth towards the ground. But from sepulchres, let us hasten to funeral obsequies.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[504] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
.266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembetá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapirí in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

G /311 cont./
175
484
648
[262]
G
[271]

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G
[721]

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G
175
167
721
C
167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuvo-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), [273] constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented [433] beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [173] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [62] [184] [273] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance. [182]

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. 476 574 273 To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society"; anyone who has money gives.

476 574 [262] All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 192 622 156 273 The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
178 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[159] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[441] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Ratins, who came from Paraguay in 1948 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

• 273 828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbïá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [529 855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273 182 177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77 177 178 182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

177 182 128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177 182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabotícábe* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirébe* (*Mirtaceae* family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aratícá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [252] [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cáuí'* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *yúd*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterised as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupí-Guarani.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 361 342 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family 433 was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was 241 farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cauí* and the [273] giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

---

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*hurusú* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarahá*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cáuí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cáuí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cáuí* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarahá* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *chaaga*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokué*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokué* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *chaaga* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[38]

*177 A sort of *chaaga* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
464 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *chaaga*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*chaaga*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[39]

[273]

[38] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *chaaga* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[39] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 496 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[100] The *puliróo* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *mankiróo* [*puliróo*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation (not "cooperation" in our definition here) in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[101]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puliróo* and something less than total participation by all individuals in the village.[102] Some individuals say that *puliróo* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puliróo* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cauí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cauí* that keeps the *puliróo* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puliróo* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puliróo* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] change work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cauí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[103] Nor is the large-scale *puliróo* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puliróo* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puliróo*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puliróo*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

[171]

---

[100] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tupinapá.

[19] [101] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puliróo-mankiróo* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "*ñ*" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[102] It is true, of course, that the *puliróo* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[103] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cauí*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There [293] is probably some relation of this thing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cauí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokué* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cauí*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

273
291
415
516

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cheC*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Women straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cheC*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

[535]
[342]

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbaiirão*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbaiirão* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cheC* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cheC* is fermented for village-wide drinking feats. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [573] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [110] [532]

Like the *Tupinambá* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary sci- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomod-: ted in the canoe..." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [293]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

648 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
466 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
197 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
[273] from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*. Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga*[33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá roça coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycué. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumá-Nheengará, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

532 177 124 532 524 532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
• 276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and violins from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of [178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguare" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") [101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pétŷ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pétŷ Ramdi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva. 324 Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguê; furthermore, ký ñi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Debritheffer already mentions
[415] that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] its tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbiá is the pipe, pitýguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbiá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pitý ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Nandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbiá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children: once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "tsedjuká." Among the Nandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *arapá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guavo* or *guiabo*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[b]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapéi*. The *tapéi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 131 ff.

[b] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognised *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guazú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [428] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guazú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupí-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapéi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbiá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the flanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yrojaí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 882 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 57 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14

A 757

Though sucking is the chief and almost only cure in use amongst the Abipones, yet they have some dream-like ideas of our remedies. At times, when oppressed by the heat of the sun, or inflamed with a feverish burning, they will draw blood by piercing their arm or leg with a knife. Medicinal herbs, of which their country produces so great a variety, they scarce know by name, yet are desirous of being thought well skilled in the mysteries of nature. Hence, not so much in the desire of restoring the sick person, as of increasing their own reputation, they would sometimes prescribe the leaves of a tree, or the roots of some little known plant, on which the druggist might safely write *quid pro quo*, these remedies being generally of such a nature, that they are more likely to miss than be of any service. At the end of a fatiguing journey, I fell ill in the town of Concepcion. A woman, of high repute for skill in the healing art, comes and gives me a large dark root, promising me the complete restoration of my health, if I would drink it well boiled in water. I shuddered at the medicine, but still more at the old hag that prescribed it.

G 757 278

The Guarany tongue is as rich as the Abiponian is poor in the names of wholesome plants, and not a few of the Guaranics are well acquainted with the use of them. In the town

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters • [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the khákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

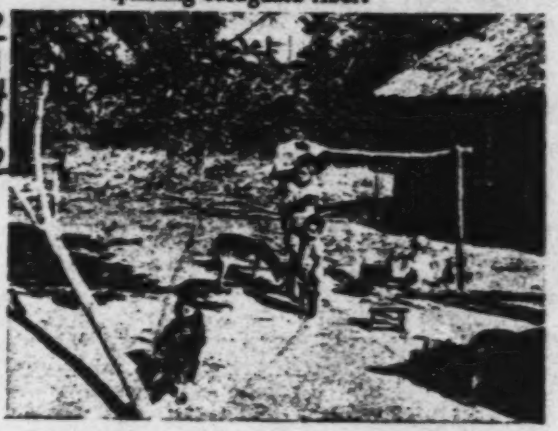
291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
[192] four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
low and orange toucan (tíkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguẽ. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[26] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[27] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *coitetá* (*Tafazzu tajazzu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguaretê*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapongs* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[26] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[27] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*cana de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

[103]

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *tembeté*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeté* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[38] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most frequently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initiation of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near Unilto. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South

[38] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

•283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[356] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[524] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compoteras" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayalwi (*Pate-*
824 *gonaia americana*), or ihvira payé, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/219/ II. Material Culture.

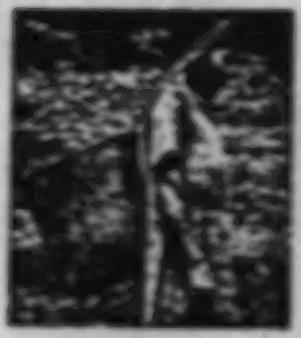
178 The Caingás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingué tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingué /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caingás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical: I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

293 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembetá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caingás regard this as essential.



IV. Carrying-baskets of the Gurung women.
1. Mills. 2. Sandiva.

V. Cleaning of a Sandiva-Gurung family from Dhimdim.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1963) 1952 EM4 Ouarend EM4

*174
352
[519]
[859]

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.* There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the tapiri, in each family section, and could be undone for extra space during the day.

*176
322
412

Every aboriginal tapiri had its mortar, and probably most had several of them. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side; both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.* Pestles were either simple, unworked pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a mortar, thick spatula.

*179
415
[322]

Long troughs for *chuf* beer, cut out of logs in which the more mortar as a frequent course, were usually to be found by each tapiri. Some of the primitive troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

*
176
625
[322]
[46]
*197
[312]

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the Rengger have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *chuf*, they were for hanging paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested ethnologically.

[237]
[531]
[281]
[99]

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *chuf* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the women's back baskets, *ahuandiff* (or *adjidal*), worn across the

* Rengger, 1830, p. 111.

* It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh4 Guayaki Sh4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, maniac, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of caraguatá, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were separately called ahoatí (the word for "two").

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any really navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guaraní, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil (elsewhere specifically referred to as "Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil" (p. 412), who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.*

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Bañados," "Fak," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cords were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar chiripá of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guaraní-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.* Small caps of cotton are mentioned,* and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg wrappings, or boots, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather wrappings for this latter purpose.*

Ruggeri mentions "rosaries" of cotton,* but no further capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

* Métraux, 1946, p. 207. * Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 78. * Ibid., p. 78.
* Ibid. * Ruggeri, 1928, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*barcos* from Spanish *cruz*), *sahumiá*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupí of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *chuí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapirí are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *chuí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *chuí* trough at Taquapirí is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Fishtraps, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *sahumiá* gourd rattles, *tabaqui* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[38]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[39]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *chaupa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapirí—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *chaupa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pahirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pahirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *ohuí* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[38] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[39] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *ohuí* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. h.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *chaage* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *chaage* for local whites. The *chaage* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
• 285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
286 stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*chaugo*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *chaugo*
648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *chaugo* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *chaugo* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *chaugo*. Historically, however, the *chaugo* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *chaugo*.

The *chaugo* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paší* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pala-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

• 286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane' SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C 286 Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
53 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
171 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C 286 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
174 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
857 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
FG 286 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
174 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T 286 of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
174 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
G 286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
CS and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandyjú inimbó), pro-
[142] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the kiáxuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tíkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguã. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
778 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--45 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse [286] cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing [192] gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /42/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbyá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--46 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïnaï) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu: I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿaï. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type: I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[40] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[41]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pig-skin,[42] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[40] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[41] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a certain medicinal and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[42] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned. It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupí-Guaraní tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.*

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.*

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,* but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,* but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *ravahud*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeta* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

* Métraux, 1928, p. 120. * *Ibid.*, p. 212.

* The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

* Métraux, 1928, p. 73. * *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
777 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
[462] apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
[286] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
[241] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
[62] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without
permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with
spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes
and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave
themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious,
this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be
punished. The punishments, through the political avenues of the fathers,
were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes
themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[232] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[432] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of maize, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
648 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow globe.
777 The Spanish colonists complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
*174 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *ajpó* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the ski-pelaos "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 cowpaní fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.** In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
• 286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborious use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild cowpaní will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Cowpaní fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
224 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Cowpaní*, *pindó* palm, and *ubodaqui* fibers are the most fre-
239 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near Dourados. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip
perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[225] having been initiated. Their fathers tell them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from Japanese, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

** One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Xm4 Guarani Xm4

[illegible] there was a difference [illegible] between the [illegible] and the [illegible]
*178 point with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing
226 and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man
476 will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may
224 also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear
594 certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with respect to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish drawning methods and fish poisons, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Tapuapéri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mental decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

*177 A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed
*178 formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different
463 forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *chaqueo*[illegible] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their pastoral clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

[462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It
seems to occur in these aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered
a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization
• 286 today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the
439 Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number
438 of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or
462 for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks
463 for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts.
*178 Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a
463 few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is
[462] dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent
[323] the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

* "Chaqueo" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *chaquear* or *chaquear*.

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors mentioned, from the introduction of agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction between the effect of a separate loss, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. a.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant here have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and the cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the hacienda, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal homework. 177* 182 439 [519] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. h.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *chaupe* (II. A. a.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *chaupe* for local whites. The *chaupe* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

*199 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must largely has emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lower dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*199 Not certain Cayuá craft articles themselves [illegible] a policy on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or
439 winnowers and occasional baskets, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian
• 286 market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few lines sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentration remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*199 II. A. a. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changed*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact
464 between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *change*
648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market
439 among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *change* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *change* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *change*. Historically, however, the *change* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *change*.

The *change* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

9: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

canoes. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

Carrying devices.—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Puff* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were clearly introduced with the metal industry. The *Guarani* dido bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—The *Guarani* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

Spinning and weaving.—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia total*) fibers.

Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Pelthophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

Pottery.—*Guarani* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martin Garcia. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

Leather work.—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

Weapons.—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaibwi (*Patagowala americana*), or ibvira payé, ibvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
• 291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
• 291
516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/227 cont./

793
• 291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
• 291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

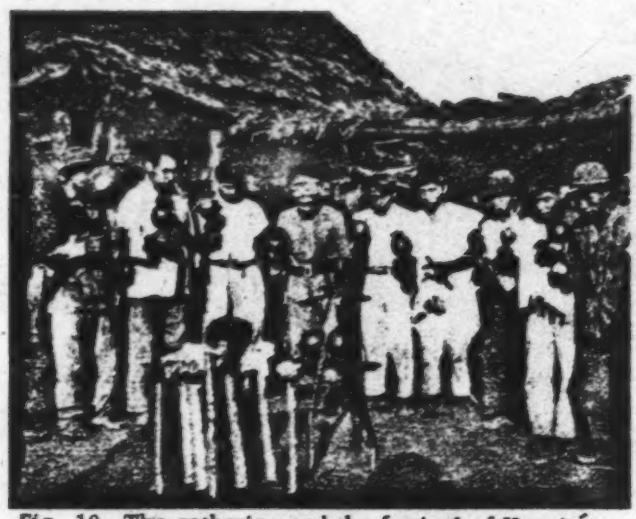


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe reté moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yeguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, se curussú kuĉkuĉá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý."

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[178] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from
[784] Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

2: Schaden--40 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor in quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[142] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

2: Schaden--42 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the penchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the penchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katiguá 324 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the Mãkushá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be
worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly,
and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

• 291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width
varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125
centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each
one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar
fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the
central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two
very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and
four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tikã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé)
feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of
toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 Ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation
of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí
Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest
and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
778 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the
piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller
size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but
has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí
Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--44 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

• 291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovetrá ragué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the apárato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but [286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of [192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbyá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

29 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typóí?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

29 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (mbüal) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I [114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsí. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 38 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, [177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

Zt Schadeu--54 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1988 Sh64 Guarani Sh64
Nandéva
Kayowá

142
302
891
K3
114

142
853
302
891

I. Marçal de Souza, Nandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

241

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbiá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

VI. Kayové-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fibre.

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayové-Guaraní of Dourados.

B: Schaden--187 E-4.5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

986
985
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

964

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. 194* 415 [285] [192] [462]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbeó* (the word for "two"?). [192]

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano 174* 501 [171]

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pafi," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86] 174* 184 291 291 174* [714]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the 174* 301 237 [171]

---

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.*

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

* Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapái*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brasilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbohói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
• 291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
297 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokwé* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokwé*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cauí*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBatí iupi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[28] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[28] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[262] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are
• [291] principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of
trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the
present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the
whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
648 region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
small amounts of their *kokwé* production every year. Corn, principally the kind
known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is
the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking,
and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into
Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually
on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are
not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small
amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the
traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be
temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own
roças. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
+[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume
much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection
with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half
the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a
storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large
in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
352 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
415 by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a
patrão or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered
to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by
Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are
standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered es-
sential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for
resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[188] Hammocks are

[188] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about thres days.

291
302
342
415
516

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

273
291
415
516

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cāwī*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cāwī*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

[535]
[342]

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbafirão*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbafirão* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cāwī* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cāwī* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tapenpiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

G /314 cont./
175 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be
167 to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

G Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the pre-
175 ceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the
167 Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to
721 attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them
726 by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the
I authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the
726 frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the
G Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani
[727] withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

I Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place
[712] during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

G The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the
175 same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).
721
726

I
726
701
G
G
[291]
[266]

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [745] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade. [413]

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Chane' SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C 286 Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
53 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
17 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
C 286 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
174 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
857 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
FG 286 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
174 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T 286 of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
174 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G 286 to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
175 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
291 indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G 291 of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
C 286 and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
177 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

1: Hanke--3 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/227 cont./

793
291
237
• 292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl:

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the trumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the Mâkuahá, richly decorated with ipotí, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the trumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotí) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the [283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 291 53 237 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel- [192] low and orange toucan (tikí) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 Ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita- [114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavôhagué. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 292 178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, 178 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 178 778 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paí Vitaliano, who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old paí dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of the latter corresponds the poachito adorned with fringes and flowers of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of Jesuit times?

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
poncho, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the mole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this poncho?

291 /42/ But, aside from the poncho, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pyhã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovyxá ragué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 30 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé: it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tfkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
778 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [932] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
648 neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy
657 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from per-
797 sonal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very
[123] amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

2: Schaden--40 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type 291 177 have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much 609 to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of 156 the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 156 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to 182 the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most 186 eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. 177 In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are inter-
534 esting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

301 /219 cont./
314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is
[192] garded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun-
[184] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon: drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá: it is their
186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
• 301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/227 cont./

793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

1: Hanke--17 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

2: Schaden--109 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881 301 [184]

881 301 184 192

881 301 827 75

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. [352] In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbyá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
175 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 572 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the fianderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocôi* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as *"Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil"* (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[80]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loin-cloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[80] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*194 • 301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which 237 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple [462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from 227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other *174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or [178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the [171] primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their 881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

---

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cāwī'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cāwī'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cāwī'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeká* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *G uayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

C
[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee
301
304
174
Gi
301
172

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee
301
174

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

Ee
[199]
[325]

C
301
C
[113]

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1750) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUANA SK7
GUARAM SH4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

A 301 [304] THE Abipones, like all the other American savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom M G has long since been abolished amongst the later Abipones, but is still continued by the Gu- Gu ranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas, P Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think 301 themselves most elegantly adorned when they [304] have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1780) 1822
S14 Abipon
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SM4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SB12

M
G
Gu
P
301
Gu
301
GU
[177]
Gu
301
304

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaeverá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the tembetà; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree abati timbabỹ, and falls gradually into the models of tembetàs, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree abati timbabỹ were not possessed of singular hardness, the tembetà made of it, after remaining whole

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
PARAGUAY SK1
GUARANI SH4
BRAZILIAN INDIANS SL4

G4 301 [314]

days in the lip of the savage, and being covered with saliva, would soften, and dissolve.

G4 304

Do not imagine that there is but one method of piercing the lip amongst the savages. The anthropophagi do not pierce the lower lip but cut it to the length of the mouth in such a manner, that when the wound terminates in a scar they look as if they had two mouths. They wander up and down the woods, and are often, but fruitlessly exhorted by the Jesuits, not without peril to themselves, to embrace our religion. The Indians of Brazil and Paraguay formerly delighted in human flesh. Many of them, after having been long accustomed to Christian discipline in our towns, sometimes confessed that the flesh of kine or of any wild animal tastes extremely flat and insipid to them, in comparison with that of men. We have known the Mocobios and Tobas, for want of other food, eat human flesh even at this day. Some hundreds of the last-mentioned savages fell suddenly upon Alaykin, cacique of the Abipones, about day-break as he was drinking in a distant plain with a troop of his followers. An obstinate combat was carried on for some time, at the end of which the wounded Abipones escaped by flight. Alaykin himself and six of his fellow-soldiers fell in the engagement, and were afterwards roasted and devoured by the

P B 266
A P 266 727

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
• 302
291
516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
142
304
301
• 302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

• 302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is [301] [192] [554] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and [147] [482] [164] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Ñandéva
Kayová

142
302
891
463
114
←

142
853
302
891
→

I. Marçal de Souza, Ñandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

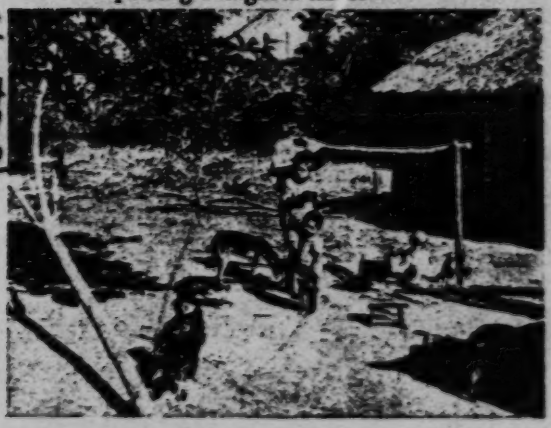
222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fibr.

252
231
354
419
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--109 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbiá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbiá simply pó-kuá. The Nandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbiá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, teyúnfgué and teyúnfkuá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guaraní" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the teyúnfgué therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881
301
[184]

881
301
184
192

881
301
[illegible]
[illegible]

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 756 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[b]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapéi*. The *tapéi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

342 596 174*

[a] Cf. Schmeiler, 1935, pp. 131 ff.

[b] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1948.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[126] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *sakadjá* fibers are the most fre-
239 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near Unika. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[126] One of the Cayuá women spun a large ball of cotton string on hand and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaráká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cáuí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brasilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cáuí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cáuí* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252 322 273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. *Firefans*, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brasilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaráká* gourd rattles, *tubuapé* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst he fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*surakwé*). Pile just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken *only from* middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*ufjuhé*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in combination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking feat to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's foot is only dirty.)

142
291
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing headed ("tip cover") of hardwood resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Ilhapuapiri in 1948.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [530]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed sabes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today Mbyá women have labrets like men do.

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] C [177] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 178 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] [298] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 314

GUARANI SM4
Mbaya SK11

A 302 [142 82] All the Abipones have thick, raven-black locks; a child born with red or flaxen hair would be looked upon as a monster amongst them. The manner of dressing the hair differs in different nations, times, and conditions. The Abipones, previously to their entering colonies, shaved their hair like monks, leaving nothing M [302] but a circle of hair round the head. But the women of the Mbaya nation, after shaving the rest of their heads, leave some hairs untouched, to grow like the crest of a helmet, from the forehead to the crown. As the savages have M [413] neither razors nor scissars, they use a shell M. [237] sharpened against a stone, or the jaws of the fish palometa, for the purpose of shaving. Most of the Abipones in our colonies let their hair grow long, and twist it into a rope like European soldiers. The same fashion was adopted by the women, but with this difference, that they tie the braid of hair with a little piece of white cotton, as our countrymen do with black. A [765] At church, and in mournings for the dead, they scatter their hair about their shoulders. Gu ● 302 The Guarany Indians, on the contrary, whilst GU [177] they live in the woods, without the knowledge of religion, let their hair hang down their backs: now that they have embraced Christianity, and entered various colonies, they crop it like priests. But the women of the Guarany towns wear their hair long, plaited, and bound with a

1;Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S74

piece of white cotton, both in and out of doors, but dishevelled and flowing when they attend divine service. The Spanish peasantry also approach the door of the church with their hair tied in the military fashion but loosen it on entering. Indeed, all the Americans are persuaded that this is a mark of reverence due to the sacred edifice.

Gu 302

As soon as they wake in the morning, the Abiponian women, sitting on the ground, dress, twist, and tie their husbands' hair. A bundle of boar's bristles, or of hairs out of a tamandua's tail, serves them for a comb. You very seldom see an Indian with natural, never with artificial curling hair. They do not grow grey till very late, and then not unless they are decrepid; very few of them get bald. It is worth while to mention a ridiculous custom of the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, &c. all of whom, without distinction of age or sex, pluck up the hair from the forehead to the crown of the head, so that the fore part of the head is bald almost for the space of two inches: this baldness they call *nalemla*, and account a religious mark of their nation. New-born infants have the hair of the fore part of their head cut off by a male or female juggler, these knaves performing the offices both of physicians and priests amongst them. This custom seem to me to have

A 142 302 [512] [112]
A [171] 302
A 302 152
A [171]

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [309] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembeká. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [124] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/225 cont./

353 778 [792] 778 789

and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

142 291 301 534 778 • 304 ← 291 534 576 →

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[976] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Ru-Tuvá (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/227 cont./

793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Cainás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho: on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastier foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Mbande-ãj. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

1: Hanke--17 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for heir mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and aldressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived here, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to haven.

793
292
142
• 304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poem, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and tip-ping carpaxe his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva: there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayowá, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbbá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my ob- [143] servations among mestiso children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

• 304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [179] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago: I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [193] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbbá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá: I have seen Mbbá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Rodrigo (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Ñandeví Miguel. Those that most [194] cling to the custom are the Kayowá, although even among them,

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva: the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short: most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbiá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjiadjóhuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck: when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbiá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Rarirí even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of spikes of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women: the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

301 [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have most arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[149] [148] [164]

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 593 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
[184] that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 581 The acculturative situation of the different communities that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not • 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 572 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[756] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahêi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior
• [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they
[262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the
[752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yvaporoý ty (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 782 304 621 [192] [622] [256] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

---

[68] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[134] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the
304 Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[134] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
• [304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
• [304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
178 kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

1:Dobrishoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SH4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

A 301 [304] THE Abipones, like all the other American savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom M has long since been abolished amongst the later G Abipones, but is still continued by the Gu- Gu ranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas, P Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think 301 themselves most elegantly adorned when they [304] have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1780) 1822
S14 Abipon
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SM4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

M
G
Gu
P
301
Gu
301
GU
[177]
Gu
301
304

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaeverá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the tembetà; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree abati timbabỹ, and falls gradually into the models of tembetàs, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree abati timbabỹ were not possessed of singular hardness, the tembetà made of it, after remaining whole

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
PARAGUAY SK1
GUARANI SH4
BRAZILIAN INDIANS SL4

G4 301 [314]

days in the lip of the savage, and being covered with saliva, would soften, and dissolve.

G4 304

Do not imagine that there is but one method of piercing the lip amongst the savages. The anthropophagi do not pierce the lower lip but cut it to the length of the mouth in such a manner, that when the wound terminates in a scar they look as if they had two mouths. They wander up and down the woods, and are often, but fruitlessly exhorted by the Jesuits, not without peril to themselves, to embrace our religion. The Indians of Brazil and Paraguay formerly delighted in human flesh. Many of them, after having been long accustomed to Christian discipline in our towns, sometimes confessed that the flesh of kine or of any wild animal tastes extremely flat and insipid to them, in comparison with that of men. We have known the Mocobios and Tobas, for want of other food, eat human flesh even at this day. Some hundreds of the last-mentioned savages fell suddenly upon Alaykin, cacique of the Abipones, about day-break as he was drinking in a distant plain with a troop of his followers. An obstinate combat was carried on for some time, at the end of which the wounded Abipones escaped by flight. Alaykin himself and six of his fellow-soldiers fell in the engagement, and were afterwards roasted and devoured by the

P B 266
A P 266 727

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[21] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[22] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cāuī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāuī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāuī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjakū*), worn across the

[21] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[22] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
241 formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
[241] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[224] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[562] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241
24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sorakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

291
302
342
415
516

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412
177
.313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

301 /219 cont./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin; in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sundown. The man who does it must fast after midday and the [184] following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore 793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý ryý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 782 304 [24] [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314] 5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the ñanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
PARAGUAY SK1
GUARANI SH4
BRAZILIAN INDIANS
SL4

G4
301

days in the lip of the savage, and being covered with saliva, would soften, and dissolve.

[314]
G4
304

Do not imagine that there is but one method of piercing the lip amongst the savages. The anthropophagi do not pierce the lower lip but cut it to the length of the mouth in such a manner, that when the wound terminates in a scar they look as if they had two mouths. They wander up and down the woods, and are often, but fruitlessly exhorted by the Jesuits, not without peril to themselves, to embrace our religion. The Indians of Brazil and Paraguay formerly delighted in human flesh. Many of them, after having been long accustomed to Christian discipline in our towns, sometimes confessed that the flesh of kine or of any wild animal tastes extremely flat and insipid to them, in comparison with that of men. We have known the Mocobios and Tobas, for want of other food, eat human flesh even at this day. Some hundreds of the last-mentioned savages fell suddenly upon Alaykin, cacique of the Abipones, about day-break as he was drinking in a distant plain with a troop of his followers. An obstinate combat was carried on for some time, at the end of which the wounded Abipones escaped by flight. Alaykin himself and six of his fellow-soldiers fell in the engagement, and were afterwards roasted and devoured by the

P
B
266
A
P
266
727

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoã), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2b] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2b] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

/153 cont./
534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, • [322] a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root [824] of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with [782] any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told [789] me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[31] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[32] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjakū*), worn across the

[31] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[32] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusú* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarakú*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãuí'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cãuí'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãuí'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 252 322 273

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 462

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarakú* gourd rattles, *takwapú* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 [513] [854] doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[21] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapúi*, in each family section, *174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 412 Every aboriginal *tapúi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[22] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 [322] Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapúi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 [323] [462] *177 [312] Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse [192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjakā*), worn across the

[21] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[22] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapéi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokí* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *change*[20] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[20] "Change" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
524 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/330 cont./

E 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

E Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

E 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*itéo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

• 331 Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *hokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[142] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *hokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *hokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *hokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *hokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

123
331

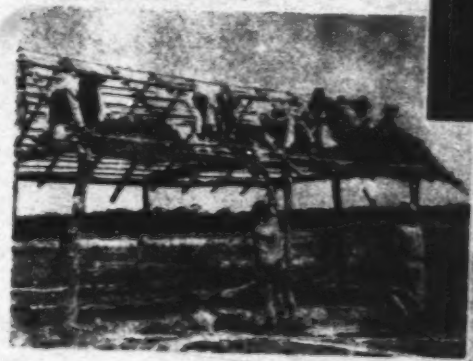


FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapéi* at Taquapiri. Log tanks for *cáuí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

178
342

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbufirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapéi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large
[192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields
178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/34 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
177 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture
is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of
"ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch,
sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used
as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical
example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwell-
ing and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí
of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the
Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door,
some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type
or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and
more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional
Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
[596] ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-
family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate
community of life, with economic, religious, and political
interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been
subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see,
the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the re-
placement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane
dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance
area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the tradi-
tional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions
of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which
would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from
[784] Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

/34 cont./

● 342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguamí (large
[192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields
178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/36 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
177 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture
is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
[192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of
"ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch,
sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used
as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical
example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwell-
ing and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí
of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the
Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door,
some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type
or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and
more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional
Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
[596] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-
family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate
community of life, with economic, religious, and political
interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been
subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see,
the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the re-
placement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane
dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance
area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the tradi-
tional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions
of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which
would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

• 342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perô. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipó, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

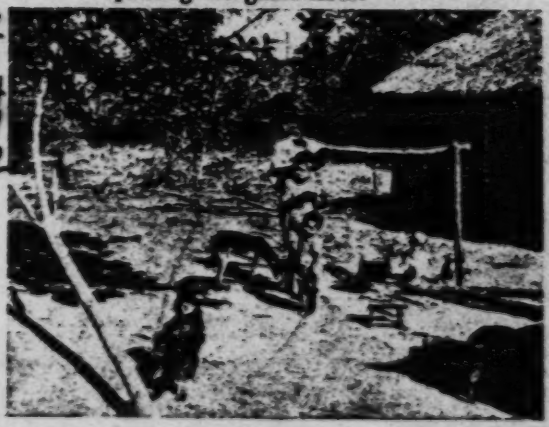
178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--76 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová
Ñandéva

342

VIII. Kayová-Guaraní great-house of traditional type, village of Panambi, Mato Grosso.

342
415

IX. Ñandéva-Guaraní house in Jacareí, Mato Grosso, with dance area and chicha tub.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá
• [342] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*cana de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village
[103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[1] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[2] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[4]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[2] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[4] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

#174 596 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. 342 Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole #174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of 342 *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit #174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-433 consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was 241 farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component #174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cauí* and the [273] giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, #174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[36]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[36] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
241 formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
[241] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[224] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapái*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbohói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342* 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[120] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[120] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
• 342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*tétto*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapái*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapái*. In other words, building a *tapái* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[145] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapái* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapái* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[145] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

361 few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but
594 near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close
596 relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory
241 balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

361 Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity
241 to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

241 The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá
• 342 by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they
343 can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to repre-
*178 sent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural
361 produce.[16] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[16] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *kapá* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[163] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[164]

---

[163] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed. [121]

[164] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations, sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment, [121]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

[P.145]

342
351
415

123
331

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *kapdi* at Taquapirí. Log tanks for *cáut'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáut'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

178
342

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *kapdi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbofirão*) clearing a *kokwé* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*sarakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

27
29
41
51

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cāwī*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cāwī*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

[535]
[342]

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *sāu'ūrā*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *sāu'ūrā* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cāwī* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

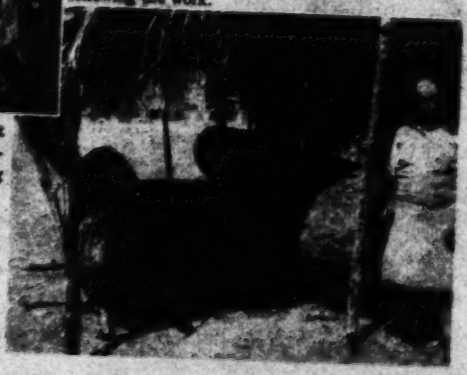


FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cāwī* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve [845] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched [824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti- [712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paï*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden [413] needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four- [532] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal [353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves [239] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

Ce /331 cont./
178
439 The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white
323 men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has
[177] at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases
G of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they
177 mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in
178 the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering
342 several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes,
596 they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we
G see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today,
177 intended to house only one family. In the same way one can
178 witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th
266 century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface.
17 With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupí-Guarani linguistic
175 family.

C They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in
[167] the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

361 few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but
596 near their *kokué*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close
596 relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory
241 balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

361 Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity
241 to *kokué* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokué* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

241 The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá
342 by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokué*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most
343 constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to repre-
178 sent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural
361 produce.[16] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[16] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapéi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

/35 cont./

342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
[596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one
• 345 belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cerro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoía), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*nicí*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to *774 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [762] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the [764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the •346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from *175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Nandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
• [346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[784]
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuvo-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

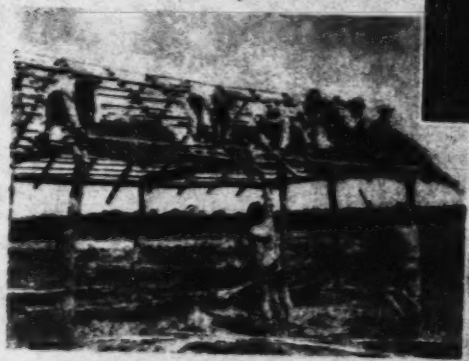
3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.



123
331

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapúi* at Taquapuri. Log tanks for *cáuí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cáuí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.

178
342

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbojirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapúi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
574 the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[352] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if
[192] by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambí. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks • 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them": many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name: it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precau- • [352] tion of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family: even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[21] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[22] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunahū'* (or *adjahá*), worn across the

[21] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[22] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarahá*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cāwī'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brasilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cāwī'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cāwī'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarahá* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[262] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are
[291] principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of
trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the
present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the
whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
648 small amounts of their *kokwé* production every year. Corn, principally the kind
known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBaît tupí*), is
the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking,
and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into
Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually
on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are
not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small
amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the
traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be
temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own
roças. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
*[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume
much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection
with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half
the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a
storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large
in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
439 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
352 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a
415 *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered
to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by
Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are
standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered es-
sential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for
resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[180] Hammocks are

[180] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned. 648 439 352 415 262

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*. 439 648 433 464 [463]

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so 437 648 435 [465]

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes. [171]

[137] Gras, 1930.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/38 cont./

881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[843] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[824] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[304] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[262] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
[753] ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

[413]

352 [178] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 177 797 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

8: Schmidt--54 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Chane SF8
Izozó

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

/224 cont./

532
776

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio: it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

[177]
←

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

708 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

• 353
708 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/225 cont./

353 778 [192] 778 789 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

142 291 301 534 778 304 ← 291 534 576 →

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly, the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
574 the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[352] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá): if
[192] by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
• 353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [445] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

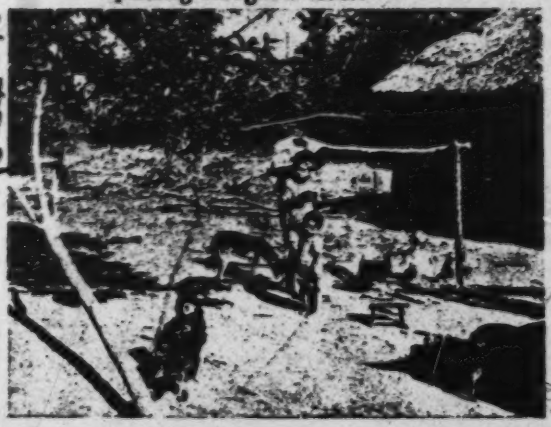
291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
212 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembeta* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

Guarani 814

A
*136 the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that G [751 these insects are not only driven away but de- 356] stroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs 805] scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered pervious to frequent winds; these are the best precautions against the smaller insects. Lice are A [515 never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caíguá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

• 361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

65? 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/11 cont./

101
[114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teñí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an autodenomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakiry, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

[361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá y yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaiouá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

[128]

[114]

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Tellí (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name
[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination; I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá í (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not
[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapüté.

• [361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions
[657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as
167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a [361] large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./

175 In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or al-
361 most totally, dispersed (15).
[162]

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./
One of my principal informants comes from
[115] there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do
[114] Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of
twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there
is a note by me among those that accompany
"Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt
Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

175 The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some
167 families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and
[361] Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change be-
cause of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste
/Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to
help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The
episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accom-
[361] panying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later
settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is
found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá
from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing
Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the
coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around
1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived
in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory con-
[361] tiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three
bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas
Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of
Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo;
the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco
and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra
do Itariri.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [787] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that • [361] now exist in the national territory are characterised by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[678] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Peró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñaverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igustemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other sides of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Igustemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 131 648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com-
182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
[177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

•361

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

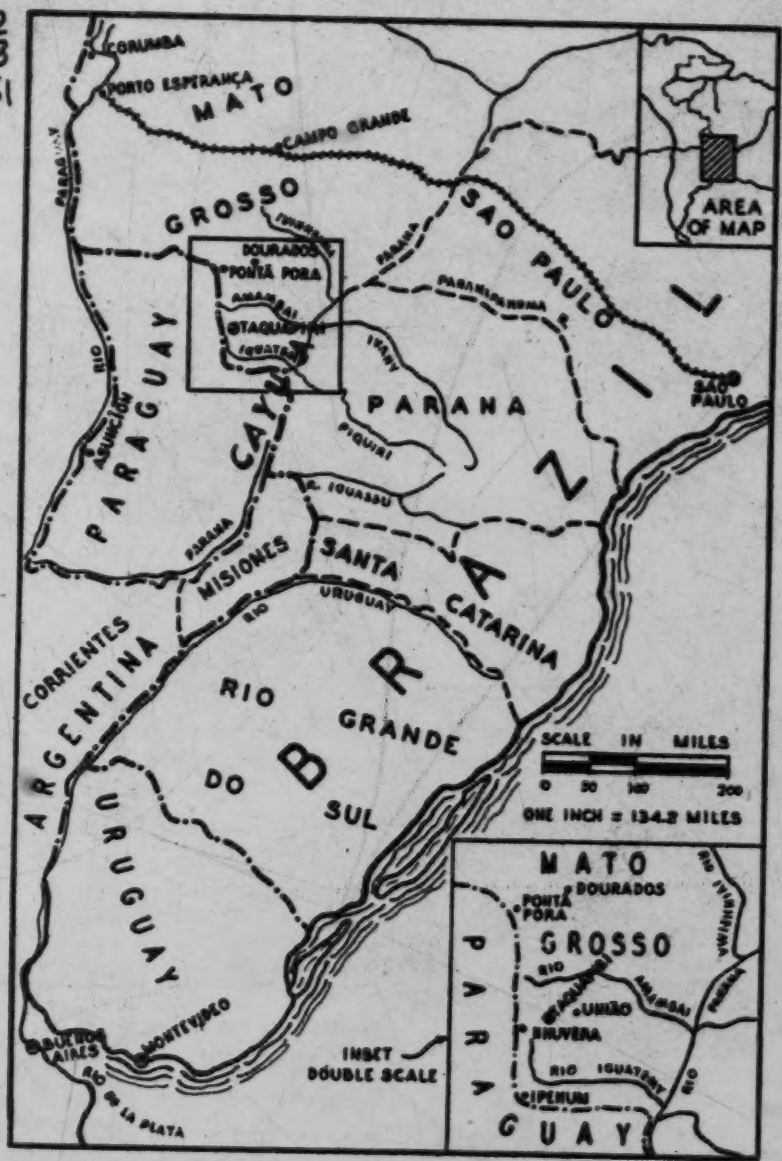
226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbépé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

102
133
• 361



MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

[P. 8]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

• 361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cówí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts. 174* 175* 648 797

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes. [101]

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[86] 175* 177* 797 342 361

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were 175* 177* 797

[86] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks. [361] [291]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 [464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

[496] [361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[159] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *pulirão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwĩ'* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[159] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapái*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapái*. In other words, building a *tapái* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapái* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapái* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[16] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[16] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *lopai* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 178* 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapãi*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
•36 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on
101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

175 /31 cont./
797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
162 Indians (2).

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
412 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups – perhaps extended
[166] families – without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [244] [361]. [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

[361]

Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

101 131 175

In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

[648]

Modern Guaraní tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thwua, Kaingua, Cayuá, Monteses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

101

About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

131 175

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

101 131 175

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 197 197 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/135 cont./

775 764 372 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told [115] me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽguẽ of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽguẽ is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to [774] this explanation, it is the ñeẽguẽ (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

/136 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find: on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 *174 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the [764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[70] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 346 *175 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[70] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 824 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 286 352 184 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová,
[178] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kumumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý [386] tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the [624] labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which 237 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The [462] product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from 227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other *174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or [178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the [171] primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their 881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

---

[68] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the
[171] midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
524 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Cainguá tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbllá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jicara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá pïá (an
172 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbllá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Pricologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

[524]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá
[417] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguaretê*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *urapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*cana de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village
[103] studied.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enthusiasm for this type of flesh attributed to the Abipones by Dobrizhoffer.[43] The *coatí* (Tupi word), a little animal related to the raccoon, is killed for food, and monkeys may also have been used. Alligators were probably eaten, although only certain portions such as the tail. Rengger gives us the impression that the aboriginal Cayuá lived at least half from hunting,[45] and this estimate may not be greatly excessive.

A number of birds were killed for food, and toucans, parrots, and parroqueets served both for food and feathers. Parroqueets and sometimes parrots were tamed for pets, and such birds are also today to be found walking about the roofs of some half a dozen houses at Taquapiri. The ostrich-like emu which runs in the open *campo* of the Cayuá region was probably eaten formerly, as it is today, but it is not known whether the eggs were also eaten. Small birds of this species were captured and kept about the settlement to be eaten or for their eggs (?), though it is a moot question whether this keeping of semi-domesticated emu antedates the introduction of the European practice of keeping chickens. Certain other birds were eaten such as the *tapena* (*gavião-tzsoura*), but the flesh of others was restricted to the older people, those who had grandchildren; it would make a younger person lazy or cause other undesirable effects. The owl was one such bird.[46]

The bow and arrow was one of the most important weapons of the chase, being employed against most larger and faster game, but special, blunt arrows for birds were also made. Clubs appear to have been used in certain kinds of hunting as well as in war and in personal disputes; in hunting, clubs were used principally against smaller and slower animals. The pellet bow is said not to be aboriginal, but in any case, was early used against birds which perch within its range.

In the matter of fishing, the Cayuá do not seem to have made the use of this source of food that the coastal Tupi did. Métraux comments that "the Cainguá are the only Tupi-Guarani who are so poor in fishing methods; not only do they not possess nets, but they do not shoot fish with the bow and arrow like the majority of Indians of South America."[47] While our information may suffer from insufficient or faulty reporting, it seems likely that Métraux's general impression is correct—at least judging from the present. It would be less safe to say, however, that the Cayuá have always been so poor in fishing practices. At the time of the European entry the Cayuá are practically unreported and may have been better off than now in respect of fishing. In the second place, the retreat of the Cayuá to their present territory, as they sought to avoid contact with the Europeans, confined some of them to an area where fishing is often impracticable because of the lack of fish. Ambrosetti, for ex-

[43] Dobrizhoffer, 1822, pp. 253 ff.
[44] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 107.
[45] Rengger, 1835, pp. 125–126.
[46] Métraux, 1928, p. 92.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*194 301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which 297 are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* 286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use *174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat [386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple [462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as *174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from 227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may *174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other *174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. 412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or [178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the [171] primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their 881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some *174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than 304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more 000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[68] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] [70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the [439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[146]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse relationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture in-
22 creased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
*177 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[147]

182 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
241 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
412

[146] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculter, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *kaka* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [147] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadilloes, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [171] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Cainguá*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Cainguá* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Cainguá* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called cárahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Cainguá* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Cainguá* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

•411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [995] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Anais, 1909, 2:67.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

Chiquito SF9
Vilela SI·4
Guaraní SM4

C 224 411 262 like the Guaranies, who fear not to feed on oxen stung to death by serpents, rejecting that part only which has been infected by the animal's tooth. Father Gumilla relates that the savages of the Orinoco prepare a most fatal poison to dip their arrows in.

A 411 237 The feathers which expedite the flight of the arrows are taken from the wings of crows, so that when the Abipones went out to shoot these birds we guessed that war was at hand. Each feather is tied on both sides, to the extremity of the reed, by a fibre of very slender thread. The V 237 411 Vilelas excite the admiration of all Paraguay by their skill in archery. They dexterously fasten the feathers to the arrow with a glue made from [381] the bladder of the fish vagre, inserting the point very lightly into the reed; an artifice which renders their arrows extremely dangerous, because whilst the reed is extracted the point remains sticking in the flesh. The Guaranies, less curi- G 411 ous in these matters, apply the feathers of parrots, or other birds, to their arrows. When more than four hundred shoot at a mark, at the same moment, and they go to gather them up, each knows his own by the colour of the feathers. Every nation, in short, has a peculiar A 411 fashion in forming bows and arrows. The shorter are more dangerous than the longer ones, inasmuch as they are more difficult to be seen and avoided; but the longer have the advantage

2: Schaden--39 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira: they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Banana make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýtá, a broom made of rosemary or xiririca. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá): if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling:
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilised.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

IV. CAYUÁ CULTURE: THE PRESENT

SINCE points of acculturational change are primarily stressed in our study, this chapter is limited to matters in which the present Cayuá differ significantly from the past. But, while no complete description is anticipated here, the main outlines of the modern culture of the Cayuá (at Taquapiri, specifically) should nevertheless become apparent.[38] As much as possible, the various aspects of modern culture will be presented in this chapter in the same order as corresponding aspects of the aboriginal Cayuá described in Chapter II. However, where not merely modifications of the aboriginal but clear additions have been made, the earlier sequence cannot be strictly adhered to. 121 128

Only *results* of the acculturational process, as it has so far been effective, are discussed here, not the factors of acculturation in the causal sense. Thus, to take a simple case, metal tools and what metal tools mean in the present technology are noted. How the Cayuá obtained these tools, the factor of acculturation in this given instance, is not the question for the moment. To cite another example, it is pointed out that Cayuá agriculture is quite different in a number of respects from what it used to be; for one thing, it has become relatively much more important in the total economy than formerly. But in this chapter the reasons for the transformation are not discussed. The analysis of acculturation in terms of the factors affecting and effecting it, the processes which led to the present culture, will be left for Chapter V. For the moment we are merely interested in what 1943 Cayuá culture looks like, as compared to the old.

ECONOMY

Technology and Material Culture

The most notable technological change from the past is with respect to the adoption of certain metal implements which the Cayuá obtain from the whites. In order of their importance, these metal tools are machetes (usually called by this Spanish name, although Portuguese *facão* is also occasionally used), axes, and hoes (both also called by their Spanish or Portuguese names). The adopted implements are used primarily in agriculture, although they also have other applications. There has been a complete replacement of aboriginal implements formerly used for work which can now be accomplished by these metal tools, and this must have happened a considerable time ago since there are scarcely any traditions of the older tools.[39] The importance of the machete 177 412 [24-1]

[38] An ethnographic monograph is being written which will provide many details in which the present paper, for the reason of its particular concern, may be lacking.

[39] One informant—not an elder—told the writer that he had heard that in the old days some sort of stone axes and hoes were used, but he didn't know what kind of "machete" there might have been. Probably there was no aboriginal equivalent for the machete, so that this is a pure addition rather than a substitution of a more efficient modern implement.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[21] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapúi*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapúi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[22] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cãwẽ'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapúi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cãwẽ'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cãwẽ'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbusakẽ'* (or *adjaká*), worn across the

[21] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[22] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*194 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

301 297 286 *174

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

[386] [462] *174

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

283 227 [177] *174

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sayakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

411 *174 • 412 [178] [171]

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

301 881 *174 304 000

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to humanize the industry in their female wards.

[797] [439]

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
• 412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
241 formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokué* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokué*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokué*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[562] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakué*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakué*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokué*. The *sarakué* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[24] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
[844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 342 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
412 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapéi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaráká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far,
[173] however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'*
than *monoff'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The
flour types appear to be the older form."[136] It is possible, therefore, that the
Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and
supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoff'*) and a more recent flint type
(*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The
present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In
any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agri-
culture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between
one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influ-
ence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
224 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[137] The
bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does
not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to
the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
*178 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
222 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
• 412 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice)
415 bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of
433 her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing.
Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and
include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[136] *Ibid.*

[411] [137] In 1943 only one person at Taquapirí had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian
[648] shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was
current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms
to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the
arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor. 174* 439 648

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which none of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[188] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá. 177* 439 648 [436] [444]

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[188] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were none but machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jacaré*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognised in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is
182 no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger
241 scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *hokwé* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

• [412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that de-
241 pended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[156]

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
*177 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[157]

182 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
241 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
*412

[156] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agricultor, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *kaloé* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411] [157] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[160]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[161] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[160] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[161] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassuí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
• 412 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
•412 /33 cont./
177 is missing in the original text./
313

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one [412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through [415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay [171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve [415] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular [361] houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched [824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti- [712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., [413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock [178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four- [532] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal [353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves [237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer- 177 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress 797 (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to 184 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a [illegible] Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 auth[illegible] of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuvo*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca° wi°.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
• 412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the mata, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S.P.I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá roça of his day:[21] that a roça was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

/38 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name ñandé-
345 ñoqe (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, ôy) of the present-day Mbiá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbiá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipó, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. barata/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjy guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djedjí), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjy, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjy are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
199 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 S344 Guarani S344

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a bakestone. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (pirarai).

263 Caingwá do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
824 of a tree (*Mackaerium angustifolium*).

259 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the Caingwá have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve
[745] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti-
[712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of ramparts, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paí*. Other Caingwá now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapí grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
•[413] needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some Caingwá of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 30 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

354 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[175] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[592] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[637] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent door fast.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
199 (the tipoy), a sackline garment covering the body from the hermits to
994 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

/220 cont./

Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

In addition to calabashes the household equipment already exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

A few women still know how to weave ponchos and hammocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers. But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

The Cataño can certainly be designated as artistic Indians. In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid for it. I had many of them draw and are presenting the best drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Pertaña Sara and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1956 on the side of the monkey d). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little: the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Cataño carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandre declared that he was unable to carvat the bottom row of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Cataño and Alexandre are completely illiterate.

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbiá. 2. Bandeira.

V. Clearing of a Bandeira-Guaraní family from Dourados.

/92 cont./

a grill and pulverized between the stones: add ashes of guajayvi, guajoviro, but only the external white ash, called hugué; furthermore, kí ñí or kumbaré, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (1).

1. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Ayné Métraux, 1939a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-macaú/ called mazahéo, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of mazahéo.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the cabocla stores. One of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbyá is the pipe, pitýguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communal" manner, two, three, or more persons: after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbyá, to be sure, manufacture cigarettes (pitý kambiríó) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Nandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

Among the Mbyá almost everybody smokes, including very young children: once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette, fearing that they will become dizzy: "tondjuká." Among the Nandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

Zu Schaden--76 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64
Kayová
Ñandéva

342

VIII. Kayová-Guaraní guest-house of traditional type, village of Panambí, Mato Grosso.

342
415

IX. Ñandéva-Guaraní house in Jacareí, Mato Grosso, with dance area and chicha tub.

2: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/88/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbiá), and
• 415 mynahú (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacú." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbiá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pái with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
[014]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mboparã) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462
[184]
[178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[577]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins [513] of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. [854] Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, *174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked 412 until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[b] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

• 415 Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a [322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women them- [323] selves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct [462] cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re- *177 placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. [312] Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse [192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakā'* (or *adjakā*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[b] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocsi* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[53]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[54] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[55] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[56]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[57] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[53] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [54] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[56] *Ibid.* [57] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapúi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbarahá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbarahá*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cãwĩ'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cãwĩ'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cãwĩ'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbarahá* gourd rattles, *tahwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs; clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
226 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
412 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice)
• 415 bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable. Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of
433 her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

---

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[110] 178* 469

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[111] 178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not. 178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puhirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puhirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãwí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are. 178* 464 465 476 648

[110] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[111] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãwí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves
439 through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
648 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[262] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are
[291] principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of
trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the
present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the
whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the
region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
648 small amounts of their *kokwé* production every year. Corn, principally the kind
known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí iupí*), is
the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking,
and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into
Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually
on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are
not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small
amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the
traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be
temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own
roças. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
*[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume
much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection
with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half
the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a
storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large
in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
439 mock made of *caroguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers,
352 which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a
• 415 *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered
to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by
Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are
standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered es-
sential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for
resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[138] Hammocks are

[138] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 439
hood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars
and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more 352
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them 415
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* 262
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white 439
settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of
commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure 648
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than 433
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods
he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnow- 464
ing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able [463]
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[187]
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 648
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods 435
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in [465]
trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one [171]
argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[187] Gras, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relat'onship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

[P.145]

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapéi* at Taquapari. Log tanks for *chuí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *chuí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapéi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbojíria*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not so dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokoé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokoé* [illegible] for planting [illegible] of maize. May [illegible] the heavy [illegible] [illegible].

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*tarabó*). Hole just made in at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a banana grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokoé*) with back basket (*adjaki*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Mata tarapaline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in [illegible] tun. As many as five women [illegible] do this. The [illegible] in the preparation of [illegible] for a village dance [illegible] feast to last full in [illegible] three days.

291
302
342
415
516

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

FIG. 11. Women consuming boiled, pounded corn for chicha. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the hung-around. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Women consuming small leg tank batch of chicha (chicha) for home consumption. Our son a good deal per and Crystal women visitors.

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a wake/feste. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. The drinking usually accompanies these small wake/feste the drinking phases of which are held during the fight hours, immediately following the wake.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) on dance that lasted until noon the following day for cause chicha lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large leg tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which chicha is fermented for village-wide drinking bouts. Right-hand tank about 20 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1982 Kk4 Guarani Kk4

[P.148]

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 3864 Guarani 3864

dogs, that is to say, supports for jars, a hypothesis completely unsubstantiated. No object of that type has been found in any other Guaraní region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguanos*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European *yerba* maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to Guaraní culture as known through archeology. [415]* [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 462) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple unfilled stone rings without any groove have been found in Guaraní sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Ludwig (1932, p. 141) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a Guaraní weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the Guaraní of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulas, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigines of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Río de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the Guaraní and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the Inca Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of Guaraní had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the Inca frontier and even attached tribes directly under Inca rule. Some of these Guaraní bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Río de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 [9/4]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a hairscreen. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (pinol).

Guaraní do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a vine (*Bichardia scabrifolia*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the Guaraní have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical Guaraní village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 30 m. (100 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pai*. Other Guaraní now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with taquapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern Guaraní only some Guaraní of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 30 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

Clothing.—Most of the Guaraní went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women were either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sackline garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

St Mélanie E-4 (no date) 1968 Shel Guarani Shel

506 [511] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Guayaki* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [490] Carrying devices.—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pal'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of interwoven pindó leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [1711] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guarani* skin [1712] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

462 [514] Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [534] Basketry.—The *Guarani* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindó palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tucumombo strands. They are [591] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [524] Spinning and weaving.—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia total*) fibers.

286 [593] [531] [536] [524] [718] [717] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Poth phorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

523 175 Pottery.—*Guarani* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grotesques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("trompeters" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 Leather work.—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 524 Weapons.—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayabwí (*Patagonula americana*), or ibira payé, ibira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

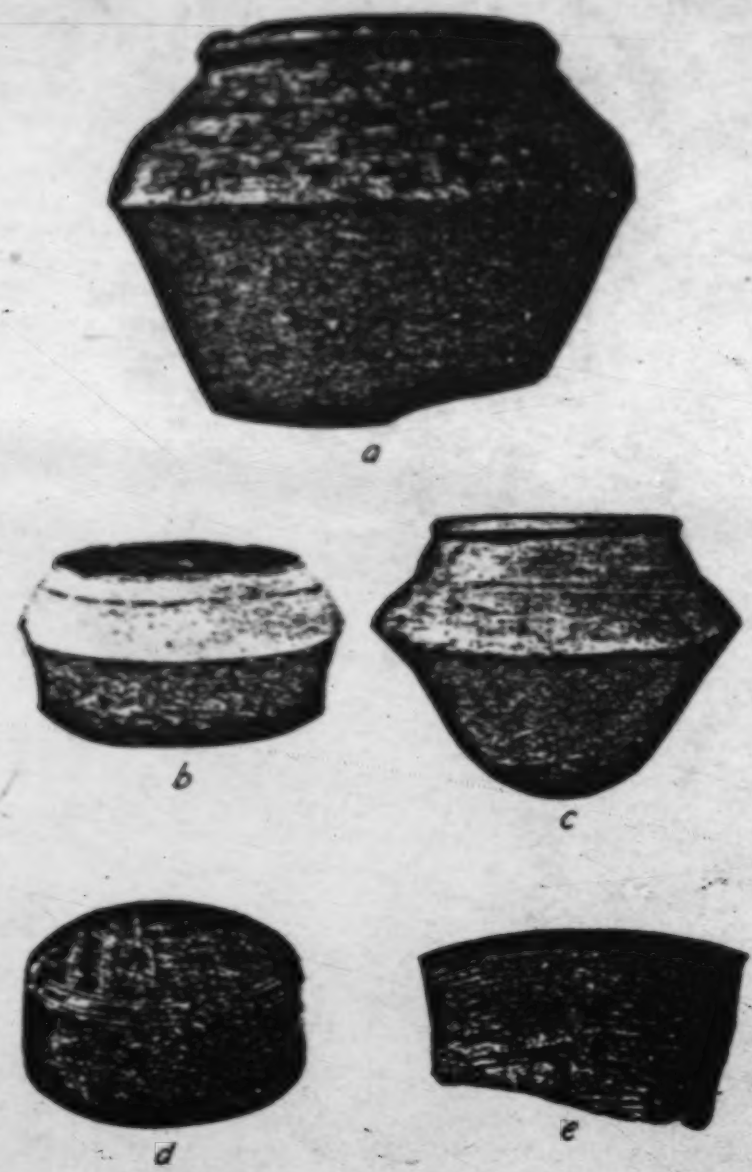
S: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
[R.90-A]

PLATE 11.—Fingernail-marked Guarani ware. *Top:* Sherds from Martín García, Argentina. *Center:* Vessels from Arroyo Malo, Paraná Delta. *Bottom:* Vessels from Paraguay. Funerary urn at left. (Top, after Bruzzone, 1931; center, after Lothrop, 1932; bottom, courtesy Max Schmidt.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

[P 90-B]

192
.415



192
415
191

PLATE 12.—**Guarani and other pottery from Paraguay.** *a*, *b*, Painted; *c*, plain; *d*, *e*, probably *Mbayá-Guaná* incised ware. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [293]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

C A /408 cont./
415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak, who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of fact represents Kainguá vessels with a circular foot. I doubt very much that these pots reproduce a primitive type. They are badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric, and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel when the latter is finished, is easily detached from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imitations of European pottery.

A
171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located east of the Andes."

C A 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
415 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendí
171 valley (Plate XXVI, 2),[1] is almost the same as that of the
C [126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72 appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

C 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2[2] is composed of two
415 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
171 the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
C of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti (3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
C
415 of vessels of this type among the ancient Guarani authorizes us
171 to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
172 survival of an ancient form of Guarani pottery which the Chiriguano have not abandoned.

[1] [See p. 179--Analyst]
[2] [See p. 183--Analyst]

C 415 171 pp 415

/412 cont./

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce [179] A [415]

C Ce G 415

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

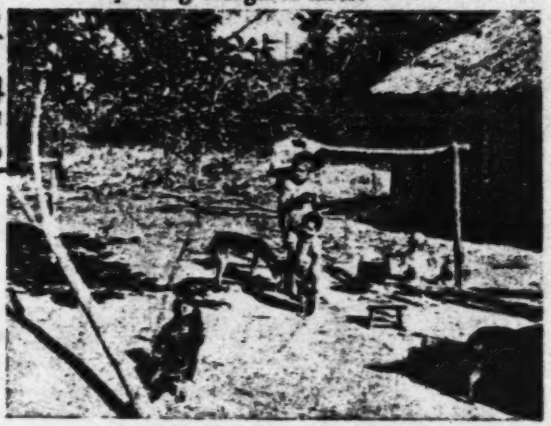
[1] [See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[30] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[31] *mate* trees, which the Cayuá
[342] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with
[417] strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[283] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to
[342] be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquarussú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[267] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capivara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *caitetú* (*Tajassu tajassu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukã'*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapónga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[30] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[31] One of these canes, the *taquapi* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

[103]

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokã ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

•421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably [224] contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) [178] in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbiá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jicara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbiá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
[182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals
[422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta: pirápirẽ, paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no 436 829 177 454 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/, 423 171 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

2: Schaden--66 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõomoõõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9), also know or knew institutions of this type.

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

/59 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 • [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

612 /90 cont./
621 [829] lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. 'What-d'you-call-him, as the kibbá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 612 59 [178] In some form the modes of the set of economic relations bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 178 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence. [423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 241 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

/33 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapiri, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Pará, between the
[161] Brazilian settlements of Utiflo and Rio Verde, about two leagues
[628] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
connected to the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangal, Iguassú,
178 Ipewm, and Pirajú. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, manioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapiri
•423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
[175] plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/78 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and ears the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain still.
[561] No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of
[77] Taquaytí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These
[178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

866 Education During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the sole that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
962 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /77/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[134] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small
[423] areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

4c Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [61] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[6] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[6] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [77]

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]
487 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
341 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
640 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

2: Schaden--158 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
• 424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pajé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the re-
[976] ligious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
• [424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[224] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example
[844] of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pütÃ or puitÃ of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetxá ragué), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

[775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Trofsá confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] [171] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukii or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient: the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokot* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
241 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
462 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
476 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
182 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
462 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
464 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
476 ment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
648 tural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become
more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
changa is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
182 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
• 43 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
464 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
476 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different
from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their ab-
original equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are
matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be dis-
tributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as
it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade
goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *chaage* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *chaage* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *chaage* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[100] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokué*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[101]

---

[100] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analyzed. [121]

[101] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment, [121]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Xm4 Guarani Xm4

ness such as might exist if *change* activity were carried out in company with other Cayuá. Relations between the Indians and the whites are definitely those of inferior to superior. The *change* is normally free of most considerable non-commercial social values; cooperation, reciprocity, or helpfulness are incidental, if present at all, and the reinforcement for the Cayuá *pede* is simply a restricted, individual self-interest in economic gain.[169] Whether the *change* relations of Cayuá with whites involve any direct transmission of white commercialistic or individualistic attitudes *per se*—beyond those implicit in the nature of the relationship—is not known. It is possible that direct transmission of attitudes takes place; but even if not, there is little doubt that the *change* "exposes" the *pede* to a situation in which a certain individualism and commercialism of sentiment must result.

(II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians have much the same effect as the *change*. The economic benefit from trade with whites is an individual benefit. The motive of economic self-interest and the attitude of economic rationalism are important because they are largely inherent and inevitable in the trade complex as the Cayuá know it. Like the *change*, trade relations of Cayuá with Neo-Brazilians are lacking in most non-commercial social values, even such values as would mark white trading with whites—the pleasure of bargaining, the swapping of news and comments, and so forth. The Cayuá negotiation is more restricted to the purely commercial ends of the respective parties, and the Cayuá would often need to be more clever than is necessary for the Brazilian customer if he were not to be cheated. It is not out of any awareness of social values, such as a spirit of helpfulness, reciprocity, or pleasurable social intercourse, that the Cayuá trade with whites (or vice versa). This trade rather takes place almost exclusively in order to obtain certain goods.

Actual money may sometimes enter into trading transactions, and money as a measure of value is often used when no money actually passes hands. The concept of price thus insinuates itself into Cayuá economic thinking (attitudes). Consider the effect upon social relations, in which non-commercial aspects are already at a near minimum, of an abstract, arbitrary standard of economic value such as money, which is largely divorced from any concern other than that of a measure of economic gain or loss.[170]

Ideas of money price prevalent in (II. A. f.) commercial dealings on the outside are also being brought into relations within Cayuá society itself. In

[169] The writer knows of one instance—not at Taquapirí—in which what was actually Cayuá *change* for a Paraguayan settler was organized in somewhat the same spirit as a *pedede*. The arrangements were similar, and a number of Cayuá joined together to produce the allotted work. Paraguayans often seemed less supercilious and condescending toward the Cayuá than Brazilians in the neighborhood of Taquapirí, besides more often speaking the Indian language.

[170] Of course, it is not reasonable to argue that "money" for Cayuá has the same connotations as for the Brazilians—or for us. It is rather that the use of money would inevitably involve some contrast with the aboriginal sentiments.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist
• 43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—
or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[111]

*177 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexist-
182 ent."[112] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially
595 in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

---

[111] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[112] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

/78 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mokã é), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

[462] [252] [192]

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves: they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá: all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

[262] [192] [432] [114] [224] [178]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Caingua* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Caingua* work as peons in the estancias,
464 in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
432 tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Caingua* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Caingua* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil. Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Caingua* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Caingua*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingua*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Caingua*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokíva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis- [166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [564] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The [563] number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbiá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village: they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbiá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbiá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[361] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[162] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[361] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. --
[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive 563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 177 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 433 178 224 [226]

Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177] [182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241 433 177 182 648

2: Schaden--48 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45 cont./

241
433
177
182
648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177
439

In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177
182

The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the nodon of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in- [773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some [114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/61 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
181 /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guaraní lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
43 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos,
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immed-
iate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolas, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayoá do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayoá, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group: finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ils. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
178 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

177 Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
433 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
18 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
[554] as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34]
121 Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as
241 early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the
433 Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more
174* northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn
243 was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture
244 were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every
433

184

[33] Rengger, 1835.
[34] Von Koenigswald, 1908.
[35] Sampaio, 1890.
[36] Ambrosetti, 1894
[37] Müller, 1934–35.
[38] Strelnikov, 1928.
[39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

3:Watson - E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[40] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroidea sp.*), *mbakuká* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognized, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[40] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognised community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. *[178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāwí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupi'* than *monoti'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[126] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoti'*) and a more recent flint type (*tupi'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[127] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

224 Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
226 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
• 433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

[126] *Ibid.*

[411] [648] [127] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[188] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

241

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 462

[188] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*." [177]* [805]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned. 648 439 352 415 262

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*. 439 648 433 464 [463]

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so 437 648 435 [465]

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes. [171]

[137] Gras, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage 178*

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puʒirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puĨirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puĨirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puĨirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puĨirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puĨirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cãwĩ'*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cãwĩ'* that keeps the *puĨirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puĨirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puĨirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *changa* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cãwĩ'* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puĨirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puĨirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puĨirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puĨirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognised among the Tapirapé. [MI]

[149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puĨirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another. [19]

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puĨirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cãwĩ'*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cãwĩ'* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cãwĩ'*. [273] [433]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[18] The contemporary *puŝirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puŝirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puŝirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puŝirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puŝirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[18] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
• 433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[183] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage. 178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[184] 177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[183] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[184] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chaups* when they were desired. [648]

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
• 433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
174 the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
•433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paã'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba*, *A. totai*, *Cocos yatay*, *Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica*, *Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. [231] When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and [262] Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the [231] larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their 224 main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with [262] abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have [231] dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the 226 ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast 178 used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided [433] with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and 231 178 many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a 262 heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with 252 maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, [178] abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, 252 dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin [178] grater—and washing the mass in water.

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strebinger.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as "*puro de Cayuá*", while they consider that they, themselves, speak "*meio paraguaio.*" Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433]

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present reservas of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the
648 former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a
433 limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both
178 canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between
484 Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the
[481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate divisors of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes. . . in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first permanent limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1915.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these reservas and the S.P.I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S.P.I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance in the present thesis.

[20] Sampaio, op. cit., p. 41.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

G1 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
G1 regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
489 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[text continues on p. 142]

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for 177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the 241 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calendar exists, it is 196 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is 221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Kuangerai, or, as the Kayowá prefer to call it, avaí-mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 even the valued maize, which ripens in three or four months, is 221 planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [191] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /Page p. 94 of the original source./
Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 33.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own roça. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his roça while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirão* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own roça. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

 184 182 476 177 434

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

121 177 178

São Paulo, Brazil.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
978 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pñtÎ or puitÎ of the rural
• [435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (gwatá ragaÎ), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller: it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the xpanto (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the xpanto, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

2: Schaden--129 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense: I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of cuer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *chaage*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *chaage* are either non-peons or work very little in *chaage*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapirí, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[10] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *chaage*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A sale of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *pearia* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *cruzeiros*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

---

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and certain hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[10] Gras, 1906.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 437 • 435 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however, are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *chaugo* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[illegible] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

[illegible]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interferewith the other. This is tantamount to saying that *change* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, s it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *change* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by sidewith their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the exiting form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *change* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himsel. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire thee goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This mean a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among th Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *change* is not generally considered satisfactory.[30]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternativ to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is derihellisation, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratm of wage workers in the local Neo-Brasilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be mre important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182

By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling tre for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminie tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the higher primitive agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal opport so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men transformsmen. . . .[31] 241 462

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexualdivision of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased sze and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hotting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficu to argue; that is,

[30] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the change than in Cayuá home production. The cayuá would not really recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of wha goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for spec commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactio are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value when they produce in change as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spt in their own family. [6.35]

[31] Lowie, 1946, p. 10.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their rows, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just almost as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of expansion,[40] is worth so much to repair or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "savajes," or work involved, is

[40] Inside natural growth where a repair has been run or been cut before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
•435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* – at that point in the arrangement, at least.
Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
†97 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [a] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" – alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá – even the non-peon sometimes – to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

The point, of course, is that as Taquapiry the notion of prices
197 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
198 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá now coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell products among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example could be

[a] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta; pirápirê, paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no 436 829 177 454 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the aniquilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbiá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Tsaná /Chaná/ and Tsirigüáno /Chiriguano/, Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vacapey, the chiefs /37/ are the sole owners of the land. Retiaya said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields (tacuarales) are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (6).

423 171

6. /Page p. 94 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 192.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *mate* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor. 174* 439 648

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cured tobacco which some of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[10] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá. 177* 439 648 [436] [447]

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[10] Among the Cayuá in 1942 there were some fair specimens of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron, implements on Brazilian model are if he could avail it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (Sheffield) and "Gerard" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changucar*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436].

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and promotion, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[8] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", less so much. The case of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

[8] Brush covered growth where a *roça* has been cut or been seen before.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties: see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive 563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the per- 177 formance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous: consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village 177 of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbyá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [437] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a [756] kind of traveling tourney /Pt., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Mbyá-Guarani from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par- [273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the [433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of ubaú. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard catete. [437] Since the ubaú is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] the distinction between the ubaú maize as a traditional cultural [437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There is- [173] bores in ubaú maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character: it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairé (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds: the kernels of the ears that show signs of cracking are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avaí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the variation of ubaú maize are not uniform: they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight variation, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Ringer of the Escola Superior de Agronomia Luiz de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche: he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or [437] "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora: before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will
• 437 ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however,
are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very
435 little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *changa* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[135] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

---

[135] *Ibid.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least. Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society, as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde-
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost cer-
tainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with suf-
ficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institu-
tion of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
— and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and im-
mediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

177
178
476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

177 Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
182 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as
434 nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

434 The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
182 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
177 he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
182 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the
184
434

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing: this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *change*[123] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[123] "*Change*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

178* 469

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

178* 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pulirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pulirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãwí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

178* 464 465 476 648

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãwí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
+177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[122]

464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
465 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[123]

---

[273] [122] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[123] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[18] The contemporary *puhirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puhirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puhirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puhirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puhirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[18] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
• 438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
465 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of 177
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, ôy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipó, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/45 cont./

241 433 177 182 648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 439

In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 182

The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguê; furthermore, ký ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-macaz/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbïá is the pipe, pïŷguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbïá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pïŷ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbïá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "tzedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbbá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canoes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbbá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 [262] 273

All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the bow," they also have puxirões (among the Mbbá). "But they do not slaughter /81/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

[524]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[68] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[69]

301 237 286 *174

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[70]

[386] [462] *174

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

283 227 [177] *174

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[71] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[72] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *saraboá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

411 *174 412 [178] [171]

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

301 881 *174 304 000

[68] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[70] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[799] [439]

[71] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [72] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *mate*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
*175
648
[464]

have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496]
[657]

By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato. Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[118]

[496]
[361]

Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brazil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[439]

[118] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brazil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on these two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brazil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further eliminate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[119] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[119] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor. 174* 439 648

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which none of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[38] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá. 177* 439 648 [436] [444]

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[38] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were none but machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jacaré*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably
* 439 a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as ban-
648 danas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but oc-
[262] casionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Other-
[291] wise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

439 Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter
648 small amounts of their *kokwí* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBaiá tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons
[243] from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant.
+[177] Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

648 Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into
439 Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a ham-
352 mock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers, which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered
415 by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade
262 small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[106] Hammocks are

[106] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarto* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *chaugs* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 415 323 286

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. 412 322 285

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. 464

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
286 stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa*
648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
•439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The
[482] female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

[Francisco Horta]

G 197 cont. /
Gi
433
511
241
439
Gi
[464]

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G
621
433
648
484
177

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] this house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [437] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the homeowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the maté groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor. 174* 439 648

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolicheo*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which some of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[10] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá. 177* 439 648 [436] [444]

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[10] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were some but numerous of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jacaré*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply. [412]

/56 cont./

From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (*ñó*, *pesóa*; *pésipó*, paper money): among the Ñandéva of Itatí I heard *ñó gran*, big eyes, for the large notes, and *ñó mbíto*, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay. The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, meaning to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural orientations. Money exists to be spent: there is no question of hoarding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Cayétano Fonciere of Ko Ikuare once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies — through the acquisition of a house, for example, trading coonikers or other values — appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbíá of Ko Ikuare have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a bananas grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Tsaná /Chaná/ and Tsiriguáno /Chiriguano/, Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vázquez, the chiefs /?/ are the sole owners of the land. Ambrosetti said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /Page p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 101.

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

● 461
464

/For general information on the paraifle or collective labor organization, see category 476./

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[285] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí [192] kitã (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kitã is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour- [192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí [192] morõtí (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

• [162] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women mash [252] the fish on the spot (mokã ẽ), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbiá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbiá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one matching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbiá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call pytỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

• 462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

2: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/83/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Pañ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacú." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Pañ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pañ with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

462
415
B0
114

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

462 [184] [178]

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

[184]

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

[577]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*surakuá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokuá* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caiteiu* (sometimes *taiteiu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caiteiu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *taitú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

*174 224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

*174 222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was [462] primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jaboticaba* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacuá* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirôBa* (*Myrtaceae* family), *gwajuBíra* (?), and *aratica* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [252] [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo. [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cõuí* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *yuá*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterized as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grew in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupi-Guarani.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock [519] among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins [854] of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, *174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of 412 these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[b] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle *174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 Long troughs for *cáuí* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a [322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest *174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women them- [323] selves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct [462] cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re- *177 placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. [312] Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cáuí*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating [237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

[285] Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cáuí* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse [192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunahí* (or *adjahá*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[b] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. 174* 415 [285]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *ukeeti* (the word for "two"?). [192] [192] [462] [192]

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano 174* 501 [171]

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[a]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pati," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[b] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[c] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[d] 174* 184 291 291 174* [714]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[e] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the 174* 301 237 [171]

[a] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [b] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [c] Ibid., p. 705.
[d] Ibid. [e] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.* It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.*

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or lat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.*

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in snares made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayuá,* but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,* but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *cavabed*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeté* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

* Métraux, 1928, p. 130. * Ibid., p. 132.

* The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the reductions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to foreclose the industry in their female wards.

* Métraux, 1928, p. 71. * Ibid., pp. 68-69.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapéi* apparently housed so many occupants that to unbiased European observers such as Rengger* the dwelling groups were taken to be whole tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

*174 361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapéi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapéi* (perhaps group of *tapéi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapéi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapéi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapéi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [78] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapéi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

*174 596 433 291 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapéi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokoé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are indications that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapéi*'s *kokoé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *chuí* and the giving of a drinking feast in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapéi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [244] [226] [273] [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapéi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

*174 582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

* Rengger, 1835, pp. 128, 130-131.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
*177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
777 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
* 462 apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
286 pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
241 following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
62 Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction, without
permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with
spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes
and misdemeanors. If in one of the barrios, some nostalgic individuals gave
themselves over to practising the old ways, particularly in matters religious,
this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be
punished. The punishments, through the political avenues of the Indians,
were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes
themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
[241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
[233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
[231] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of maize, hides, and agricultural crops
[439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept, not only because of the relative
*175 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
*177 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow globe.
648 The Spanish colonists complained that the Jesuits must have taken measures,
777 or other means than they permitted or impeded the entry of outsiders into
*177 their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani
would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably,
but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult
for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the
"savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the rapid of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ethn Guayaki Ethn

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark 175*
genipá, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the 302
writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose.
No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright 178*
colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make 237
colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden combs (borrowed from 501
Spanish ones), sahuahú, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used
with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples
of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia,
however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be
associated with the aboriginal Tupí of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, 178*
mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *chicha* are still made. The 352
wooden benches of the Cayuá at Tupaquiú are simple slabs and very plain, 415
and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. 531
The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to
the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost some of their 178*
utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Nos-Brasileiros of the region, 415
as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for
pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for crushing sugar
cane for its juice. The use and the markets have so facilitated the manufacture
of *chicha* troughs that the largest trees in the forest are now be felled and con- [258]
verted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning [322]
their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the [271]
tree grew. There is little question that the present commonest *chicha* trough at
Tupaquiú is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and
they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in
relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any
technological factor.

Basketry, man's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared 177*
with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, more infor- 178*
mation is available. Fishnets, women's back carrying baskets with wooden 285
tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many
sizes for sieving and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation [642]
has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven cotton sieves
and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now
used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Nos-Brasileiros settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include adopted guard 177*
rattles, sahuahú (stamping tubes of bamboo), they musical bows, flutes and 178*
wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such in- 534
struments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as
their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become [illegible] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupí-Guaraní. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapirí, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of Indian owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the Indian diet than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

241 462*

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the

* The Cayuá at Taquapirí are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking bouts with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous bouts. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "day of rest." [177] [305]

primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not indispensable, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are considerable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokoé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokoé* for the daily meals is clearly a female one.

Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87-91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokoé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokoé*.

It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puhirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *pelóto* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupí-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *pelóto* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *chef* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, as kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *pelóto*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time.

476

[462]

Pelóto work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *pelóto* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were matrilineal relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *pelóto* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution.

[596]

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *pelóto* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *pelóto* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *pelóto* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *pelóto* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *chef* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as people and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *pelóto* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

*178 joint with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing
226 and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man
476 will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may
224 also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear
594 certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

*177 A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed
*178 formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different
463 forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *change*[20] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

• [462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization
*178 today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the
286 Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number
439 of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or
438 for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks
462 for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for
463 barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts.
*178 Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a
463 few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is
[462] dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent
[323] the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[20] "Change" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for him for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[38] 178* 469

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[39] 178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not. 178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *change* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *change*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pulirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pulirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cõuí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are. 178* 464 465 476 648

[38] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[39] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cõuí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guaraní SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *chonga* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *chonga* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokué* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokué* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *chonga* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *chonga*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *chonga* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokué* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[124]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokué* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *chonga* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *chonga* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Chonga work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[124] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
*177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
182 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
*177 (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
182 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 177* 182

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[188]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177*

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[189] 182 241 462

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

---

[188] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *household*. [435]

[189] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[180]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[181] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[180] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[181] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant men, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1948) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *chaugo* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[188] It is suggested, therefore, that the *chaugo* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools. 177* 182 241 462

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor. 177* 182 241 462 476

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in [226]

[188] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Rengger (1835, pp. 109–111 *et passim.*) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, at least, probably were used by the men, as in the securing of *maíz*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
241 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
462 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
476 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
182 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
462 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
464 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
476 ment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
648 tural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become
more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
changa is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
182 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
43 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
464 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
476 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different
from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their ab-
original equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are
matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be dis-
tributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as
it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade
goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist
43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—
or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

*177 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexist-
182 ent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
• 462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
595 come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

---

[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

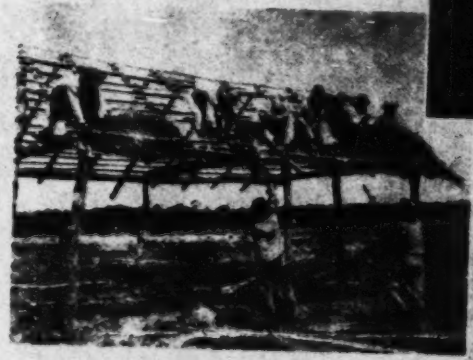
Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

342
351
415

FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

123
331

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapdi* at Taquapuri. Log tanks for *cauí'* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cauí'* cooking in iron pots on fire.



178
342

FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbufirão*) clearing a *hokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

241
462

FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapdi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

241

FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns • 462 other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small [423] areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
.462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224 226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his roça to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making roças or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

464 648 [465] 439 648

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the roça, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

462 [482] [241]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 Sh44 Guarani Sh44
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the men, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

I. Manjal de Souza, Kayové-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayové-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

III. Kayové-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

/[illegible]/

476 441 177 In many remote quite influenced by culturic culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help". In the opposite case there is "unwillingness" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his hatch — or not. — In contrast to the possible property speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 465 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Ishbi of the Bravos, who furnish native settlers to the tourism and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canoes, small vessels, and other things. The contractor sells the products to Indios, Ilko Vicentes, or Ilko Pedro, distributing part of the profit profoundly in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Ishbi possible to which reference was made in the last passage there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the possible, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the possible, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "Tere," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 273 All this in the possible of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we see that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby factorie or village. As for the women, "she only work with the hoe," they also have possible (among the Ishbi). "but they do not slaughter /[illegible]/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a possible property speaking, but

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sb44 Guarani Sb44

*178 226 476 224 594 [illegible] joint with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing: this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Tapuapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

*177 *178 463 A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[20] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá knew at home.

[462] Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization *178 286 439 438 462 463 today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. *178 463 Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is [462] dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent [323] the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[20] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1902 Ed4 Guarani Ed4

178*
not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[30] 469

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[31]

178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [432]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *chenge* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicha* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *chenge*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puhirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puhirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cauí* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

178* 464 465 476 648

[30] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[31] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cauí* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 439
hood, as well as those of the Indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars
and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more 352
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them 415
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolicheiro* 262
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article,
however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of
production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been
mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white 439
settlers or to the *bolicheiro* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of
commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure 648
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than 433
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods 464
he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnow-
ing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able [463]
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter.
Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as
only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in
Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in
changa.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[37]
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 648
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods 435
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in [465]
trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money
value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão*
of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly
a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of rela-
tively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a
winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

---

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil [171]
and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[37] Gras, 1930.

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

657 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué. [241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by [464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes

[648] Tafligná, Apapokíva, and Ognahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-

[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal

621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for

[768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his

[755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently

[464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo

[563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
[114] achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[162] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[177] post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato 621 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [162] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the • [168] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Peró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in [361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in 131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil 648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--37 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35 cont./

342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
[596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
345 in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-243 221 [171] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

3: Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-cabocloized Guaraní,
who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not
know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy
the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong
inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for
economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the cul-
ture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the tra-
ditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
• 464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and
Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and
their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock
fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them
with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely be-
cause it does not promote the replacement of the primitive im-
mediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the
future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the
changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the
yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbi-
tant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as
batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end
in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages,
of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
177 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
18 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
596 chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

461

464

/For general information on the puxirão or collective labor organization, see category 476./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 • [464]

have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestisos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuvá study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

[496] [361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[118] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for
• 464 them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[119] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of confacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
562 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-
*178 words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[120] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[118] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[119] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[120] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puĩrão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puĩrão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãuí'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãuí'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
• 464 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals
511 who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*,
are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in
the Cayuá *kolwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a
hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children.
He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding
properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received
from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kolwé* in the
village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white
trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá.
The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board,"
that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his
property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he
is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
• 177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[132]

464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[133]

---

[273] [132] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[133] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

There is some tendency for the internal *change* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *change* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokué* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokué* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *change* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *change*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *change* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokué* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[26]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokué* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *change* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *change* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Change work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[26] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh44 General Sh44

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
[197] those who work in *chaugo*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*indio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptize" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *chaugo* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *chaugo* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *chaugo* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or sieves. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 459
hood, as well as those of the Indians, parcel their corn in wooden mortars 332
and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more 418
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the 262
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *Indicher*
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article,
however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of
production. Specialization in the manufacture of sieves has already been
mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white 459
settlers or to the *Indicher* is both a much smaller and less regular account of 648
commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure 433
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods 449
he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnow- [465]
ing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter.
Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as
only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in
Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-persons or work very little in
changa.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[97] 648
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 435
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Non-Brazilians in [465]
trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money
value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A sale
of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *gueria* (roughly
a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of rela-
tively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many cruzeiros; a
winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one [191]
argument for the northern or aquatinki provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil
and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians
as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially
for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are
equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of
using the bed, if he wishes.

[97] Gras, 1936.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[10] The contemporary *puhirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puhirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puhirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puhirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puhirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[10] Mead, 1937, pp. 16-17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new
• 464 crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *changa* and intra-village trade
are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been
and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or
commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to
433 treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced
Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes
have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of
Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest
in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however,
might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the
individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the ele-
mentary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could
only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary
self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects
of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and
a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended
family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá
to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with
them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feel-
ing, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a
specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a
widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and
helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished
in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (com-
mercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages,
especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the
basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are
the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changa* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
286 stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa*
648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 tionally, in their own clearings. It is clear that "individual economic differenti-
*177 ation" is secondary here to the existence of a system of wage-work. Likewise it
182 is secondary to the decline of certain crafts and the development of specialists in the remaining ones. Yet these latter two contributory factors, though acculturational, are not the initial causes of acculturation, that is, are not themselves the facts of the white culture and its advent. They are already the *primary* or *immediate* effects of certain facts of white culture upon the culture of the Cayuá. An effect such as the economic differentiation of individual Cayuá is one step farther along and therefore is secondary to the initial effects of acculturation from which it is derived.

The following secondary effects of acculturation, then, are classed together as having in common that they are not immediate results of acculturational influences upon the Cayuá. They are cultural changes which have come about through the interrelatedness of various of the initial or primary acculturational effects described foregoing. There are implications of neither chronology nor relative significance in the order of discussion of the secondary effects.

[462] II. B. b. "Individual economic differentiation: (1) increasing craft spe-
[241] cialization among both men and women; (2) tendency toward male alterna-
[464] tives re extent of work in own agriculture or in *changa*." The acculturational causes of craft specialization are not far to seek. Former native products were in many cases ousted as the Cayuá came more and more to depend upon trade goods equivalents, as we have noted above (pp. 101–102), resulting in (II. A. d.) the loss or decline of several native industries. No longer does each adult male or female necessarily know even the craft skills that presently remain—let alone all of the aboriginal crafts once taken for granted. Yet, since some craft products are still actually used and needed, persons who lack the corresponding skills are obliged to depend for these items on other Cayuá who still retain their skills. The result is specialization.

Trade may also have aided in the specialization of remaining native industries (II. A. f.) because it inclines people to think of obtaining goods by other methods than producing them themselves. A Cayuá whose wife does not make hammocks may obtain one by exchanging some store cloth or other trade goods for it, or even by purchasing it for money, though the latter is rare. *Changa* and trade, therefore, have provided in some sense the possibility for successful limited craft specialization. The man who spends too much time in *changa* moreover, is not only able (by exchanging white goods thus acquired) but is practically obliged to obtain some of the Cayuá-produced things he needs from other Cayuá.

464 Although it is only incipient as yet, there is some reason to think that
*177 (II. A. e.) the *changa* will eventually take its place alongside Cayuá own pro-
182 duction as a major means of earning a living. Wage work may never completely oust domestic production—and it is certainly far from even threatening to do so at the present time; but there are already, in the case of a few individuals,

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

suggestions of the extent to which the one may interfere with the other. This is tantamount to saying that *changa* wage work may become an "alternative" (in Linton's sense) to home production—not merely, as it is at present, a somewhat optional adjunct, one possible means of acquiring desired trade goods. Whether the *changa* is to become more of an alternative or more of a complementary form of production, practiced side by side with their own agriculture by the same individuals, remains to be seen. 464 • 177* 182 •

At the present time, it is not possible—or, at least, easy—for a Cayuá to spend most of his productive energy working for the existing form of wages. For one thing, the man who now works "too much" in *changa* does not produce certain necessary goods in sufficient quantity for himself. A number of new usages will be required before he is able to acquire these goods easily. For example, the exchange of money or trade goods for Cayuá goods—largely foodstuffs—must first become generally accepted. This means a regular market. That there is no dependable exchange of goods among the Cayuá at the present is actually one reason why the lot of the few who work extensively in *changa* is not generally considered satisfactory.[158]

The ultimate consequences of a wage-work alternative to Cayuá agriculture are of much significance. One conceivable result is de-tribalization, which might occur if the Cayuá came to form essentially a stratum of wage workers in the local Neo-Brazilian society. The eventual possibility, however, is only hinted at up to the present time.

II. B. a. "Division of labor by sex: men come to be more important in the work of agriculture." 177* 182

> By common-sense arrangement the heavy work of felling trees for a clearing was the men's share, but planting, weeding and harvesting were feminine tasks. . . . However, the major change, [from female to male labor in the lighter agricultural activities] generally occurred when agriculture became a people's principal support so that hunting dropped out as an important occupation. Then the men turned farmers. . . .[159] 241 462

The general principle seems to apply to the changing sexual division of labor in Cayuá agriculture. In this sense, (II. A. a.) the increased scale and importance of agriculture and (II. A. b.) the decreased importance of hunting are probably the principal factors responsible for the change to basically male labor in farming.

Exactly why this should be so is perhaps more difficult to argue; that is,

---

[158] It is also true that the rate of return for work performed, in terms of the ultimate needs of the Cayuá, is now less in the *changa* than in Cayuá home production. The Cayuá would not easily recognize the fact because of the present relative non-convertibility of trade goods and home-produced goods. II. B. g., the idea of price in general and of prices for specific commodities is ever becoming more a part of Cayuá economic thinking. But present transactions are still so small in scale that it is impossible for the Cayuá to have any idea of the total value of what they produce in *changa* as compared to that produced in the same amount of time spent in their own *kowá*. [435]

[159] Lowie, 1946, p. 24.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Con-
182 ceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt
241 so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things
462 being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[160]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present
[412] Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[161] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

[464] The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[583] [160] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal
[171] Tupi of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupi unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[161] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant *men*, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
648 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
182 *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it—as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *changa* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *changa* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *changa* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[163] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[164]

[163] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed. [121]

[164] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations, sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment, [121]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
191 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notobotocudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
[300] on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24° S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[178] the forests like the *Guayaki* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).
[241]

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[941] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
[482] ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to *"changuear"* for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[23] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the *"serviço,"* or work involved, is

[23] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
•464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.
465 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde-
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost cer-
tainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with suf-
ficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institu-
tion of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
— and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and im-
mediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 648 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tsawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126 412 177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

[Francisco Horta]

G 197 cont. /

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/104 cont./

684 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become insolent
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense: I knew only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Pai José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of pai,
less than the profession of cura, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[435] [465] [171] [184] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-108 in the original source./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *benditio*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

175* 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

174* 175* 167 648 668

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puŝirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puŝirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cāuī'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cāuī'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 648 464 511 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise [438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no [466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[183]

*177 464 465 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[183]

---

[273] [183] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[183] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
• [465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
*[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned. 648 439 352 415 262

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*. 439 648 433 464 [463]

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[117] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis*; a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so 437 648 435 [465]

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes. [171]

[117] Gras, 1930.

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The [465] midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out
648 to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The
[482] female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to *"changuear"* for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[22] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the *"serviço,"* or work involved, is

[22] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also one which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the 465
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
4 64 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals
511 who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
*177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[122]

464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
465 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[123]

---

[273] [122] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[123] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
*[177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
[562] give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão* works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of
• 466 the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
648 also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
466 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
177 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
[273] from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*. Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
• [476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/57 cont./

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

• 476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin: for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõmoóõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Rariri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva)
[84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, continued by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the task, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha: it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work: the afternoon and evening, to drinkings and the dances.

476 178 [321] [184] [273] Among the Guaraní of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a constitution of the solidarity /58/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to see it to have a relative or compadrão undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drinkings. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- As Aranhã, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist: they tend to abandon it, because it has become customary not to return the services rendered to a compadrão. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/69 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Banzaal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 242 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões: the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirão. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic innovations goes on, in conflict with the development of national village.

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbyá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canoes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbyá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the

476 574 273 joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "Taw," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 All this is the puxirão of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we see that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbyá). "But they do not slaughter /Ø/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

2: Schaden--71 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call pytyvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytyvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayowá and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[274]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sense, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not seriously affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears): that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[199] refers to the usual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary income nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
168 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for the daily meals is clearly a female one.

*178 594 * 476 596 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puhirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puhirão* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupí-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puhirão* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *cauí* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapirí nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puhirão*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time.

Puhirão work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puhirão* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence for it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puhirão* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution.

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puhirão* than through whatever aboriginal arrangements corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapirí who never or almost ever give a *puhirão* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puhirão* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puhirão* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *cauí* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as pacers and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is bettable from year to year in production and matters regarding ability to give and participate in *puhirão* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any difference exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquaspiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *change*[20] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—frequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[20] "Change" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and means to have the unending custom of working for him for another—to their own almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

178* 469

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[100]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[101]

178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

178* 463

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *chaupa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *chaupa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pulirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pulirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *chuí* for the required drinking feat. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

178* 464 465 476 648

[100] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue to demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are no individuals. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[101] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *chuí* which is usually strained of all the large lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it [hn] as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[169] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapéi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapéi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapéi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokué* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokué*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokué*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puleiro*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *chuí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fre- 178* 592 594 [476]

[169] Dwelling is ordinarily a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[140] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokué*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[141] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[142] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[140] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[141] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokué* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokué*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places as marked as at Taquapiri.

[142] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the sun and other plagues to "discover" a *kokué* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokué*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *hokó* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[18] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interest and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapiá*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *hokó*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common maintenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed its pleasure and solidarity each interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own lot happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[19]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the potlatch. This work may have involved the members of more than single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably joined with together in interaction

[18] Wheeler, 1937, p. 18. [19] Ibid.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[143] The *puhirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that
476 when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *sauchirão* [*puhirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[144]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirão* and something less than total participation by all individuals in the village.[145] Some individuals say that *puhirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *chuí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide
[574] their fellows large quantities of *chuí* that keeps the *puhirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside
[527] change work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *chuí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[146] Nor is the large-scale *puhirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirão*.

Following Mauss's distinction, participation in the *puhirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

(79) [147] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "groupes de travailler" (work groups) which Bastide (1947, pp. 86-112) has recognized among the Tupinambá.

(19) [148] Ayrosa, quoted in Bastide and Willems, 1950, p. 137. The varying orthography of the word *puhirão-sauchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "puh" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word lend easily to other suggests from one dialect to another.

[149] It is true, of course, that the *puhirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the *ajutorio*; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[150] Manioc, perhaps the necessary wooden trough for *chuí*, mentioned supra, p. 56. There is probably some relation of this thing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *chuí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since baked crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc. In their order of importance, the agricultural surpluses might thus favorably affect the consumption of *chuí*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[10] The contemporary *puhirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puhirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puhirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism.

178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of concrete, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *change*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puhirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puhirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to sell have, moreover, penetrated further than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *change*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans-

178* 433 648

178* 438 469

[10] Wissler, 1907, pp. 10-17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" change and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercialism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the
[594] individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary
[476] self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not necessarily

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *chaage* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[*] It is suggested, therefore, that the *chaage* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools. 177* 182 241 462

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor. 177* 182 241 462 476

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, mutatis mutandis. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unchanged.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in [226]

[*] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for certain Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Baegert (1950, pp. 100–111 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that the Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, or tools, probably were used by the men, as in the cutting of cane.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokwé* or planting, along extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially sans so drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual male labor, (II. A. e.) the *chaaga* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians. (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *chaaga* and trade.) Neither of these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *chaaga* a man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Just wage work of Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, ad even here payment is individual; the *chaaga* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *chaaga*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *chaaga* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and *chaaga* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence on change upon the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, or perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be easily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by those same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, or so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, if food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as unobtrusively as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá-Guarani buy trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give in the exchange

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 478

In the *chaaga* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *chaaga* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *chaaga* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. c.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[20] 177* 182 476 242 621

II. B. c. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Tuquapiri), *re* location of house near *kabaú*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[21]

---

[20] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been mentioned. [21]

[21] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Sherif "These elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations, attitudes, and interactions* (Sherif, 1948, pp. 12 f.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Sherif's scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [733] [362] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [321] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [419] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called cambu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminous called sabacua, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [353] (*Nicandra* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium* [329] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai'* [361] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [361] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindó palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and function in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1620-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary ac- 174 177

9 "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. There one would say this beverage is *caá' ui'*.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
476 like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of
distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which 178
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde- 437
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact,
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost cer-
tainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with suf-
ficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 476
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institu-
tion of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
— and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and im-
mediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course, tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *róça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

184
182
476
177
434
121
177
178

purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[48] [175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great [481] woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbbá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tupã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the mole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pÿtÃ or puitÃ of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovyuá ragué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
• [482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
•[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.
[286]
[192]

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbũa
Ñandéva

• 482
415
291
142
184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbũá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapái*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaráká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P. 146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*aruhwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjuhé*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

•489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pañ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guarani* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] **Basketry.**—The *Guarani* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [283] [531] [386] [824] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guarani* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peon-
[465] age is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
439 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in
648 such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The
[482] female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Ratins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group; a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Ratins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and
[484] cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[536] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group: he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco: it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1909.

[19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these reservas and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484.

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of making canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [292]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass . . . " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats didnot take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish con-

484 175 648 quest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity . . . they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside

[252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

G /311 cont./
175
484
648
[262]
G
[271]

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G
[721]

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G
175
167
721
C
167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
175 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
167 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
484 of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani
[162] territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
114 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
175 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
167 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
484 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the
174 Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the
C G Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the
175 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
167 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
648 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
484 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants
withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land
joined together and marched against his people, put them
to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various
directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their
way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to
escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous
that the fields were covered with them. He himself was
among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees
stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled
there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the
Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them.
He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with
those who decided to continue their march. On the way they
were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed
them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and,
slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country
of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long
time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual,
they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds
must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more,
nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to
him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to con-
tinue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which
could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned
also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these
villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one
could get there in five days and great provisions would be found
there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

C
G /31

175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

C
G
175
167
484
487

/60 cont./

476 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the
491 maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of
177 collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the
177 contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new
463 forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbiá
439 of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 In the Mbiá puxirões to which reference was made in the
574 last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the
476 joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of
574 drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and
273 at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those
574 that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner
[262] provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbiá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

174* 175* 648 [494]

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins. [657]

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians. [224]

[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26. [112] Von Ihering, 1907.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 [464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

[496] [361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

181 THE Caynd, frequently also called Caingud, and less frequently Cainwd, Cainqd, Cainqd, and other similar designations,[1] are a Guarani-speaking
[65] people of northwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various posts and
131 reserves of the *Servico de Protecão aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
167 the Caynd known to the settlers now live between the great Rio Paraná on
*135 the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[2] and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1819-1826), however, Caynd territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Caynd from their traditional home in Paraguay and northern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1819-1820.[3] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Caynd has always been in northern Paraguay and northern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Caynd to flee eastward, where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[4] This river is part of the east-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Caynd territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Caynd must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Iguaçú. He mentions that as early as 1810 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Caynd on a reservation at Lorenzo de Pirajú, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Ihering[5] in 1898 reported numerous Caynd in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Caynd to the northeast, of their present territory does seem well corroborated.[6]

*179 The Caynd, or at least certain of them, were apparently versus Indians
* 501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[7] Ihering also gives the impression

[1] Gadal, 1906, refers to a group of "Guiaguó" where he identifies with the Caynd. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Guiaguó proper were a Guaicurean tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [2] Rengger, 1835. [3] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.
[4] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [5] Ihering, 1904.
[6] Gadal, 1906, p[illegible], unless a earlier work, uses for the long memory of the "Guiaguó" (Caynd) in the region of Pirassununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region there early there, and possibly but not necessarily Caynd or "Guiaguó." [7] Von Koenigswald, 1908, passim.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[8] This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambaí and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

What neither von Koenigswald nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were forced to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apapocuva-Guarani,"[9] close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their compatriots to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map[10] published in 1911 shows only a few small scattered of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from those parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.[11]

NUMBERS

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or credibleestimation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the mato or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made.

Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caiuás":

> The Caiuás are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the hinter-

---

[8] Sampaio, 1928, passim. [9] Métraux, 1948. [10] Von Ihering, 1911.

[11] More extensive information on to the names and location of various Guarani-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1948; and Cadogan, 1959.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. 174* 415 [285]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *ndoutí* (the word for "two"?). [192] [192] [462] [192]

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano 174* 501 [171]

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil*" (p. 403)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.*

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Ratiosa," "Patá," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loin-cloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.* Small caps of cotton are mentioned,* and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "tights" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg wind-ings, at least [illegible] ppeared to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather wind-ings for this latter purpose.* 174* 184 291 291 174* [714]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,* but no feather capes are sug-gested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the 174* 301 237 [171]

* Métraux, 1928, p. 207. * Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. * Ibid., p. 704.
* Ibid. * Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapéi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation, and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501 *

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The-woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *maracá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbaái* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

•501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paší* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[171] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*).
824 They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1850-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Econômicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

.501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501•
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [273]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[122]

464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[123]

---

[273] [122] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[123] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

[Francisco Horta]

G 197 cont. /

Gi 433 511 241 439 Gi [464]

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G 621 433 648 464 177

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbïá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbïá of Rariri, made of either timbopeva or embira: they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[324] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýxá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbïá, who call it tendá): if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

846 /99 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
[513] wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[114] For the Mbyá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
[153] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Azarthá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[184] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbyá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá" are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá: in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
973 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatá (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.* There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapéi*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapéi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.* Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cheé'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapéi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the Europeans have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cheé'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cheé'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *ubaundé'* (or *adjaké*), worn across the

* Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

* It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller bowls is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

/22/

C
Ce
515

Body Care and Rest

The Izozó in Toledo and the Chiriguano in Machareti offer a contrast with the Indians of the Chaco whom I visited in that they are relatively clean. We must recognize that this cleanliness, which has also been praised by other authors, occurs despite the fact that a great many of them live in regions with very little water and where often the quantity cannot satisfy the necessities of cleanliness except with great difficulties. According to Nordenskiöld, they bathe several times a day and often directly after eating. After meals they wash their mouths and their hands (89).

C
Ce
[312]

89. Nord. I, pp. 180, 19 /the third figure of this page number in the 190's is illegible/, 203, 204.

Gi
352
513

For sleeping, the ancient Guaraní commonly used the hammock. "The sleeping hammock which they hung from two pillars in the dwelling was characteristic of the Guaraní," says Serrano of the Guaraní of the ancient Province of Uruguay (90). The Chiriguano and Izozó still have hammocks

C
Ce
513
352

90. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 120.

today, but these are not commonly used and serve less for sleeping at night than for resting during the day (91).

91. Cf. Nord. I, p. 177. Nord. 2, p. 9. Métraux I, p. 470 and Plate 88.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

• 515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbiá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [951] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

[illegible]

3. Clothing

291
197

Cloth for making clothing, however poor in quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become so necessary for him as they are for us. Not to wear them is a protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not presenting him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291
177
609
156

European clothing then gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagery. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the colonists, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

241
112
192
174
39

From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental. Inasmuch as the Indian puts on garb of European type the circulation of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made bathe impossible. Washing the clothes, too, is a pursuit poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without taking any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

24
515

/MS page 5/

851 155 159 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the *couvade* and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn

(846)

856 789 825 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid having weak bones in the baby's mouth, there is long around its neck a small cloth with seven "little needs" (probably tabulatoth such usage, observed among the Ñambiquara and probably of cabocla origin. Is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with *mingangue* /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a macaw bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mitiki of the Bororo). As we have seen earlier, the Ñambiquara of Rosental told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.

(191)

856 789 615

856 789 Among the bitiki of Primeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot: I was told that it was a manner of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously the reader will not fail to note the analogy with the "mangira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --

(191)

856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Manzal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

826 856

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
[252] munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

1: Hanke--14 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
291
• 516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
• 516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
• 516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

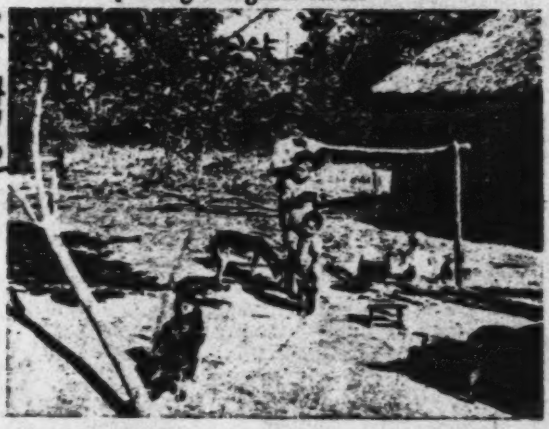
"Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe reté moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe yeguaka moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ĕe rykeý."

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342



VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.146]

241

24
291
516

FIG. 6. Recently fired *hokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *hokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*suvakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

482
313

FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*hokwé*) with back basket (*adjaké*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in coordination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *cauí* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

291
302
342
415
516

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

273
291
415
516

FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cãwĩ'*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

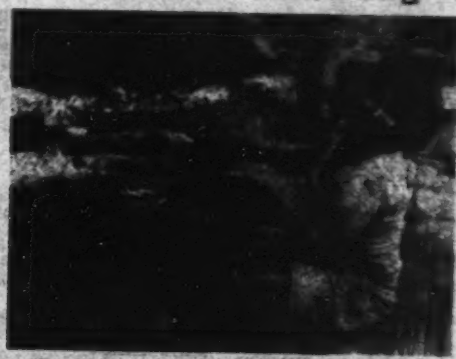


FIG. 12. Woman straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cãwĩ'*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

[535]
[342]

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbujirão*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbujirão* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cãwĩ'* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cãwĩ'* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
• 516

291
302
853

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing anklets ("rattlestone") of hardened reeds. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Tapenpiki in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious [184] ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, 534 in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a 723 Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also 796 mbaraká í) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or 177 simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings [533] to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the 534 men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many 171 signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534 As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also ex- [171] isting in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tehycuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curusú-Mbeengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

532 177 124 532 524 532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/98 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbyá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1):

• 524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbyá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of bacuvere cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (kúiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce: many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. ficaes/ early. Among the Mbyá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbyá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, biaca /a game of cards played in Portugal/: men and small boys take part in it indiscriminately.

[524]

/88 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of [illegible] fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (pikiã of Ikatú). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calendar sheet as propeller. At Aracuhã a Guaraní boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child
[156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly consistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 159 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In
[828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A kiñã of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /88/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament: as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/73 cont./

[illegible] adult. How long there been participating in all the collective prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be [illegible] will for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

[illegible] The member of the General child's says pertaining to the [illegible] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayowé and the Bororo [illegible] of Dourados I observed a dandiwark made with native leaves, [illegible] which the former called mangá and the latter [illegible]. At [illegible] I saw children playing with a toy top of coin /a clay top/, with a cowpoint string; the only denomination they [illegible] gave the object was [illegible], which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of [illegible] "machine" or [illegible] /not indicated in the original/. Likewise [illegible] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name [illegible] of bullies; since they had no machine, the children used [illegible] from [illegible].

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation [illegible] of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more [illegible] acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar [illegible] and enjoy themselves with [illegible] /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /7?/ seven-year-old son a [illegible] /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies, and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Bororo of Rarité, where, as among the [illegible], I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

[illegible] The attitude toward education changes visibly with the advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new [illegible] ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspiration. Particularly the Bororo of the Alto Paraíso coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of interaction, stemming from a sudden desire to appear more civilized. One

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

The Caingud of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the Aliyá chiefs. A dead person's name is taken.

As among the Tupinambá, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the Apiaweses, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Ashy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern Caingud, was an honored practice among the ancient Guarani. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the Tupinambá (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the Tupinambá, the Guarani prisoner pelted his executioner with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 31), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

MUSICAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the Caingud is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and bamboo disks.

The ancient *Itaite*, i.e., the Guarani north of the Aguapey River, played

S: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingué of Paraguay inter the
139 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
[551] is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinambá*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[579] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[191] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anhy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingué*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinambá* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinambá*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingué* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatín*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
•526

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paiá* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

2: Schaden--227 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/178 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273 828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbïá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[148] The *puhirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puhirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[149]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirão* and something less then total participation by all individuals in the village.[150] Some individuals say that *puhirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cāuī*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [574] their fellows large quantities of *cāuī* that keeps the *puhirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokwé*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *change* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cāuī* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[151] Nor is the large-scale *puhirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puhirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[171] [148] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the *"grupos de trabalho"* (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tapirapé.

[19] [149] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puhirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[150] It is true, of course, that the *puhirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[151] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cāuī*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There [273] is probably some relation of this vieing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cāuī* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokwé* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cāuī*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [170] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
531 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tíkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,
292 called iporavõhaguẽ. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 352 doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock
[519] among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins
[854] of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults.
Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section,
*174 and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

322 Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of
412 these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked
until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and
"horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much
more common.[a] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with
rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to
lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one
being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle
*174 somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

415 Long troughs for *cāwī'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a
[322] dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-
day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more
wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own
trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller
troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest
*174 observed.

415 Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women them-
[323] selves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited
[462] in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct
*[177] cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically re-
placed aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists.
[312] Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a
coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in
diameter) were used for storing *cāwī'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and
herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating
[237] dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar
substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top
could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes
• [531] in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were
[285] used for straining *cāwī'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse
[192] grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been
limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunahū'* (or *adjahū*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[a] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusú* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178* 302 178* 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cāuī'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cāuī'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cāuī'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178* 352 415 531 178* 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177* 178* 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takwapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177* 178* 534

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [77] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paã'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [283] [531] [386] [824] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

• 531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
• 532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tahycuá. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumí-Mbeangatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113]

8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingná in

532 177 124

532 524

532 276

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

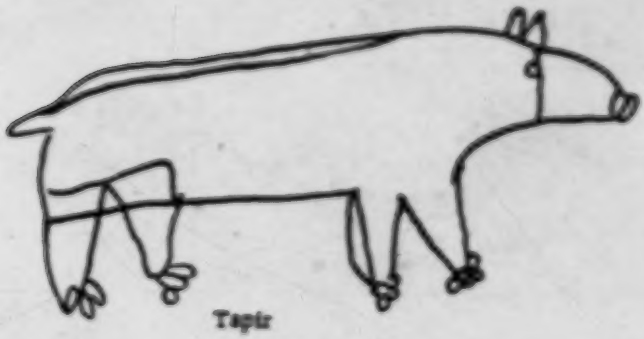
• 532

Plate I

a) Monkey from the side; b) human figure (woman); c) armadillo; d) monkey from the front; e) wild pig.

• 532

Man Man



Tapir

Plate II

• 532

Plate III

/[illegible] cont./

[533] [534] [199] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European one.

[534] [199] [192] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guerapé, an analogue of the guaimbés of the remote Caingué groups in Paraguay. The guerapé, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /[illegible]/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. -- The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbó, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbó. --

[535] [533] [534] [199] [192] [439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

[533] Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/224 cont./

• 532
776

[177]
←

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

778 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353
778 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [745] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade. [413]

35·2 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

231 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/230 cont./

773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubora.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

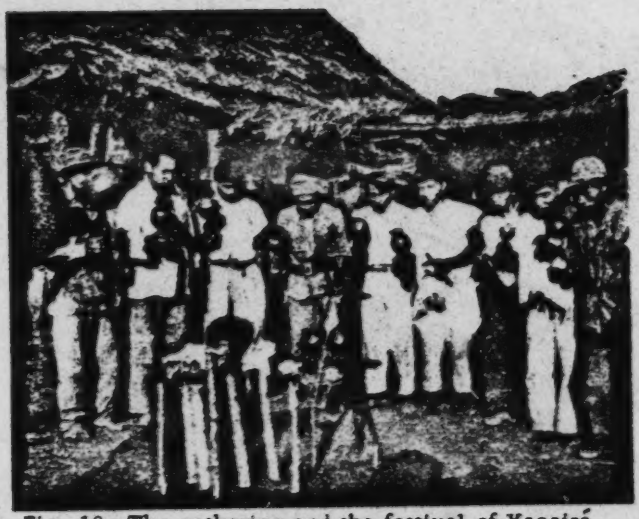


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe reté moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yeguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý."

/232/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ĩe
539 rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ĩe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body
[176] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
796 539 533 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĕe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĕe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĕe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[778] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the houses: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./
796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
• [533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[784] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein,

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the flanderu on the day of the
[192] ollomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name flemongaraí (!). The flanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the flanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
[828] stial region called yrukútýtétã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ilis. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal): in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, [538] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá: they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized": on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general. [782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohẽ vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
•533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517
533
797
177
534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184]
534
723
796
177
[533]
534
171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rikuĩ ĩ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embireko) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ĩ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ĩ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[106] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ĩ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranías" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[654] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

Schaden--203 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/159 cont./

538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Ñariri few Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbiá recently arrived from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjỹ nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piẽta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ẽomíaré, kutxára ẽomíaré, rorĩtoridjú rorĩ týimẽ: ararakẽre nde yguáryrú rire. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétỹguá mirĩ djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretẽ mombyrý: ndavýái. Avaká porẽ repotí ndaúsẽire: djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away: I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen: the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Ẽdjú, txeirũ í, djadjogueroá: aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú káí, ityryrú káí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight: it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái: oró ú ẽuẽ takuarý-porẽ. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djatereí katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djirodjỹ, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

/160/

539 8. Kapeshy, tipé ray: djadjapé pikta porã, djadjapé pikta, overa.
• 533 (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.
[172] [128]
000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 180 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar *function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging* frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171] 1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
+177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[759] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

+177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the
[294] (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
• [533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [170] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [846]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

1: Hanke--3 O-5 (ca.1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingua tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingua /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (bonâ) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting; they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

793 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/223 cont./

532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
177 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
[439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
• 534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house re-
177 ceiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
178 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
574 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
576 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
[192] rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

1: Hanke--22 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
• 534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe reté moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yeguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý."

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ŝe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ŝe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[792] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváýñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes-
[828] tial region called yrukúitýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

2: Schaden--167 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Kayová

796
535
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

764

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambaí.

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
• [534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

[184] 534 723 796 177 [533] 534 171

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534

As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

/153 cont./
•534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 [322] [824] The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] [789] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãmũ ĩ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embireko) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ĩ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ĩ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ĩ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[654] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'é*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[b]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

---

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[b] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbowáh*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapéi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbowáh* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *tapuera* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in man's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

[illegible]

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapiri*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *ñakwahé*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [539]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *ñakwá* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusé* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cauí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cauí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cauí* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, exact information is available. Firebaas, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven cotton strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purpose) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *tabaqui* (stamping tubes of bamboo), they musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated in their season. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 *178 * 534 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from Jesuit times.

The Annual Economic Cycle

221 241 *[178] At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalize much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *ohanga*; they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokwé* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the poorer; and those who do not work as poorer, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokwé* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month, while others are still burning their *kokwé* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingua* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuvo-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 175 5340 [562] [778] [756] [573] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingua*. The *Pai'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingua*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingua* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [272]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingua* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingua* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [276] [276] [276]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (*kagüima*) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of sun-tuy (*Phytocrene* sp.). Modern *Caingua* prepare *cauim*, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [71] 176 178

/223 cont./

532 276 [177] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European ones.

534 178 [192] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingué groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber: the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle: now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers: in former times they were very ornate. -- [192] The rattle is the instrument for a man: the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, [535] producing a peculiar deep sound.-- The dance during religious [533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 197 177 [439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites: the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the extinction of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old songs are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

/230 cont./

It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendaju has passed on to us. -- One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Détoana and Purubora.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbó. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhandeyvoi his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbó. The song in the original text runs

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[594]
[596]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the wands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

[793]
[796] Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Tacuirá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[779] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[784] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Tacuirá because the Cohuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for cheating the fawns. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also knew an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ñ djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbyá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Aratihá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representations in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
232 Ñandéva of Jacaré I found dull and sensitive individuals, who,
[824] incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Thyá ryubá, /"Ill/
[842] created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

2: Schaden--31 E-4,5 (1946-194) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/29 cont./

854 In part the not very rational methods of raising the children
855 are responsible for the high index o/child mortality. On the oc-
165 casion of journeys or celebrations, te children sleep in the open,
[164] exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia.
During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of
[536] day, many mothers keep the infantsriding on their hips, paying no
attention to the violent shaking to wich they expose them all
night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural
patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very
rudimentary, which naturally promoes the spread of contagious
diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily onelcos not see the slightest pre-
[828] occupation with body cleanliness. /Mbiá from Xapecó told me
that "the Guaraní go about dirty, beause they were really born
to be poor." If there is a river closeto the village, the young lads
may once in a while take a bath, be solely for the purpose of
cooling the body on a hot day or of ivving fun in the water. The
Nandéva of the coast say that, in thoupinion of the "ancients,"
a morning bath would give "long life" a belief that, by the way,
also exists in other native population: they remember an old man
who demanded that children take a bth in the river every morn-
ing, "in order to become strong." It they confess that the Guaraní
[147] of today "prefer to remain near the is." -- The smell of sweat
and smoke that characterizes them h been erroneously taken for
a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good in the coastal villages, for
example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent
[146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and habitation reduce physical
[733] resistance. The Kayové of Mato Grso have been decimated by
[751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because
of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having
many people eat at one time from thesame dishes or cups, of
preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in
large collective tubs, of not disposing the chicharrón /a beverage
made with manió/ and, above all, thereof (a beverage of manió
with cold water, taken by means of sucking tubes, and, finally,
by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/38 cont./

341 342 177 From the architectural point of view, there are two essential characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of [192] "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side: moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 177 178 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some hut of caboclo type more or less close to our another. For certain religious and profane [326] [326] ceremonies of the chirbe celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829]

no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [291] [537] [179] [535] [431]

In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha: nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [179]

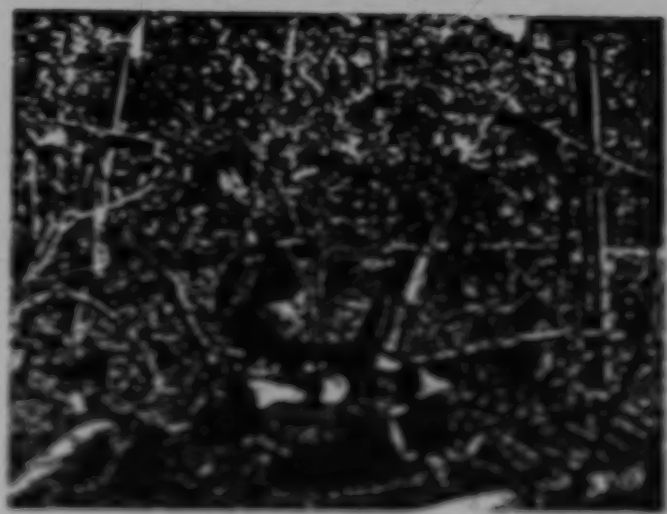
A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage: I owe the description to old Capitão Manoel, Pyrãgi. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

2: Schaden--167 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

T96
585
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

764



XI. Kayová ceremony of Amambai.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

 [P147]

273
291
415
516

FIG. 11. Woman masticating boiled, pounded corn for *chicha*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Woman stirring small log tank batch of chicha (*chicha*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayua woven strainer.

[538]
[347]

FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at small (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbaipiria*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbaipiria* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls as dancers that based until soon the following day because *chicha* based until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

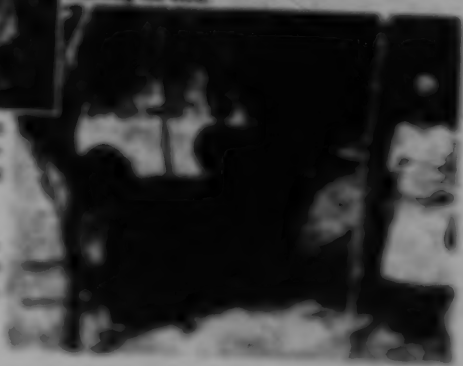


FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 12 in origin *chicha*) is fermented for village-wide drinking bouts. Right-hand tank about 20 feet long 2 feet outside diameter.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special frame-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

[illegible]

The amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. He possesses therefore a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

/233 cont./

796 [793] [533] [539] unging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:

/234/

"Yahá yahečá itymbý areteý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridiui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

• [537] [622] [177] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adaptation and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] [178] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 [177] Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in detail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely nominal. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades or more.

[114]

2: Schaden--197 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/155 cont./

538 182 184 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of beliefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 177 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 177 167 [648] existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal, which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 177 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá polpé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 167 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain [829] toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxy.

2: Schaden--199 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
199 lore takes on local color: they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word: the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[053] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-paráḍjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family: even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
987 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/159 cont./

• 538 533 184 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Ikariri few Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbiá recently arrived from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or 539 533 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes, the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piéta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomíaré, kutxára ñomíaré, rorítoridjú rorí týimí: ararakíre nde yguárynú rire. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétýguá miri djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretí mombyrý; ndavýái. Avaká porí reporí ndaúxeíre; djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away; I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjú, txeirí í, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú káí, ityryrú káí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight; it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái; oró ú ñuí takuarý-porí. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djatereí katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djirodjý, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

• 539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/225 cont./

• 539 [776] His wife is Nhande-Sỹ (Our Mother). -- In ancient times this divine couple inhabited the earth. One day, however, the god ascended to heaven, while Nhande-Sỹ remained behind on earth (9). -- There the earth god, Curussú Nheengarú (the

9. Cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen /Myths/," etc., pp. 317 f.

speaking cross), met her and was inflamed with love for her. He succeeded in winning the heart of the goddess. Soon afterwards, however, he left her. Now she went in search of Nhande-Rú-Vussú, but she /226/ did not know the way. She therefore asked the children in her womb. At first she received accurate information from them. As they became tired, however, they became inattentive, and finally they were mistaken and indicated the wrong way, which led to the house of the jaguar. At that time the jaguars were still human beings, hence "beginning of the jaguar" (10). The jaguar devoured the goddess and pulled

10. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., pp. 121 ff. and p. 122, who reports specifically on the origin of the animals. A comparison with the mythology of the Dêtoana, in which the animals originated as a result of the transformation of human beings, is interesting. Cf. my study, "Creencias /Beliefs/," etc. -- The Purubora likewise speak of the "beginning of the jaguar"; this jaguar, still human, is called Karará.

the children out of her womb in order to take them to his grandmother, who had scarcely any teeth and thus needed tender meat for her diet. The old one, however, took a fancy to the two boys and did not want to kill them. So they remained with her and were reared by her like grandsons. The two children were Guarahy, the sun, and Yasý, the moon. -- When they were only

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
291
516
793
854

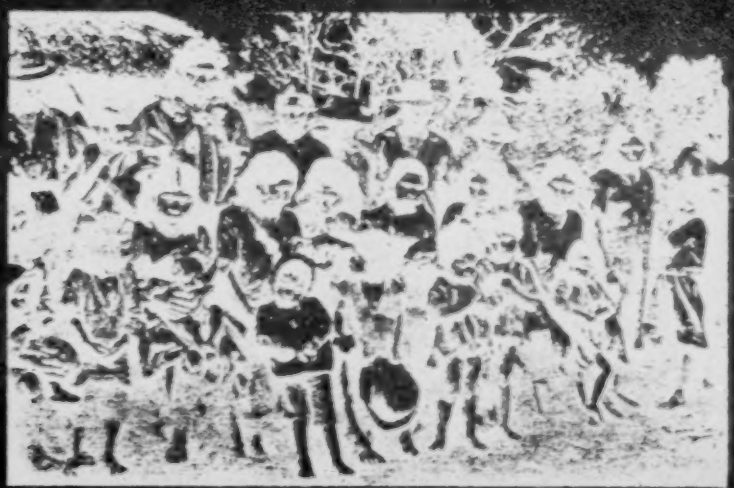


Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/226 cont./

• 539 Quickly the boys returned home with much fruit, the guavirá, and reported where they had found it. The whole family of the jaguar now set out with large carrying baskets in order to gather fruit. They all had to cross a river. The boys had built a bridge with their arrows. The wife of the jaguar, who was pregnant, went at the head of the procession. The jaguars followed her, and the grandparents of the /227/ jaguars came last. When they were all on the bridge, it collapsed; the jaguars fell into the river and were drowned (11). Only the wife

11. In connection with all this, cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen," etc., pp. 319 ff.

was able to save herself by a long leap onto land. At this moment, however, she became an animal-jaguar and later gave birth to two sons, who came into the world as animals. -- Never again were there jaguars who were human beings.

The grandparents likewise saved themselves by quickly retreating from the bridge they had just stepped onto. -- Guarahy spoke to the jaguar-grandmother without making himself visible. She was so startled that she turned into a large wolf. -- The boys now took the jaguar-grandfather, the last jaguar-human, and turned him into a paca (a rodent). As such they killed him amid solemn ceremonies and put him into the /Fig. 6 appears here/ cooking pot. Since then paca may not be roasted, only boiled. They prayed over the cooking pot and blessed the meat so that it would become a food agreeable to human beings.

After these events the brothers set out to look for the spirit of the mother murdered by the jaguars. The spirit lived in the house of the falcon. -- The boys came to many rivers and reached the seacoast. A crocodile appeared there, and it served the boys as a riding animal; they mounted it, in order that it might carry them across the sea. The crocodile obeyed, to be sure, but before it reached the other seacoast it turned back. This performance was repeated, despite the violent remonstrances of the children. The latter finally jumped into the sea near

/227 cont./

793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

• 539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where Jollo Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, Jollo Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sÿ. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

793
292
142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivoyé (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Mazití.

778 822 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

• 539 776 829 191 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 776 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
•539 killed the majority of the Anhã. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhã, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuãs -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhã overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

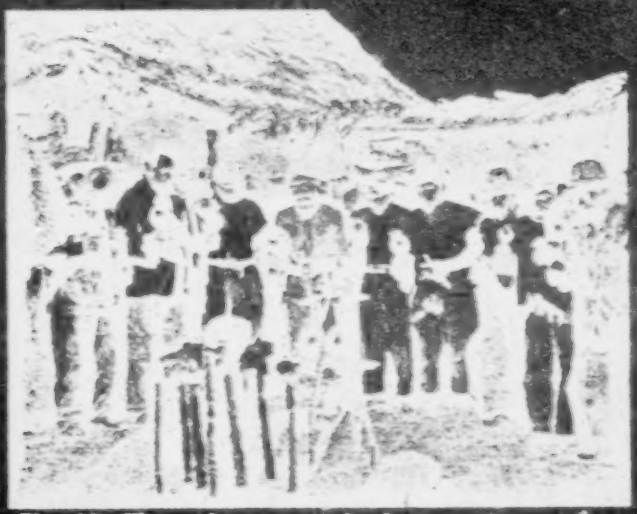


Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe reté moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe yeguaka moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curuseú warópyte moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ĺe rykeý."

/232/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that Ñe
539 rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song Ñe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body
[176] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly wide-
796 spread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
539 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:
533

/232 cont./

796
• 539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[778] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[792] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[193] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[193] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguéry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
• [539] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; petein areko txepyáre, petein areko txeakẽre, mokõi areko okápe, oẽẽgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguéry

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbiá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
•539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poipé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interior, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

539 179 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many people.

538 167 182 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components [829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá petyŕ.

/159 cont./

538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of the different subtribes. While, for example, in Itariri few Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbiá recently arrived from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
• 539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Eru una karéra mbóguédỹ nderyvỹ. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piéra. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomíaré, kutxára ñomíaré, rorítoridjú ruri jýimĩ; ararakĩre nde yguáryrú riré. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétỹguá miri djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretĩ mombyry; ndavỹái. Avaká porã repoti ndaúxeire; djuruá mbotavỹve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away; I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjú, txeirũ í, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú kaí, ityryrú kaí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight; it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái; oró ú ñuã takuarỹ-porã. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djatereí katú raé, txeryvỹ, pará ovái, djaá djirodỹ, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

2: Schaden--204 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedíy, tũpã ray: djadjapó piêta porã, djadjapó piêta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahũ songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted. /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 180 in the original source./

[172] [128]

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

[171]

2: Schaden--213 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

732
[128]

It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as Ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

[62]
[177]

539
772

For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

/166 cont./

539
772

He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoã. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return. As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

539
772
186

One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbüá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pÿtÃ, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva; the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I obtained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that [144] the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbüá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin [551] color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians themselves are conscious of this; in the Mbüá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "NÃ-ã," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý," [851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive [551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality: the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

/38 cont./
553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain
[551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of
[177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through
[178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Educations During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[136] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach-
[423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do
682 not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
•551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, ũ" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingué of Paraguay inter the
189 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
[551] is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingué*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingué* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and burring disks.

178 The ancient *Itatín*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
Guarani S14

sons, when I enquired their name, would jog their neighbour with their elbow that he might answer for them. It is also reckoned a crime to utter the name of a person lately dead. If any one in his cups forgets the law, and utters the name of the deceased, he will give occasion to a bloody quarrel. Many women have no name at all. When I was making out a list of the inhabitants of a town, I used to call upon all the men who were best acquainted with their hordesmen to give me information on the subject, and when interrogated respecting women, they used often to say: "This woman has no name."

A 551
A [626]
A [115]

Moreover, the Abipones change their names as Europeans do their clothes. The reasons of this alteration are either some famous action, or the death of a father, son, wife, &c. when all the relations, to signify their grief, change their old name for a new one. I have known persons, who, in process of time, changed their names six or more times. Others are named from some quality of mind or body; as *Kauirin*, lascivious, *Oaherkaikin*, mendacious. Children have names quite different from their parents. Amongst the Christian Guaranies, sons generally took the names of their fathers, and daughters of their mothers. In the third part of this history, which is yet to come, we shall relate the

A 553
G 551
000

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/38 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbiá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbiá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipó, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
199 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/146 cont./

[79] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [792] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Nandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle [237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive [782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the [851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the [553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

.553 Giving the names: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Educations: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [136] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [473] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
766 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[275] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
189 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
[551] is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[504] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
•[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred •[554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (Nanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [98] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbiá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjóxuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbiá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-styles: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [654] [178]

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

[147] [482] [164]

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[184] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbiá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[179] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 flanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--. Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
691 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the flanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the flanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the flanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
132 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[478] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] vvráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--129 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Ñoarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuã ỹ, with a string of pindó ryvỹ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the differences in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ỹ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ỹ djúretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[906] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ỹ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the "indolence" which is imputed to the half-cabocloized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the change in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the change "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3: Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *maté*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *maté* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *maté*; the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *maté*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[8]

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

---

[8] *Ibid.*

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jataíy resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [21] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué*: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [195] [621]

[9] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:68.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[537] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[539] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[540] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[79] fledged shamans. By his "volies" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[778] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[527] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[769] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[685] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[654] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their enemies.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14,
GUARANI SM4

A
622
554

Roÿ, Capitâ Tupânchichu, Capitâ Veraripotschiritù, neglecting their own word, *aba rubicha;* so universal and honourable is the title of captain amongst the savage nations. Should an Abipon meet a Spaniard dressed very handsomely, he would not hesitate to call him captain, though he might be of low rank, and distinguished by no dignity or nobility whatever. Moreover, in Paraguay, Spaniards of the lowest rank, who live in the country, are extremely ambitious of the title of captain, and if you do not call them so every now and then, will look angry, and refuse to do you any kind of service, even to give you a drop of water if you are ever so thirsty. The Christian Guaranies have the same foolish mania for titles. After having laboured hard for two or three years in the royal camps, they think themselves amply repaid for their toils and wounds, if, at the end of the expedition, they return to their colony honoured by the royal governour with the title and staff of a captain. At all times even when employed, barefoot, in building or agriculture, they ostentatiously hold the captain's staff in their hands. When they are carried to the grave, this wooden ensign is suspended from the bier. When a man is at the point of death, and just going to receive extreme unction, he puts on his military boots and

G
554
G
[172]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1700) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

G 554 177

spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

G 622

Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or

A 622

B Schaden--124 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Infino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvixá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/327 cont./

C E 175 569 72 [266] [439]

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there

C E 175 556 721 927

are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the

C E 175 648 721

disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of

C CE 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] CE [131]

Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a

C 175 927 276 698 569 CE 648 175 [161]

more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

2: Schaden--225 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/175 cont./

It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable. Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
881 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
[582] dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[561] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstrusting girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation Remondyiã. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekõahũ, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[956] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated: those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[177] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation Remondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóaku, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/95 cont./

[881] The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the buitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [792] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékoaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bacanas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[952] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [884] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pajé*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guaco* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaráká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaráká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[14]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[14] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 181 ff.

[15] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupí-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupí-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mberahá*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mberahá* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupí-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

"174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied
[562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great
[622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could
[628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[44] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel.
[797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the
[786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was
[171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups
[276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true
[824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecra-
[755] tion of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[44] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brasilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[14] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church *at* any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the
[294] (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
• [562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [14] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[118] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at
464 the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[119] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any
• 562 proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
*178 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[120] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[118] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[119] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[120] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and
pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the
use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean
kokué is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it
was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least
one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening
or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when
they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some
men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than
a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from
the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also
used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the
kokué.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used
in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a
point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokué*. Felling
the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[241] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other
[229] white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakué*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakué*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in
the log and stump-strewn *kokué*. The *sarakué* is primarily, if not exclusively,
412 an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in
their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example
[844] of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *iaquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapéi*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbohói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
[197] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they

562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother

[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From

[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions

[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points

[196] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-

[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of

[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During

[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.

[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of

[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,

[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each

[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father

[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small

[843]

/38 cont./

881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[178] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [662] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [292]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [710] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Banamal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Banamal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes

[648] Tañiguá, Apapokúva, and Ogauhuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Banamal.

621 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a
178 patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-
[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Banamal

621 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos
162 married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port.
166 fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for

[768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his

[758] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-

[964] ments," i.e., to consult some famous cures. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some farmsite in the Ribeira region.

621 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The
182 number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo
• [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having
433

/15 cont./

62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[678] in the frequency of dissentions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Ratins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbiá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Ratins. Among these Mbiá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbiá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The
[361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located further in the interior, at different places in the ex-
[61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred
[554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (Nanderu among the Ñandéva and Mbiá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com-
182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
[177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the
• [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the
[78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties: see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive •563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, 177 78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous: consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbiá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

• 563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
177 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráidjá," they say that no yvyráidjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--69 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S1M4 Guarani S1M4

/59 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões: the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

2: Schaden--182 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moãtendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious season presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the
85 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbiá of Rio Branco, also goes
799 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

• 563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1963 SM4 Guarani Sh4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
082 all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/330 cont./

E 177 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

E Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

E 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

Ce 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/326 cont./

E 175 567 72 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

Ce 175 648

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

E 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today: they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

E [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
645 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
c after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[729] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[181] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
c by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
174
175
[567]
[727]

C
Gi
175
L48
[567]
[527]

/7 cont./
continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[127]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ge
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ee
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

Ee
Gi
175
648
567

Chané SF8
Guaraní SM4

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./

they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ce
Gi
[113]

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

2: Schaden--101 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121
571
829
182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783
828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)aku or odjékóaku, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is aku. Aku is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is aku, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

2: Schaden--164 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in •571 a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/146 cont./

171 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsuá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyrãídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

171 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokué* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

178*

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[106] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *iapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokué*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[107] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puŝirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[106] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [107] *Ibid.*

/229 cont./

342
291
•574
516
576
534

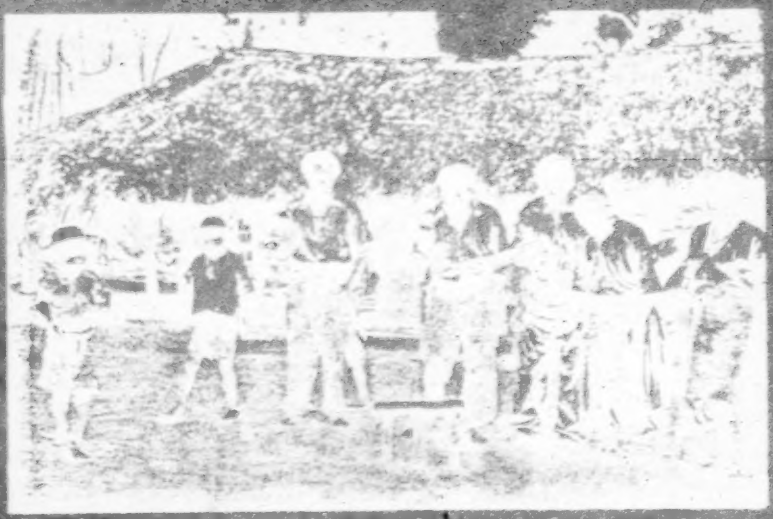


Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá: Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

773 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] [535] [534] [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

177 178 574 576 [192]

178 796 533 178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/233 cont./

796 [237] [533] disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a

[342] [291] [535] [594] [576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 796 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] [784] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the
threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous ad-
vance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding
colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to
the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian
Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the
free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best
adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how
to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial
transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a
practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own
interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among
the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly
well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and
avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional
unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little
town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing
of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the
Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic
and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the
Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. -/The bibliography is
omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira
only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as
seats among the Mbüá of Ararí, made of either timbopeva or
embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the
coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from
the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small
"hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[324] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýxá, a broom made of rosemary or xiririka. Secondly,
the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
• 594 the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[352] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá): if
[192] by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he
possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a frame-
work of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and
used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything
else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the
beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a
polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large
picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less
eager desire to appear civilized.

2: Schaden--68 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/58 cont./

476 524 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [621] [164] [273] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance. [182]

/60 cont./

476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 [262] 273 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call puxyrõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the puxyrõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]

[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

2: Schaden--86 2-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The flanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am flanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the
[593] marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--. Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the fiandéru or paĩ (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife: the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times: the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [293] [504] [199] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha: nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [535] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjũ. This is his statements There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakaiŕapéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/146 cont./

171 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Nandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyrãídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

171 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
179 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 476 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[140] The *puhirão* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *muchirão* [*puhirão*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[141]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirão* and something less than total participation by all individuals in the village.[142] Some individuals say that *puhirão* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirão* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cauí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [579] their fellows large quantities of *cauí* that keeps the *puhirão* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirão* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirão* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] *chonga* work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cauí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[143] Nor is the large-scale *puhirão* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirão* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirão*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puhirão*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

---

[171] [140] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86-112) has recognized among the Tupinambá.

[19] [141] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 157. The varying orthography of the word *puhirão-muchirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guarani consonant "mb" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[142] It is true, of course, that the *puhirão* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[143] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough *for cauí*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There [273] is probably some relation of this vessel to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural [433] surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cauí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokué* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cauí*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
841 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
851 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingué of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Añy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingué*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingué* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
989

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
• 576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

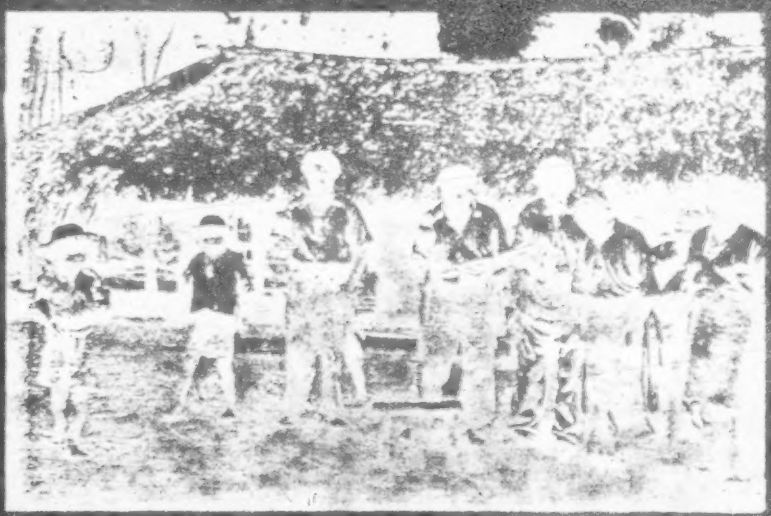


Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 776 829 191 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 776 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Guarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhã. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Guarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhã, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuãs -- they have gone into an invention of the whites into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhã overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubora.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
184 men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
584 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
178 adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

ooo

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[525]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[778] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from
[784] Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
179 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
179 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
182 all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
755 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

•576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

A
576
623

event of war, perhaps for half an hour together, all the rest not only listen attentively, but assent at every sentence, making a loud snort, as a sign of affirmation, which they every now and then express with these words: *quevorken*, certainly, *cleerà*, very true, and *chik akalagritan*, I don't in the least doubt it. *Ta yergàm*, or *kem ekemat!* are exclamations of wonder. With these words, uttered with great eagerness, they interrupt the preacher in the midst of his discourse, thinking it a mark of respect. They account it extremely ill-mannered to contradict any one, however much he may be mistaken. They salute one another, and return the salute in these words: *La nauichi?* Now are you come? *La ñauè*, Now I am come. But in general, for the sake of brevity, both parties only use the word *Là*, pronounced with much emphasis. The same manner of saluting is usual to the Guaranies, who say *Ereyupà?* Are you come? *Ayù angà*, I am come. When tired of a conversation, they never depart without taking leave of the master of the house. The one who sits nearest to him, says: *Ma chik kla leyà?* Have we not talked enough? the second accosts the third, and the third the fourth, in the same words, till at length the last of the circle, seated on the ground, declares that they have talked enough: *Kla leyà*, upon

G
[576]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
Guarani S14

oagan, yet, however. *Encha klatùm keèn èúének, oagan netackaik:* Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán aýte upatáye ken nepark, máoge chik ààtèkan:* Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Mén, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men naetarat*, As the father, so the son. A 192*

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kimill naáchik!* Oh! how useful this will be to me! is their way of thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abipones nor Guaranies have any word whereby to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ángà:* This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked the giver with nothing but the word *Kiri:* This is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat! Ta yeegàm!* or

A 192* 576 G [192] A 192* 576

2: Schaden--100 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

462
415
[0]
[14]

/83 cont./

also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mboparã) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy, 881 825 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 384 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] [824] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the flanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóaku, [152] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yrofsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 57 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
#577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
[756] holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
[243] with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have permasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunhenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authoricies. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxã naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderu, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village; the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

77 /108 cont./
121 on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77 Why is there always a close relationship between the re-
121 ligious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions --
• 577 good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual; they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

577 828 775

The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 775

/109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

771 177 797

2: Schaden--211 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykeý, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

/15 cont./

[62] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[678] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Ratins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiso with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Ratins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[62] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiso woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the Ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the Ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet

624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[556] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the Ñanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the Ñanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
643 At Panambi, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in 571 a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [182] [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
179 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
179 father of half a dozen mestiço children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
179 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-
771 operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
177 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
178 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
159 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "taperá" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--224 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77
182
829
[167]
[162]
[148]

/174 cont./

the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77
182
179
178
829

The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

[578]
[756]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué*: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [592] [621]

[9] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Anais, 1909, 2:87.

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[649] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the
[593] marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[594] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbïá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbïá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itarirí and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among sib-
604 593 lings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbïá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifices "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [273] [574] [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

2: Schaden--92 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the flandern and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbllá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbllá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [582]

2: Schaden--93 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after re-
sisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, per-
haps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[198] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situa-
tion is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female,
usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clear-
ing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in
which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mis-
treat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch
as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of
someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass
the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between
spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic
incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently
decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman,
it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family.
And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no
longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the
elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the
great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise,
there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly
since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among
the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family,
on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal
authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
58 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[850] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[691] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the lost of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[304] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[753] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[262] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[824] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
.581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body
764 the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

2: Schaden--32 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
179 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyrãídjá," they say that no yvyrãídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [109] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirü kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

• 582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/75 cont./

582 171 Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5).

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./ As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 582 1939, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1952.

582 121 I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague: while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece 582 with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Ñandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 601 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified 593 with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son; it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59
606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[171] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the
[561] things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiá. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóakú, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] 624 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au- [596] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great- [623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our
[868] mother"); they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the 174*
aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the 302
dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the 562
women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the 854
common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of to-
bacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of 756
clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively 276
identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*). 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[83] 534
made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower 174*
end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. [192]
When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted
a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, [755]
and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing [562]
ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack
like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION 174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, 582
headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matri- 591
locality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case 596
tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems 611
to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[84]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, 342
notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal
architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large struc- 596
ture, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample 174*
space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[83] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[84] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

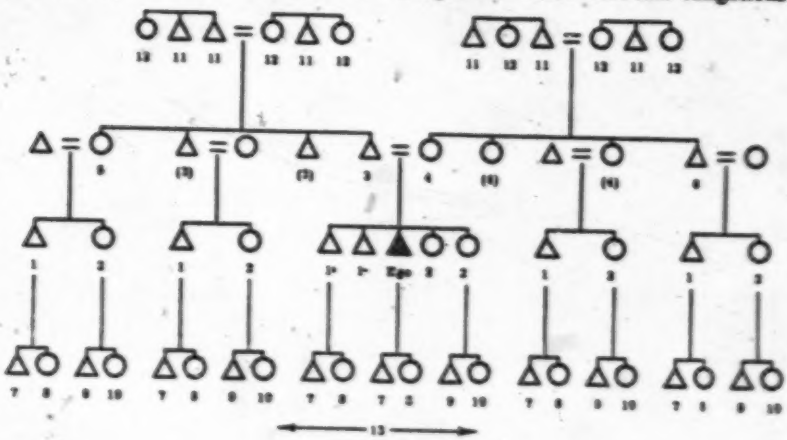
596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāwī'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

• 582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3;Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Iari'ý*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iera'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Ierajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iera'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Ieatipá*, quite a different term phonemically. *Ieatipá* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Iepé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[18] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupí-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[19] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapái*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tabisha*" or "caciqce," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[18] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[19] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokué* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced: The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 178* 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and; in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokué*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puxirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly
182 be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has
595 been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of
their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could
only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted
action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local
whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They
are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the
availability of workers for *chaugs* and the suspicion of alleged property depre-
dations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white
influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not
a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. *f.* "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother
182 to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
• 582 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the
avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former
602 presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices.
(See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not
only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account
for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly
strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form?
To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential mar-
riage operated.[178]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent
households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapái*. Some sort of cohesive
force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of
the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, uni-
versal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal
residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a
non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households
through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's
brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive mar-
riage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less
regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended house-
hold to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule
of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and
different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation,
cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con-

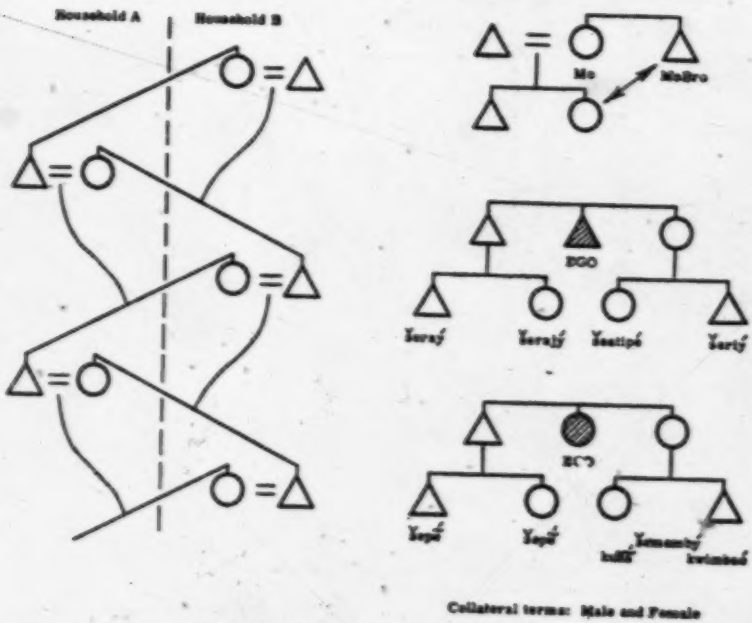


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[173] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II, B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[173] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

• 582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
.582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [766] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella consideró estaban sus cuerpos de otros muchos estos tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."

/74 cont./

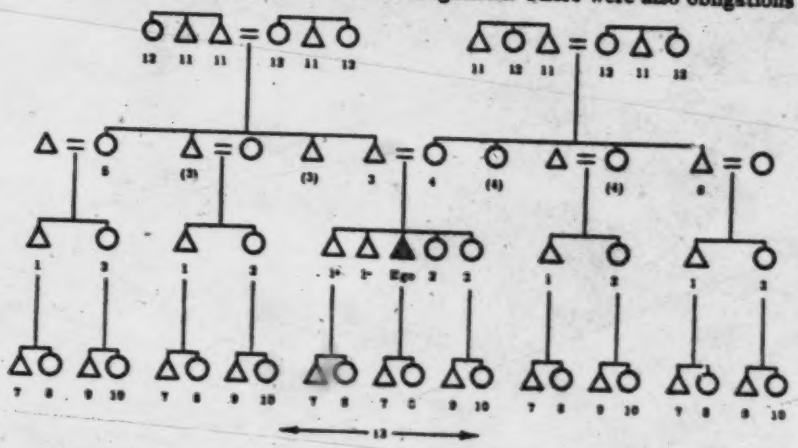
584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22-23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Iari'ŋ*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani S.'4

why should men take over more of the work of agriculture than formerly? Conceivably they might merely enjoy more leisure hours, since they no longer hunt so much; why necessarily increase their agricultural burdens, other things being equal? "Other things" were not equal in the Cayuá instance, to be sure; nor are the basic factors necessarily the same from one culture to another. For example, underlying cultural assumptions as to the normal or desirable, and therefore "just," economic contribution of the male, compared to his spouse, may vary widely. In some cases these assumptions may account for the male changing to produce agriculturally what he ceases to produce in hunting or fishing. In other cases, perhaps, no such reason or motivation may prevail. In Cayuá culture prevalent ideas about the economic obligations of men, as compared with women, may well have had a part in male compensation through agricultural production for decreasing hunting and fishing production.[160]

At least two specific factors appear to be historically related to the present Cayuá sexual division of labor in agriculture. Let us look first at (I. b.) the innovation of metal implements so important technologically to the increased scale of Cayuá farming. The alien machete and the axe were received from white men; men, that is, were the sex whom the Cayuá first saw using these tools. The Cayuá did not see much of the women of the invader probably for some time, and in any case, white women have very little to do with the machete and the axe. Cayuá men were by far the sex most in contact with the alien society and culture at first; even at present it is men who still primarily have to do with whites, since the *changa* and trading are both eminently masculine activities. Not only were Cayuá males in a better position to do any borrowing, therefore, but it is scarcely conceivable that the new metal tools could have come into Cayuá culture with other than connotations of masculine use.[161] The crucial significance of the new tools in the expansion of agriculture, added to the male use and connotations of the tools themselves, would seemingly favor the increasing agricultural role of men.

The growth of the *changa* (II. A. e.) may also have favored an increasing masculine role in Cayuá agriculture for the work of Cayuá men in the *changa* is generally agricultural work. Operations in wage-work are performed with the same metal implements which are now in use by the Cayuá. Thus, at some

[160] A suggestion of the values of Cayuá culture on this point is the report among the Coastal Tupí of the husband's economic obligations to his wife's people. Obligations of "bride service" existed among the Tupí unless they were "cancelled out" by reciprocity of spouse-giving within the terms of the kinship system. Such a practice, as we have said, is not authenticated by documents for the Cayuá but seems likely for a number of reasons. It indicates something about the general economic role of men.

[161] Here is certainly an excellent case in point for the analysis of "types of contact" of Herskovits, Redfield, and Linton. The question is whether the contact is of immigrant *men*, and what elements of culture are thus likely to be made available by the special alien group to the indigenous people among whom they live (Herskovits, 1938, p. 132).

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The Ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

• 584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 [197] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (1). The ñanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[522] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/38 cont./

881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
•584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [766] 587 622

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 591 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: ". . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese una almohada al alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses.
684

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [573] [574] [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the
[192] ofiomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (!). The ñanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oÿguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oÿguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648]

I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595

Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581]

An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[198] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
586 tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the aphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[651] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
• 586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroxaý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
• 59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

•59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son; it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

• 59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the [601] relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

/83/

• 59 606 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Concerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the [184] [177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca. 462 415 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and mynakú (Kayová) (6) --

462 415 101 114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
•[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The flanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am flanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (txeirü kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroxaý,"
[551] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[83] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 756 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[84] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[85]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

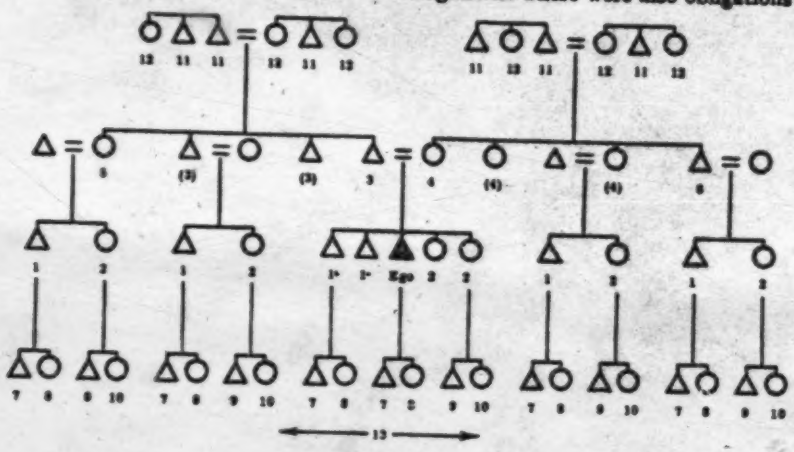
342 596 174*

[83] Cf. Isikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[84] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupí and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22-23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Ieri'ý*, was almost

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brasil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[116]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[116] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case. 177 182 596 594 621

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188] [171] [591]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly
182 be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
595 polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *changa* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother
182 to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
582 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former
602 presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[170]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapui*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
• 591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[170] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person
182 from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in
582 Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturaa-
601 tional forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain
[596] matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance
[591] have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate"
182 a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its
582 women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This oper-
59 ated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: ". . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. • 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
• 592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[139] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *pukirão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[139] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming. 177 241 412 182

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture. 178 476 156 [226]

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 592 156 178 476

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

•592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
156 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of
476 distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain indivi-
duals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to
get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive re-
course to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various
parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely
arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter
persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at
a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and,
furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, ex-
cept for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large
group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispen-
sable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely
participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of
view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too,
incomplete integration within the group (there are several new-
comers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "af-
ford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or
other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality
these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing
individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing
out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The flanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am flanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her. Among the reasons
[594] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--87 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (txeirü kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty • [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18, 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably
[115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an
[178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the
[829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
• [593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/82 cont./

• 593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Ñúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [423] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/35 cont./

342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
[596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
• 594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
345 in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
• [594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
[595] (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which
462 they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for
*178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

• 594 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later head-
476 ing regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint
596 and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puĩrão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[139] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[139] "*Changa*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[189] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapái* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapái*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapái* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cāwī'* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[189] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapúi*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapúi*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*tẽso*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapúi*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapúi*. Modern walls are usually made of 6″ to 8″-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapúi* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapúi* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapúi*, the old *tapúi* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapúi* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapúi* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapúi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapúi*. In other words, building a *tapúi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapúi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapúi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[143] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[143] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapáí* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new
464 crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *changa* and intra-village trade
are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been
and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or
commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to
433 treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced
Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes
have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of
Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest
in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however,
might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the
individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the ele-
mentary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could
only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary
self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects
of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and
a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended
family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá
to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with
them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feel-
ing, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a
specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a
widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and
helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished
in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (com-
mercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages,
especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the
basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are
the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of
182 (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater indi-
594 vidual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the in-
596 creased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have
621 already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[166]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[166] What if matrilocality were the presminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*197 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
• 594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapái*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapái*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapái* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapái*, they have certainly not made *tapái* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapái* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[188]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[188] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
• 594 to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
596 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
621 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
182 (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
156 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after interv[illegible] The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups. 361 [161] [184]

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living. 241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture. 224 226

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 one sense this is expectable since some of the goods and services which enter
182 into Cayuá dealings with Cayuá are (I. b. and I. e.) such that did not exist
43 aboriginally. It is likely, therefore, that some notion of price was attached to
181 these commodities at the very time they were introduced to the indigenes—
or the price connotation of such goods and services soon after became quite apparent to the economically ingenuous Cayuá. The "internal *changa*," one Indian working in the paid employ of another, is thus a type of service which did not exist aboriginally. Likewise, for example, if corn sold by the Cayuá to the trader generally comes to command a certain price, a price or money valuation may also tend to hold in exchanges of corn among the Cayuá themselves. Internal wage-work and internal trade are clear instances of a change in type of economy and in Cayuá economic values, as a result of acculturational causes.[171]

*177 II. B. d. "Polygyny: less frequent than aboriginally, possibly nonexist-
182 ent."[172] The principal reason for the decrease of polygyny among the Cayuá
462 appears to be an economic one. Put most directly, it is that women have be-
• 595 come considerably less important economically on the whole, and especially in relation to the increasing economic importance of men. This is best understood as a result of acculturational causes. In the first place is (II. B. a.) the change in the division of labor by sex with men assuming the major role in agriculture. Meanwhile (II. A. a.) agriculture itself becomes much more important. Moreover, agriculture has become increasingly important to the Cayuá, not only as production for direct consumption but also because of (II. A. f.) the exchange of a certain amount of agricultural production for the now essential trade goods. All of these factors have emphasized the male economic role. Running parallel (II. A. d.), native industries have become less important, and some have been lost entirely. Here again the result is that the woman's contribution, as in agriculture, has been diminished. To these reasons for the greatly decreased relative economic importance of women may also be added (II. A. e.) the *changa*, an important form of Cayuá production today which is not even partially the province of the female. Nor, to counterbalance all this, is there any indication of important new lines of economic activity for women.

---

[171] In any future trend toward a fuller money barter type of exchange, such Cayuá transactions can become only slightly more frequent. A money circulation type of economy is unlikely—at least until the local Brazilian economy develops to that point. For the Brazilian settlers themselves largely negotiate in terms of a money barter rather than a money circulation, although money does actually circulate more among them as a group than among the Cayuá. The local Neo-Brazilian type of exchange of goods and services is generally comparable to that described by James West for some of the inhabitants of Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). A money reference is widely employed, but little actual money changes hands.

[172] It is not entirely certain just how common polygyny was aboriginally, but there seems little doubt that it existed on some scale. It is difficult, however, to assess the importance of factors responsible for the decrease of polygyny when we do not know the extent of the decrease.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[173] 177* 182 595

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[174] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[175] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

---

[173] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[174] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[175] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly
182 be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has
• 595 been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of
their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could
only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted
action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local
whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They
are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the
availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depre-
dations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white
influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not
a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother
182 to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
582 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the
avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former
602 presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices.
(See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not
only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account
for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly
strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form?
To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential mar-
riage operated.[178]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent
households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapái*. Some sort of cohesive
force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of
the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, uni-
versal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal
residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a
non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households
through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's
brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive mar-
riage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less
regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended house-
hold to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule
of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and
different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation,
cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[178] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Cainguá* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Cainguá*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595. [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Cainguá* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Cainguá* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: ". . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/34 cont./

341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
177 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of
[192] "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the con-
• [576] junction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

342 The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited
• [596] only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new con-
433 ditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming
464 more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption.
594 The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to
[177] leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that
345 in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he
[552] is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

476
574

/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children [171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/78 cont./

887 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after re-
sisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, per-
haps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situa-
tion is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female,
usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clear-
ing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in
which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mis-
treat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch
as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of
someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass
the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between
spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic
incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently
decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman,
it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
• 596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family.
And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no
longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the
elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the
great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise,
there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly
since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among
the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family,
on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal
authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambi), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. 881 156 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. [596] [623] The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking. [177] [648]

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] yvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolzed Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
18 as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
177 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
18 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
596 chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
• 596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
[595] (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brasil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 756 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[43] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[44]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

342 596 174*

[43] Cf. Isikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[44] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapûi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[48] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapûi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapûi* (perhaps group of *tapûi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapûi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapûi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapûi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapûi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapûi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapûi's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cāwī'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapûi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapûi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[48] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which
462 they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for
*178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

594 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later head-
476 ing regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint
• 596 and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puʒirão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puširão* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupi-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puširão* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *cāwī'* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work party. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puširão*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time. 476 [462]

Puširão work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puširão* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence of it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puširão* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution. [596]

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puširão* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puširão* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puširão* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puširão* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *cāwī'* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as peons and spend too much time away from the village working for their masters and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is less stable from year to year in production and matters respecting ability to give and participate in *puširão* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first. 178* 182 342 594 596 361

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[139] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production. 594

The *tapúi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapúi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapúi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household. 178* 342 594 596

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cāwī'* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire- 178* 592 594 [476]

[139] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapûi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapûi*. In other words, building a *tapûi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[143] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production. 331

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144] 361

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a 361 594 596 241

[143] The existing *tapûi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapûi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses. [342] [476]

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years. [242] [243] [244]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[146] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[146] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapái* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[166]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[166] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of
182 (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater indi-
594 vidual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the in-
• 596 creased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have
621 already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooper-
ative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

---

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[166]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[166] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
• 596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapûi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapûi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapûi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapûi*, they have certainly not made *tapûi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapûi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapirí) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict. 177* 182 594 596 621

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[168]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in [657]

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[168] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
594 to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
• 596 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
621 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
182 (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
156 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person
182 from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in
582 Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain
601 matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permis-
[596] sible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family
[591] and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

*177 One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate"
182 a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its
582 women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with
59 (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [293] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
[342] like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[596] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[594] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

Ce /331 cont./
178
439
323
[177]

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C
G
177
178
342
596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

G
177
178
266

C
17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105
175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C
[167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/44 cont./

601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
182 that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
60 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
433 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the mater-
nal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the
men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes
beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- ● 601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

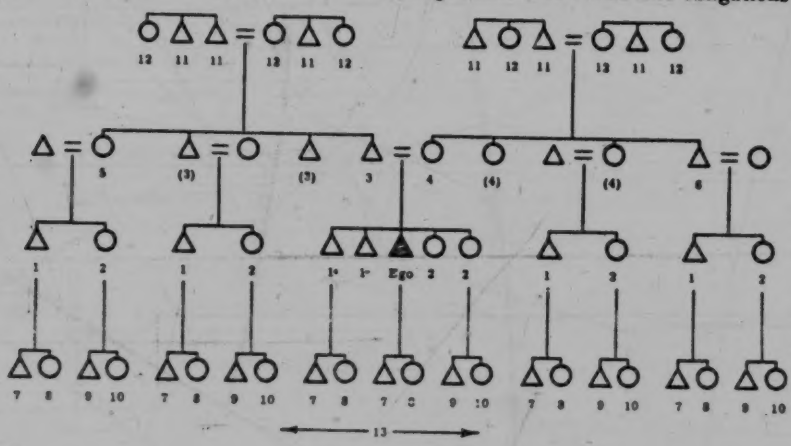
/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son; it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to find among the modern Cayuá, as well as the Tapirapé and Tenetehara (Guajajara), any indication of the admission—let alone the preference—of such a marriage.[66] This marital form has been reported by several of the early chroniclers of Brazil among the coastal Tupi and is dealt with in more modern terms by Kirchhoff[67] and Lowie.[68] In the coastal tribes of the 16th century the groom, unless he were the maternal uncle of the bride, became a sort of servant of his father-in-law, aiding him in economic undertakings, avenging him in disputes, and similar obligations. There were also obligations



Key

1. Brother
2. Sister
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Father's sister
6. Mother's brother
7. Son
8. Daughter
9. Nephew
10. Niece
11. Grandfather
12. Grandmother
13. Grandchildren (irrespective of sex)

+. Older
−. Younger
( ). Slightly modified term

Ego being a Woman:

7. Nephew 8. Niece 9. Son 10. Daughter

FIG. 1.—Cayuá Kinship Terminology

to the brother-in-law associated with the usage. The arrangement related to a presumed pattern of temporary (or for that matter, perhaps permanent) matrilocality; but if the mother's brother were the groom, residence might not be matri- but patrilocal. In this case, the sister's daughter (the bride) came to reside with her husband-uncle. This was reasonable if the bride were

[66] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, pp. 22–23. [67] Kirchhoff, 1931. [68] Lowie, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

considered as the payment or return of a "debt" incurred when the bride's mother was originally married out of the extended family group in which she had grown up; the daughter was returned to her mother's extended family by the consummation of marriage with the mother's brother. The original debt was thus cancelled and the father of the girl released from his obligations.

But in the case of a marriage with someone other than a mother's brother, residence would be matrilocal—at least temporarily so—and there were economic obligations of such a groom to his father-in-law. Residence with the wife's kin and bride service continued until there had been a female (?) issue of the union. A female child, that is, constituted the promise of a return payment (by marriage) for the woman who had been "lost" in the initial marriage to a man from another extended family. In other words, matrilocality seems to have been temporary—until female issue was born—and it applied primarily in the case of a groom who was not the bride's mother's brother; otherwise, patrilocality.

The writer does not agree with Wagley and Galvão when they state that residence was (apparently permanently) matrilocal and when they appear to conclude that the marriage form reported for the early coastal Tupi may never have existed among the Cayuá. Over against their conclusion—and a point which cannot be fully developed here—are certain facts of Cayuá kinship terminology. Certain modern terminological provisions lack corresponding kinship behavior at the present time, and these discrepancies are particularly suggestive in the light of the avuncular system sketched above. At present, a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is so designated only by males. (Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brother's son by any parallel term.) "Daughter" is the term uniformly used for all other female relatives of the first descending generation, man speaking. Why then, a special term for sister's daughter, if not probably to express a special relationship? The implication is reinforced by the fact that such a special relationship, as we have said, is reported among the coastal Tupi, which fact must in turn be viewed in the light of the generally close similarity of the Cayuá with this and other Tupi-Guarani peoples, through both space and time.

The Cayuá kinship system otherwise was probably much the same aboriginally as at present. In Ego's generation all relatives were called "brother" and "sister," but same-sexed siblings were distinguished as "older" and "younger." That is, sisters were distinguished as to seniority by females, and brothers were so distinguished by males. Father's brother and mother's sister were classified with the respective parents of Ego, while father's sister and mother's brother were classified apart. Correspondingly, children of one's same-sexed siblings were considered as own children, while children of opposite-sexed siblings were called by special terms, logical equivalents of "nephew" and "niece." However, male Ego's term for "nephew," *Ieri'ý*, was almost

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *ʒera'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *ʒerajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *ʒera'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *ʒeatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *ʒeatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *ʒepé'*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapúi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*túbisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con-

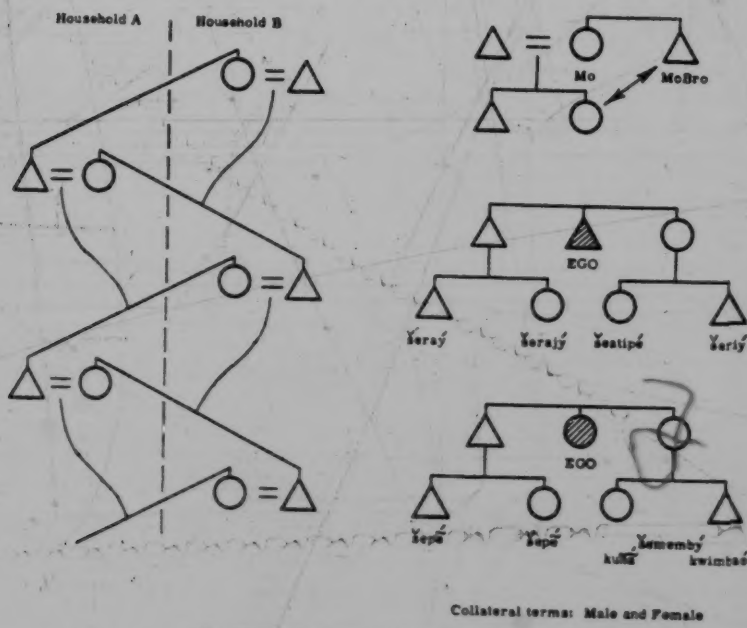


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

separate or distant residence may be sufficient to warrant exclusion of a person from the incest group. The following speculation as to what has happened in Cayuá social organization is therefore offered: (1) As a result of acculturational forces (II. B. e.) extended families, which were formerly allied by certain matrimonial ties, have ceased to exist. The related matrimonial ties of alliance have likewise disappeared. (2) It was formerly significant, regarding permissible marriages, whether or not a woman belonged to one's own extended family and residence group. A man could not marry a woman belonging to his own residence group (nor could he wed sisters and parallel cousins) but he might marry one from another household, which would include, given patrilocal residence, sisters' daughters. (3) The significance of residence has been lost or changed since, at present, none but one's own wife and children (or parents and siblings, depending on the point of reference) normally lives in the same (elementary family) group. Thus sister's daughter is now in this respect no different from—in fact may be significantly parallel to—other female relatives who are and aboriginally were encompassed by Cayuá sentiments of incest.

The argument might be restated as follows: with the disappearance of the extended family, a type of preferential marriage or presumptive marital claim, as well as the particular notion of the incest boundary associated with it, were evidently subject to change. For one thing, there was no longer a question of cementing ties between particular extended family households, such as that into which a man's sister had married. Concerning ties between elementary families, since whatever marriage normally involves a spouse from some other elementary family, a marital alliance with one potential affinal group is theoretically as advantageous as with another. Moreover, in the former extended family the incest boundary apparently included all female relatives, at least to the degree of first cousin, and their children. The one exception was sister's daughter, man speaking. In the realignments attending the loss of the extended family, we suggest that the incest boundary came to include this formerly excepted relationship as well. Other things being equal, there would be a strain in such a direction. In the first place, both parallel and cross cousins are called brothers and sisters, and secondly, marriage with the children of brothers was aboriginally tabooed for men, while marriage with the children of any sibling was tabooed for women. The sister's-daughter marriage, therefore, in the new situation, and without special motives in its favor, would tend to be brought into line with the incest taboo against marriage with other relatives parallel to sister's daughter.

One function of the presumptive avuncular marriage was to "consolidate" a given household through marriage back into it of the female issue of its women. The possibility of such a correlation is strong aboriginally. This operated much as the cross-cousin marriage does in certain cultures. But with (II. B. e.) the dissolution of the extended family household in favor of the

175
412
177
313

/33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship
601 terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]
[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./
114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

.601 The Cayuá kinship system is a relatively simple classificatory system, which is based on the genealogical principle and in which the kinship terms are extended bilaterally. All the members of Ego's generation are classified as brothers and sisters, being differentiated according to age. In the first descending generation the son or the daughter of some person designated as brother is called son or daughter in the words of the man, and nephew or niece in the words of the woman, whereas the son or daughter of some person designated as sister is a nephew or niece in relation to the man, and son or daughter to the woman. In the second descending generation all the sons and daughters of sons and daughters and of nephews and nieces are called grandchildren. In the first ascending generation, the mother is classified with the mother's sister, while the father and the father's brother are classified with the mother's brother and the father's sister, but designated with distinct terms. The relatives of the second ascending generation, including the grandparents and the "siblings," are differentiated only in relation to sex. This system, although simple, can be considered well balanced, since it establishes the relations between the persons of the community in such a way that a minimum of friction resulted.

Problems for Future Research

128 The present discussion of the Cayuá kinship system is limited to the manner in which this system is manifested and applied in the habitual relations between persons. A certain number of problems also related to this aspect have already been discussed. The relations between the kinship system and the religion and the economic institutions were considered very little. The latter will be studied in another work.

121 Besides this there remains more or less untouched a problem
178 of historical order, that is, the one of the manner in which the
60 kinship system was affected by the change that took place in the
433
182

/46/

.601

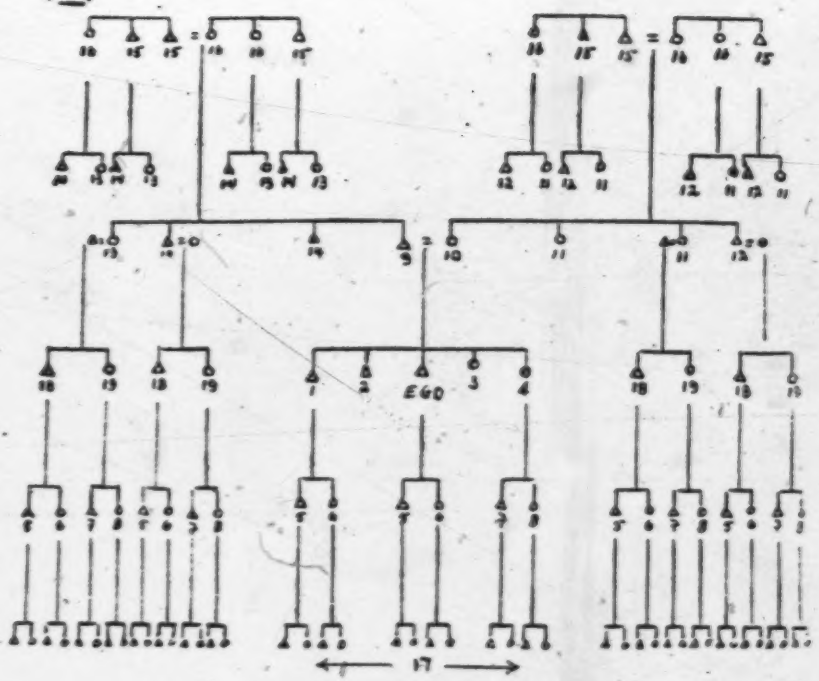


Chart I

The Cayuá Terms Mentioned in Chart IV[A]

In this chart Ego is male. When Ego is female, son and daughter are nephew and niece, while nephew and niece become son and daughter. The circle signifies woman, the triangle, man. Two parallel lines indicate matrimonial ties.

Meaning of the numbers

1. older brother
2. younger brother
3. older sister
4. younger sister
5. son
6. daughter
7. nephew
8. niece
9. mother
10. father
11. mother's sister
12. mother's brother
13. father's sister
14. father's brother
15. grandfather
16. grandmother
17. grandsons and granddaughters
18. brother
19. sister

A [see pp. 22 and 23 -- analyst]

•601 /47/

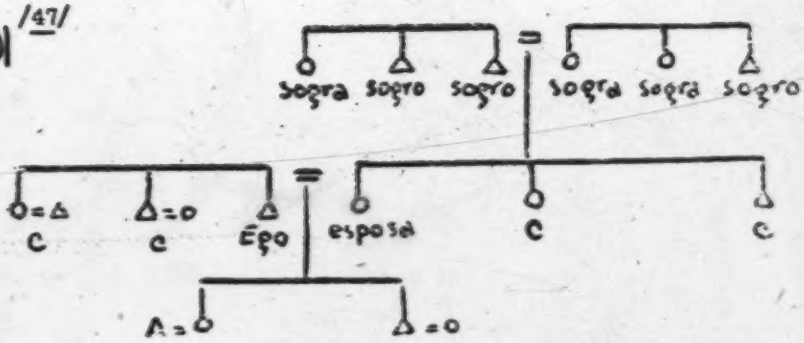


Chart II

Designations for the affinal relatives, Ego being a man. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV.

c = cunhado(s) /brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex); f.a. = child by affinity (without distinction as to sex). /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; esposa = wife./

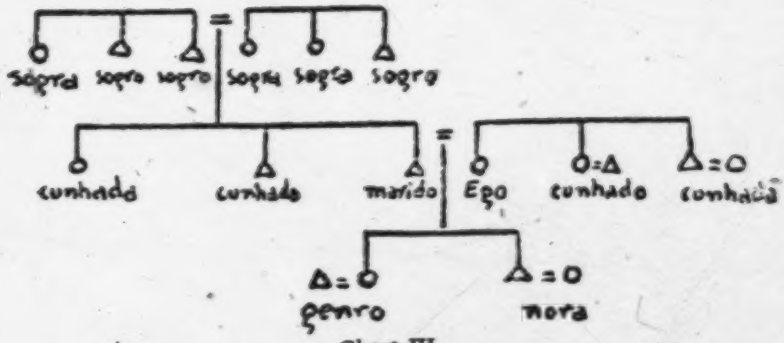


Chart III

Designations for affinal relatives, Ego being a woman. See the Cayuá terms in Chart IV. /Sogra = mother-in-law; sogro = father-in-law; cunhada = sister-in-law; cunhado = brother-in-law; marido = husband; genro = son-in-law; nora = daughter-in-law./

/48/ Chart IV

Che-rywý	younger brother, a man speaking
Che-rykeý	older brother, a man speaking
Che-rendý	older sister, a man speaking
Che-rendý-minĩ	younger sister, a man speaking
Che-ru	father
Che-sy	mother
Che-ruwý	father's brother
Che-syý	mother's sister
Che-djaiché	father's sister
Che-tutý	mother's brother
Che-ramõi	grandfather
Che-djarĩ	grandmother
Che-ray	son, a man speaking
Che-radjý	daughter, a man speaking
Che-riý	nephew, a man speaking
Che-atipé	niece, a man speaking
Che-ramianinó	grandson and granddaughter
Che-rembirekó	wife
Che-rowadjá	wife's brother and sister; sister's husband and brother's wife, a man speaking; anyone of those whom the wife calls sister or brother; husband's brother and sister's husband, a woman speaking; sometimes also "intimate friend."
Haĩ	wife's mother; sister of the wife's mother; sister of the wife's father
Ahẽ	wife's father; brother of the wife's father; brother of the wife's mother

/48 cont./

601

Che-kywý	older brother, a woman speaking
Che-kywykeý	younger brother, a woman speaking
Che-rukẽ	older sister, a woman speaking
Che-kypyý	younger sister, a woman speaking
Che-pẽ	nephew and niece, a woman speaking
Che-membý kwimbaé ..	son, a woman speaking
Che-membý kuñã	daughter, a woman speaking
Che-mẽ	husband
Che-rukeí	husband's sister; brother's wife, a woman speaking
Che-peú	daughter's husband, a woman speaking
Che-wãchá	son's wife; daughter's husband, a man speaking
Che-mendúa	husband's father; brother of the husband's father; brother of the husband's mother
Che-mensý	husband's mother; sister of the husband's mother; sister of the husband's father

---

104

Final note: The phonetic value of all the letters corresponds to the Portuguese, with the exception of h, which is aspirated as in the English word have, of w, which is pronounced as in the English word water, and of y, a peculiar sound of the Tupi languages, in which it appears, for example, in the word y, water. The prefix che is the possessive of the first person singular.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14

But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Tayĭ*, a son. *Cheraÿ*, mine. *Nderaÿ*, thine. *Tayĭ*, his. *Guayĭ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Peruba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives. G 193 192 601

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelà*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kalàm*, to whom does this A 193* 192*

/85 cont./

844 [828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 [184] /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage [828] would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 [593] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestiso midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of [824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are [752] [184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
• 602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapái*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapái*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*itéo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapái*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapái*. Modern walls are usually made of 6" to 8"-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapái* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapái* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapái*, the old *tapái* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapái* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapái* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

---

[128] [140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly
182 be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brazilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
595 polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brazilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *chango* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother
182 to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
582 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterised by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupi, although the former
• 602 presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[179]

621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapái*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognised, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[179] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Thus an even broader extension of the inter-household relationship was possible (that is, including other than own sisters) than if the marital claim were restricted merely to Ego's own sister's daughters.[177]

Two widely recognized and accepted principles of kinship have been appealed to in the foregoing interpretation of the aboriginal Cayuá kinship system; these principles were operative if the situation was as has been described. (1) Matrimony in primitive (and other) societies is intimately con-

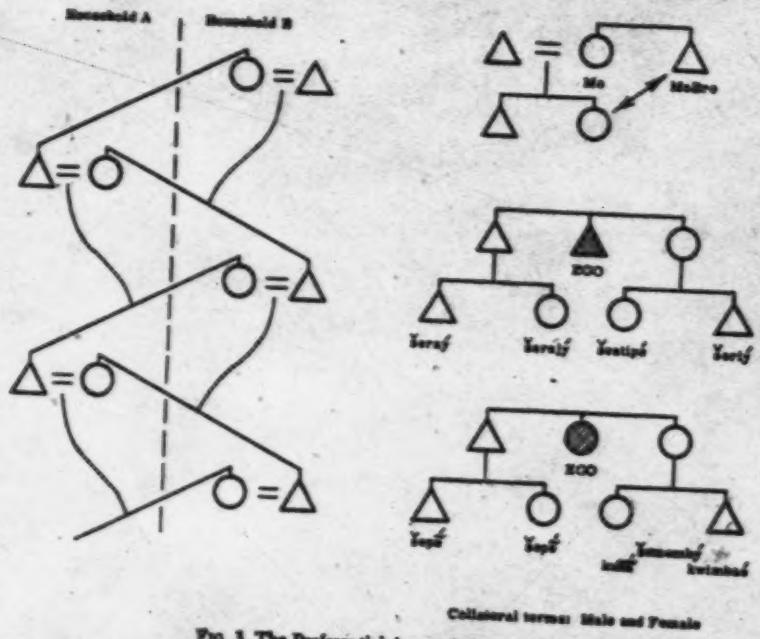


FIG. 3. The Preferential Avuncular Marriage.

cerned with cementing group alliances between different families and clans. (2) There is often no incest tabu between persons who are members of different kinship or locality groups as socially defined, whatever the biological facts of their relationship. The matter of locality is probably crucial in many cases;

[177] Cross-cousin marriage, in the case of a rule of uniform locality (with the family of either spouse), would accomplish the same purpose of linking households through kinship. Simple cross-cousin marriage, however, is not indicated for the Cayuá at present (cousins are called siblings). Perhaps this is in some way because of the bilateral emphasis of the kinship system or, at least, because of the weak development of unilateral sentiments—if such, indeed, exist. But the presumptive marital claim of the chart above was actually asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage in that sister's daughter is also Ego's mother's brother's daughter.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

• 602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as [602] sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or technical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
603 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
736 and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate
[868] and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al- 601 593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true 604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes 593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities 581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect 304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
[114] manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[593] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[866] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
• [604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed. 178* 361

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.) 178* 582 604

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147] 178* 571 433 181

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction 178* 476

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
736 and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

/44 cont./

121 economy of the Cayuá, going from a predominantly hunting and
178 fishing economy to another one primarily agricultural, a change
that has taken place /45/ in the last 30 or 40 years. We have
182 indications that certain features of the kinship system have also
60 changed in this period, but all the changes that took place are
433 not known, just as the relations between them and that of the
economy are not, although we may have indications that they
[124] exist. Some old men of the community who have witnessed the
change in the group's economy say that certain changes of the
kinship system made the position of the women and of the maternal relatives of the individual less important, whereas that of the men increased in importance. The discussion of this subject goes beyond the scope of the present article.

171 A phenomenon that was reported for the Tupí of Brazil as
175 early as the sixteenth century (9)

582
604
[113]

9. P. Joseph de Anchieta: Informação dos casamentos dos índios do Brasil /Information about the marriages of the Indians of Brazil/. Ethnological Lectures organized by Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and mimeographed by the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, p. 3.

and in modern times for the Kaingang of the Piquirí (10)

[113]

10. Telemaco Borba: Atualidade Indígena /Indigenous Present/. Curitiba, 1908, p. 11.

582 is the marriage of the man to the sister's daughter. Cases of
604 this were not observed among the Cayuá, and the majority of
124

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

> 11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá
60 kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
[114] manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[593] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[866] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce: with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
883 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may [582] marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

/83/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakü (Kayová) (6) --

462
415
101
114

6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paü. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Paü" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pü with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the
[824] navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of a splinter of takuãtĩ or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

•606 Father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a gen-
[178] eral way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the
[173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way, a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each
602 /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

608

608 ARTIFICIAL KIN RELATIONSHIPS--creation of kinship ties by artificial means (e.g., blood brotherhood); establishment of kinship through ceremonial sponsorship (e.g., godparents and godchildren); kinship terms employed by artificial kinsmen; reciprocal relations and stereotyped behavior patterns exhibited; etc. See also:

Relations between guardian and ward 489
Naming ceremonies 588
Friendship 572
Adoption 597

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the flanderu on the day of the
[192] offomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name flemongaraí (1). The flanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the flanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

2: Schaden--182 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moítendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and them, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
85 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbiá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
• 608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [726] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with [608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is [553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is [787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. [851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle [237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive [782] nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the [851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the [553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
608 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
621 ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate
the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a cer-
tain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents
of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law.
For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband,
and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-
law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex).
For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are
classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband
and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first
descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband
are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while
for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law.
The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the
affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first
descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs
today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and
the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might
have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any
distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family
(7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
• [609] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[178] [184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *piodó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to *774 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [392] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the [764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasion- [609] ally appealed to for help.[*] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the 346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from *175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[*] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. [361] The smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive basin of the Paraná. [61] [554] The large villages, with two hundred or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [98] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/111 cont./
704 many other regions of the globe (3).
842
171

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[779] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

842
159
787

Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákandjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'é*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[53] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[54]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[53] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[54] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

• 612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambí. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [995] [621]

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Ambrosetti, 1899, 3:67.

2: Schaden--12 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

101 167 [114]

confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

619 114

In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

101 186

Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ʃ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Ütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[137] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

2: Schaden--127 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *ispéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[6] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 995 621

[6] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Taffiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./

• 62 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Iraiti, in the Serra dos Ratins, between Perubê and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group; a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Ratins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.
[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-
[563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
[186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.
[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
735 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
733 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
184 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
157 one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimmendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
177 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
114 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
177 tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tüido, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

Zt Schaden--19 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
• 621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[361] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[162] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at
[114] Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[361] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato
• 62 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[468] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perô), a Kayová nucleus under the
[361] jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--22 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

• 621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [578] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos partici-
[433] pate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detri-
621 182 563 177 78 ment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been
[437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost
[735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

2: Schaden--33 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/30 cont./

563 This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into
[621] their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian
[582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals
78 "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige
[829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyrá'ídjá," they say that no yvyrá'ídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion
177 is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of
[829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

361

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guaraní settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of • 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
181 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
156 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of
433 production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party; see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
[114] information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[84] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Pazambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
[115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Ita'ri. It is necessary to have
[182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by conjubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbiá and Ñandeva)
[84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a
574 Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by
273 a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems
128 to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifesta-
[321] tion of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to
[184] replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advan-
tageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If some-
[273] one has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is
[182] not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

/59 cont./

476 177 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

476
574

/81 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putÿvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytÿvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
[462]
[184]
[273]

476
621
[591]

A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[78] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
• [621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[179] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý," [851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive [551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [691] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

2: Schaden--95 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbiá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

/97 cont./

881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
[624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/98/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest
[596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au-
[623] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at
[648]

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name Ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1946). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts [62] with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [171] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [176] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahéi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Kosrahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pitta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitioni-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

772 771 [128] It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining [62] [177] their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

539 772 For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

2: Schaden--225 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
183 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iwa'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Iwajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iwa'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Isatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Isatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Isapẽ'*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guaraní peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapói*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[180]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[180] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that depended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
• 621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] • [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually. 177* 182 43 464 476

In the *change* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *change* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *change* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[188] 177* 182 476 342 621

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwé*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[189]

---

[188] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed. [121]

[189] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment, [121]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

182 594 596 • 621

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *chaga* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

---

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adapt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[188]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[188] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*197 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family,
182 for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males
596 living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack
594 and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the
• 621 patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapái*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapái*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapái* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapái*, they have certainly not made *tapái* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

[171]

[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapái* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[188]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[188] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly
182 be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brasilians, some direct influence against Cayuá
595 polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brasilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

*177 II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother
182 to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been sug-
582 gested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the
602 avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupí, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[170]

• 621 The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapiá*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognised, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most im-
591 portant or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realised during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realised, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[170] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way. 177* 182 582 59

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reserves* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect. 177* 182 622 648 621 657

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pe'ʔi*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[100] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[100] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *vox populi*.

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate
the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a cer-
tain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents
of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law.
For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband,
and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-
law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex).
For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are
classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband
and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first
descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband
are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while
for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law.
The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the
affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first
descending generation, while the man does not make this distinc-
[121] tion, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[174] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs
today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and
the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might
have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any
distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family
(7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[3] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 293 621

[3] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
.621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
182 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

• 622

Guarani SM4

[For the religious or shamanistic function of the paí or ñanderú, see also category 756.]

/For religious or shamanistic functions of the Paĩ or Ñanderú in the community, see also category 756./

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[239] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretsý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
• [622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their
[114] Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
• 622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
691 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirü kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later: among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the fianderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name fiemongaraí (!). The fianderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbarakâ
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbarakâ; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the fianderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takmarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
• [622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídja who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144
Kayova

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

• 622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the [596] [623] authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

2: Schaden--120 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

/99 cont./

•622
756
192

sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar divinity, [624] also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader Ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"), [184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the Ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

2: Schaden--122 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

756 Although the religious chief in general also exercises the
[622] functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not
curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community
as great curers are many times individuals originally from another
village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the
Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer,
Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was
in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance
at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances
he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere
and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were fre-
quently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles
of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs,
[114] in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met,
and who at the same time directed the religious life of his vil-
lage, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived
at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a differ-
ent village.

622 "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew
756 no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).
[178]

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the Ñanderú does not
hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, de-
termining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and
623 other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may
178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority
of the Ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs,
nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its im-
portance may have been diminished by the influence of the in-
stitution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern
[114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to
[624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the
proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal
than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
178
114
624
courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

2: Schaden--124 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village; the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the Ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the Ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the Nanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the Nanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

• 622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

•622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] yvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/104 cont./

684 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense: I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the Ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takmáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderyhey, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
• [622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, Ñeẽ ("speech"), is conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
738
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[906] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--168 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Jera'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Jerajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Jera'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Jestipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Jestipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Jepé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapái*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 [562] secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [828] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[89] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[89] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There can thus be little question that the absolute and relative economic contribution of women to the Cayuá domestic establishment has shrunk notably since aboriginal times. It may surely be questioned whether the woman now "earns her keep" at all, by aboriginal standards. Certainly she is not as great an economic asset to the household as she apparently used to be. One woman is probably all that most Cayuá men can now support; they could scarcely increase their economic means proportionately by marrying a second or a third wife.[178] 177* 182 575

In some sense (II. B. e.) the change to a basic elementary family may also be related to the decrease in polygyny. Considering that the marriage of individuals from different families is important as an alliance, it is clear that having several wives would formerly have allied a man (and his extended family) with several extended families. Aboriginally this would have been a significant number—possibly a majority—of the other extended families, the basic social units, of the local group.[179] But with the present elementary family, the polygynous marriage could not nearly achieve connections as inclusive as formerly because of the large number of separate households. Conceivably the change of the function of the marital alliance has affected the decrease of polygyny.

One further possibility of acculturational influence in the decrease of polygyny is (I. a.) the discontinuance of warlike activities. The function of warfare in the aboriginal sex ratio is hard to assess. If there existed Cayuá warfare and ritual cannibalism such as have been described for the Coastal Tupi, it is conceivable that these activities may have affected the sex ratio somewhat and thus would have slightly favored plural female spouses.[180] Hence, any decrease in warfare, which consequently balanced the sex ratio, might exercise a cumulative influence on the frequency of polygyny.

The question naturally arises as to what influence upon the occurrence of polygyny may have been exerted, for ethnocentric and moral reasons, by the Jesuits and the Neo-Brazilians. There does not appear much doubt that the Jesuits insisted that their proselytes be exclusively monogamous; but what residual effect this may have had through the years upon the non-missionized

---

[178] At Taquapiri, while we were there, there was no instance of polygyny, although it was said that Inacio, also reputedly the "wealthiest" individual in the village (he had the largest *kokwé*), in the past had more than one wife. Inacio's household, by the way—and this seems only to accord with our contention here—carried on its production and consumption in a manner quite unusual for the rest of the village and much closer to the aboriginal extended family pattern which we have been postulating.

[179] It may thus have been, as is suggested by Kirchhoff for the coastal Tupi (Kirchhoff, 1931, p. 205), that only chiefs (heads of extended families?) as a rule contracted polygynous marriages. As far as the alliance aspect of marriage was concerned, however, the marital connections of the headman would probably apply to the whole extended family unit. [171] [622]

[180] The coastal Tupi also captured female prisoners, to be sure, but probably not as large a number of women were lost to their group this way as were men. [171]

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
• 622 *capitán* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with
648 Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[170] It was naturally more
convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority.
As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, cen-
tralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and
more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.
[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they
largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with
the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and
his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems
now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
182 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
622 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened
importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward
721 a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was
offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ulti-
mately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a
less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority
came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less
and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new
political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the
disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in
administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite dif-
ferent from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different
quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along
age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could
speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*pa'i*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province
756 of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
622 more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time,
as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more
important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is
well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[170] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'é*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[189] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[189] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *sou populi*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 993 621

[8] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
•622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Cainguá* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Cainguá*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Cainguá* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Cainguá* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad enterrase mas acomodado el alma aunque estos tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1780) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
Guarani SM4

G 554 .177

spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

G 622

Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or

A 622

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI SM4

A 431 555 622 crowds of soldiers in their service, because they were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity in depredation; the same men, when decrepit with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking excursions, and consequently poor, found none but relations continue in their hordes.

A 562 622 I must not omit to mention that the Abipones do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth; for at the time that I resided in Paraguay, there was a high-born matron, to whom the Abipones gave the title of *Nelaŕeycatè*, and who numbered some families in her horde. Her origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured her the veneration of others. The Catholic kings themselves, and their governours, acknowledge the rank of the caciques of every nation, and dignify them with the title of nobility, prefixing the word *Don* to their names, according to the Spanish fashion. It is also customary, throughout the whole of Spanish America, for the Indian caciques, after they have received baptism, and sworn allegiance to the Catholic king, to retain, and transmit to their posterity the dominion they possessed when savage, over the savages subject to their power: which is also observed amongst the Guaranies, with this provision, however, that the caciques themselves and the Indians under their authority, are obliged to

A G 622 648

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

obey the corregidor, and other magistrates of the town. In every Guarany town, there are a number of caciques, who, if men of abilities, are often promoted to the office of magistrates, that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility. There were five caciques in the town of St. Joachim, over which I presided. Their names were Don Ignatius Paranderi, Don Miguel Yeyù, Don Marco Quirakerà, Don Joseph Xavier, and Don Miguel Yazukà; which last performed the office of corregidor for many years. Though a native of the woods, he was both exceedingly attached to Christian discipline, and intrepid in guarding it; indeed he was above all praise; which is certainly very uncommon and wonderful, as, to say the truth, we have often found the caciques more stupid than the common people, and less skilful in the public employments of the town. Who, therefore, can blame the Abipones, if, setting aside the privilege of birth, they elect a cacique, who, though of obscure origin, is distinguished for military valour?

A C 622 648
A 622

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]
Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au- [596] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great- [623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

2: Schaden--122 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may •623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

-623 /100 cont./
128 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
114 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
624 munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Ierapʼỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Ierapʼỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Ierapʼỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Ieatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Ieatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Ietaʼ*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69] 174* 601

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization. 174* 582 621

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70] 174* 601

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapuí*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans. 174* 622 [192] [623]

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

2r Schaden--92 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648]

I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595

Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [58]

An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý ý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that [624] is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of taquarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
• [624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/97 cont./

881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
[624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest
[596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the au-
[623] thority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at
[648]

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

2: Schaden--121 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

622
756
192

sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
• [624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

/99 cont./

756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may 623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
78 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
114 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
624 munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet

624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

•624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
•624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] ɣvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/116 cont./

774 early one morning (around four o'clock; he
828 told me that this is the hour when the spirits
755 usually come in contact with men), went to
his house and "took away" the prayer from him.
The next morning he already sharpened his hoe
[756] and went to work. In the process of "taking away"
[624] the bad prayer, the ñanderú is helped by the
yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the
ñanderú only gives the order to take the prayer
away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the
bad spirit and send it where it came from. --
774 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvẽ send prayers too,
828 but good ones. More will be said about the
prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary
to note the pure and simple identification of the
"bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable
root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5
/see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced
774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed;
775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most
828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted,
[825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that,
775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. 754 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp. 754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbüá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[178] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderü does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion: secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world: and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

177 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
177 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
182 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
733 social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco: the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned: they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[123] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage.

178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[124]

177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[123] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[124] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chaqs* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[36]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[36] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[1789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbyá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
953 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[826]

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the Kandarú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognised *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was [622] judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 56.

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[177] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
156 niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
157 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
177 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

• 648
657

Guarani SM4

[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios - see category 624.]

648
657

Guarani 5M4

/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
• 648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude: only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[997] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [173] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [189] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguaniva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itapotanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafliguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis- [166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en- [768] tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [964] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perô), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 131 648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--47 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241
433
178
224
[226]

Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177]
[182]

1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

241
433
177
182
648

/45 cont./

24 433 177 182 • 648

the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 439 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 182 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/63 cont./

178 433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is [156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal [182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

177 433 648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance 000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
156 niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
157 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
177 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
648 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[594] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/??? comp./

I have not found the marriage performed by the Kandeni and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the bibbi of Kayewé already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Postagão aos Indios. In the village of Ita Bocoro, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /?/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Bororós. In a enclave of the Kayewé village of Doureiro, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reproduction by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expense of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constitution.

An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guarani, with the exception of the bibbi, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Bororós the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or — "according to the fight," in the words of João Bacaral, Bororós from Bacaral — sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Acurilá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Acurilá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

/91 cont./

Capitão Alberto of the Kayové village of Amambai said me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "adulterous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayové. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avaí-mongaraí. According to the information of Ishapé de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

Nowhere has contemporaneous General society managed to constitute an organization of some types. In the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional persons, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the territorial of the chief of the gens-family. The chiefs of gens-families, gathered in council, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative functions, without there intervening in it, among the present-day General of Brazil, any great authority based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influences from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, as

Sr Schaden--120 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

624
621
648

/90 cont./

least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief, leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, so long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622
756
787
192

The name Sanderí (1)

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 106-108 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination ñañ, with which the Kayuá also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Sanderí, is etymologically linked to ñañ. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, ñañ is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 111); Sabiá is the civilizer hero of the Parintintín of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1946). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "ñañ, a name for the French among the Tupís of Brazil. The Guaranís of Paraguay called the Spanish -- ñañá. The two words ñañ and ñañá are contracted forms of ñañe-ra, which expresses -- the one apart, the military one, the one who lives far away. From ñañe-ra comes: ñañera, ñañe, ñañ, ñañá. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

/181 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Bartri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mbaravitaé naipurã, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its Ñanderu, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaé is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the Ñanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the Ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Ñanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet

624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[556] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the Nanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the Nanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
• 648 At Panambi, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking. [177] [648]

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the flanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní. [114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be flanderú or at least wyráídjá (cult assistant). [622] The young capitão and his companions obeyed the flanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the departure for the Land without Misfortunes. [622] The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, flanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--197 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
• [648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poĩpé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The ñanderú does not take cognisances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
• 648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[762] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá́ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has
been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might
happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which
in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be trans-
formed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion,
the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to
escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the
contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon
as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then,
it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phe-
nomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized
in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former
times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the
honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of ex-
cessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the
body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen
were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known,
yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the
sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to
enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527 855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *mate*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *mate* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *mate;* the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *mate*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.[28]

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

---

[28] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

756 Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often
797 a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

*174

WARFARE

726 There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupí groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is
*174 lacking.

231 By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite
• 648 words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the
726 Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the
*[175] 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapái* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

175* 771 797

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

174* 776 [771] [771]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiço adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incomplete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred about the developing influences of European culture.

128 *175 648

For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.

II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.

III. 1768 to *ca.* 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with *mate* workers (*yerbateros*).

IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.

V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865–1870).

VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, *CA.* 1530 TO 1610

The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.[16] This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

*175 648

[16] The Río de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Díaz de Solís, who was killed by Charrua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plate.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay. 175* 648

Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.* They used the indígenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indígenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a ceitain piece of territory *and the inhabitants thereof* to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent. 174* 175* 648

Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.* Whatever and wherever the

---

* The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guaraní, and Lothrop, 1932 finds that the archeology bears this out. 174

* The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in being between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassible. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the thrust of Mbayá and Spanish movements.) 131 648

[footnote continued on p. 46 below]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

774
175 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence
648 was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanised.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-
[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

175 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years
797 was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[a] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the
774 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[b]
175 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were con-
648 fronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with head-
797 quarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

---

[174] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the
[175] frontier between Spanish and Portuguese dominion in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undefined actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.
[648]

[a] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region were three down from Jesuits since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of relations usually emphasized came about.

[b] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits were as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.*

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

* Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a viola d'amore, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black garmented man of God, fleeting down some forest-flooded intruder river in a dugout, playing or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of maize, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow globes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 175* 177* 648 797

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[47]

174* 175* 177* 797

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[48] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[49] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri- [291]

[47] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the misinformation of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934-35, passim) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[48] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

[49] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the Indians of the region.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ehrt Guarani Ehrt

ently the cultivation, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change the aboriginal rules of the game in the operations of the missions.* Little more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

CONDITIONS OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO CA. 1820

The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These difficulties also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Guaraní. The confusions and chaos occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or neither to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

The revolutionaries of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucareli."* Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of maté provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Both exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the maté, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of maté for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the yerbateros, or yerba (maté) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the maté leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and probably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best maté groves were then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "wooded Indians" or Guaraní. Azara* and Rengger,* both writing during the period in question, not only indicate yerbatero contact with wooded Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

* Rengger, 1835, pp. 115-116.
* Azara, 1904, pp. 427-428.
* Cf. Hendricks, 1943.
* Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 121.

the Cayuá as carrying trade goods, tools, pottery, machetes, and knives, in exchange mostly for their services in cutting roads, but sometimes for food supplied to parkmen. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a [illegible] family of [illegible] and was wearing [illegible] clothes." Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the labret (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.*

175* 648 243 [465]

RELATIVELY DIFFICULT MIGRATIONS, 1820 TO 1920

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they were impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,* the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1820–1920, are those which von Ihering* used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

1942 175* 167 648 648

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

* Ibid., p. 11. A Christian prayer.

* There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to parkmen and not in part to South Indian influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "South Indians" only to members of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those most accessible to civilization, and contact with parkmen and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Tupaciguí, certainly no older than 30 years, insisted in 1942 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

* Cf. Métraux, 1927. * Von Ihering, 1907.

3: Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Ã64 Guarani Ã64

they would attain "the land of no evil."[illegible] Beyond the immediate reason of their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present in their situation to explain the migration impulse. Were these [illegible] [illegible] of whose contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[illegible] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[illegible] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[illegible] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[illegible]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[illegible] Unkel, 1914.

[illegible] Godoi, 1906, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizable numbers of long-established "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the municipio of Piracununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[illegible] Sampaio, 1899; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[illegible] Watson, J. B., 1943, or Von Ihering, 1911. [illegible] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupí-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[166]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[164]

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[166] Métraux, 1927, *passim*.

[164] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12-13.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
*175 the Cayuá has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vallala Madness,
668 the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the account appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial outlines.

1850-1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD (PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865-1870)

*174
*175 The present arbitrary division of Cayuá history is particularly evident in
648 this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterized primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began directly to concern the Cayuá of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante* exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750. Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding" operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence. Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established, perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante* families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains. In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers; for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a designation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubtless acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the Cayuá—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of the region.[108]

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

[108] Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 175* 648

with valuable goods or driving herds."[186] (The opposite migration of some of the Cayuá themselves, already dealt with foregoing, supposedly began only a few years afterward.) In 1855 there was a short-lived attempt to settle Cayuá Indians on a reservation in the state of Paraná, at Loreto de Pirapó, a former mission site on a tributary of the Paranapanema.[187] These latter events, however, affected primarily the more easterly groups of Cayuá, those who had crossed the Paraná; the bulk of the Cayuá were still located in southern Mato Grosso and eastern Paraguay.

In 1865–1870, however, there came a series of events which brought the Europeans to the front doorstep, so to speak, of even the less adventurous Cayuá. The Paraguayan War, little known to Americans because of our own contemporary preoccupations, fell within this period. From the sources consulted, it does not seem that the Cayuá participated as troops or auxiliaries on either side, although de Taunay mentions a number of other groups of Indians of the general region as having been variously "loyal" or "traitorous" to the Brazilians.[188] Nevertheless, even as bystanders, the Cayuá could hardly have been entirely unaffected by the alarums and excursions occasioned by the campaigns of the military. Frontier skirmishes took place near their territory, military supplies and troops were moved across southern Mato Grosso, and many more Brazilians, including Negro slaves become soldiers, came into the area than ever before. Some of the soldiers stayed in the region, adding to the numbers of the intrepid *sertanejos* (inhabitants of the *sertão* or interior) who had already become established there as cattlemen. With the passage of time, it was becoming less and less possible for the Cayuá to remain the wary "people of the forest" as of old; while they still stayed largely on the fringes of civilization as best they could, civilization was now advancing toward them, and white activity on its frontier was becoming more intense and varied. With a renewed interest in the southern frontier part of her territory as a result of the Paraguayan War,[189] Brazil saw the early forerunners of her "*marcha para o oeste*" reinforced.

Cattle have always been for Europeans the principal wealth in southern Mato Grosso and are so still today. But in the extreme south grow the natural groves of *maté* trees, and the turn of the century witnessed the extension of large-scale and well organized *maté* industry north from Paraguay and Argentina into southernmost Mato Grosso. The name of one company, with comparatively great resources, was largely associated with this development, the *Companhia Matte Larangeira*, of Spanish and Argentine connections. The sites of their operations in Brazil have moved from time to time, but almost all

[186] Godoi, 1946, p. 9. Surely the *bandeirantes* are being excepted here.
[187] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [188] Taunay, Visconde de, 1931, *passim*.
[189] As far as Brazil was concerned, the war with Paraguay was partly a matter of the claim of that country to a large part of southern Mato Grosso. Here, very likely, there were as many people living who could be called "Paraguayans" as "Brazilians."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasion-
• 648 ally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be
[464] preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo
[657] centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[119]

[496] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred
[361] miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing
[439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[119] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

174* 175* 648 • [494]

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins. [657]

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[111] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[112] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians. [224]

[111] Godoi, 1946, p. 26. [112] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*175 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
• 648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caioás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brasil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[113] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt meas-
[871] ures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá, the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who
657 happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

[113] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization. 648 871 657 [177]*

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers. 648 657

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed. 648

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless 648 177* 241 657

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called *"Igreja Positivista"* ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[119] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at
464 the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[120] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of confacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
562 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-
*178 words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[121] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[119] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

[120] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159–160.

[121] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
[173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far, however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *iups'* than *monoll'*, intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The flour types appear to be the older form."[136] It is possible, therefore, that the Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoll'*) and a more recent flint type (*iups'*) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agriculture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
*178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.[137] The bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
*178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests. Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice) bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
224 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
226 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
433 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing. Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

---

[136] *Ibid.*

[411] [137] In 1943 only one person at Taquapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian
[648] shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the arms for themselves.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[130]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[131]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *pulirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *pulirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cāwi'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[130] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[131] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cāwi'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
• 648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokué*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokué* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[188]

• 177 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
464 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[189]

---

[273] [188] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[189] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *chaage* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *chaage* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokué* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokué* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *chaage* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *chaage*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *chaage* workers is Indcio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokué* of his own in the whole village. Indcio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[36]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokué* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *chaage* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *chaage* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Chaage work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

---

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[36] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reported one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
• 649 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
[465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
[199] those who work in *ubanga*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Tuapuípiri women speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of patronalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *pobo* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the more *pobo*
466 works continuously for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *pobo* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *pobo* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the poor's best interests, that he will take care of him so far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "indio bom," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptize" the children of the *pobo*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Tuapuípiri who continuously work in *ubanga* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *ubanga* but do not work so constantly for any one *patrão*. At the time of your approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *pobo* are more likely to go out looking for *ubanga* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Pobo* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the pleasure of their particular employers.

Trade with Non-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Trade beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the mate gardens; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Non-Brazilians has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor.

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or borrowing for them. Many more work as pawns for patrões, and the latter themselves obtain from the patrões, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims to having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "wares" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cured tobacco which some of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.** But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Non-Brazilians, there is no misgiving that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá.

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Non-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cane sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the mucilaginous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the patrão

** Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were some hot sandwiches of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than best implements so Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Coffee (Sanchez) and "Gauch" (Bonchefine), were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in most supply.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Ehle Quarrel Ehle

rather than the hatchet—for the little time not obtained by Cayuá themselves through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as bandanas. Such "luxury" or semi-essential items as these, usually for men but occasionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter small amounts of their dried productive every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as milho duro, "hard corn" (Cayuá: ahatí tapí), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities of a few. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly as frequently as corn, not usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not so easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own cropping. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the more common from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant. Although these would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Non-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a sizeable, marketable surplus destined to the Indians. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

Besides agricultural products, only a few whites enter occasionally into Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a basketful made of ceraqueté cord, and woven split bamboo strainers-winnowers, which are called in Portuguese peneiras ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a patrão or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians. It is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The basketfuls, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for carrying purposes—much as we use them in the southwestern.* Basketfuls are

* Basketfuls have a uniform and equivalent value that a uniform distribution among the

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different 648
with winnowing trays or sieves. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 459
hood, as well as those of the Indians, pound their corn in wooden mortars 352
and require these trays to sift the corn from the coarse which needs more 418
pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the 262
size and workmanship of the tray. Some Gatú men occasionally make these
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the holder
which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article,
however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of
production. Specialization in the manufacture of sieves has already been
mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Gatú products to white 459
settlers or to the holder is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of 648
commercial relations with the outside than the change. The Gatú is less sure 453
of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods 449
he requires. Furthermore, not every skin-footed Gatú can make the winnow- [645]
ing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter.
Gatú production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as
only hobbyment or capital. All those who receive more income from trade in
Gatú products than from change are either non-persons or with very little in
change.

Economic exchange of the Gatú of Tupopaldi, both outside the village and 437
internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[10] 648
Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 435
standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Non-Brazilians in [445]
trade and change, the Gatú are now acquainted with an accepted money
value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A sack
of corn (sixty-four cents) is worth so much in money; to clear a gardu (roughly
a quarter of an alqueire, the latter an area of 30,000 square meters) of wild
(truly-clean second growth (capoeira in Portuguese) is worth so many cruzeiros; a
winnowing tray of good manufacture and a gross clue is worth so much; and so

---

native peoples of eastern South America, and this tack, along with a number of others, is one [171]
apparently for the northern or repatriated peoples of the Eastern gardens of the south of Brazil
and of Paraguay. In the south of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians
as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially
for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many boats in the North are
equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of
using the bed, if he wishes.

[10] Gras, 1906.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 437 425 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however, are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian, money is now the *measure* used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied, for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patrão* is offering for doing the specified amount of *chaqueo* under discussion. The work is worth so much money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patrão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.[108] We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

---

[108] *Ibid.*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[88] The contemporary *puhirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puhirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puhirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 178* 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puhirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puhirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 178* 438 464

[88] Mead, 1937, pp. 16–17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 · SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" change and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[123] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage. 178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[124] 177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[123] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [721]

[124] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chongs* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177* 182 241 [439]

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changa* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224] [439] [464] [648]

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177* 182 22 648 [621] [657] [501]

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 648 22

the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt. Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gathering, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The outcome of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activities of the Cayuá.[186]

*177 182 241 22

Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II. A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse relationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture increased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed" causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.[187]

*177 182 241 412

II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural

---

[186] The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agriculter, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their *kaiwá* obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians may not.

[411]

[187] An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time time, of course, the machete has been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
286 stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa*
• 648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

177* 182 439 464 648

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

128 177* 182

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokwé* for planting, along
182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
241 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
462 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
476 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
182 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of
462 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a
man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
464 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
476 ment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
• 648 tural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become
more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
changa is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
182 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
43 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
464 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
476 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
capitão or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with
648 Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
721 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*pa?i*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
756 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
622 more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with attention paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
131 becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
•648 plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the [361] Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

101 131 175 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

101 **Modern Guaraní tribes.**—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thuua, Kaingua, Cayuá, Montesses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

131 175 About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

101 131 175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region. 172

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology. [415] [171]

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Rio de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chaná* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado. 175 648 [316]

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175
.648

rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a *Guaraní* raid against the *Inca* border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that Garcia and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramirez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the *Guaraní* Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the *Guaraní* of the region of Itatí, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez *in* Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the *Guaraní* were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Cario* (*Guaraní*), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the *Guaraní* served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guaraní SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648.

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 S364 Guarani S364

175
.648
797

River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent missions. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guarani* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-miri on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the Guairá was the famous Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guarani* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guarani" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guarani* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guarani*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guarani* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martin and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guarani* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

S: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 Ind Guarani Ind

founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain Guaraní chiefs, chiefs, and especially mamelukes, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians in the encomiendas. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Tapé*, *Minuanes*, *Minuanes*, and Charrúas Indians. Several expeditions of Guaraní were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolás, San Luis, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Treaties de Limites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased.

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucarelli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and small plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

[175] [illegible] dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
[illegible] the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
[illegible] Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who
were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the former missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio López, suppressed Bareiro's regime and forced the 4,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[23] [176] [233] [240] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingua*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinambá*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[174] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [173] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation [174] fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingua* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingua* cultivate manioc, maize (3 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangoes (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called cocoho (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminous called ñoandú, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [172] (*Nicotiana* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Ilex paraguariensis* [174] sp., and *Caá karyguá-jobí*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pai'* [161] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapí reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [162] their arrow shafts. The *Caingua* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

122 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingua* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindó palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

224 Cayua are crops and wants to and about his ways to each house which
226 are praying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayua call by the southern Brazilian subcontinent, *changaar* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayua of Tacuapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, cutting ropes or in the production of *herva mate* (*Ilex paraguayensis*). (*Mate* is one of the more important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayua, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayua have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, corn, beans, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mate leaves, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayua almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

464
•648
[465]
439
648

The most important parts of the women's role in Cayua economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Women is the burden-bearer par excellence of the Cayua. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayua economy. The Cayua women also assist at many important points in the actual production of food in the ways, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

462
[482]
[241]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary sect- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174
797

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174
648

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241
174
648

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupi-Guarani peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupi-Guarani peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consu[illegible]e devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months.

[481] [175] [127]

18 This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

19 Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

20 Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

178
501
484

In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accomodated in the canoe..."[21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [273]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a *roça* since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

[824] [24] The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
• 648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[657] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to *"changuear"* for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá. 241 435 464 465 648.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within. [436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[22] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the *"serviço,"* or work involved, is

[22] Scrub second growth where a *roça* has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.

465 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
•648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

/301 cont./

Ce 101 175

/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

G 174 177 148 169

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

Z [126 412 177]

G 177 221 464 169

C [167]

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/306 cont./

173
173
175
[648]

The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

/310 cont./

167 174 72 [484]

those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats didnot take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127]

/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

[252]

G /311 cont./
175
484
648
[262]
G
[271]

Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G
[721]

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

G
175
167
721
C
167

Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

/312 cont./

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on p. 30]

C G /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núñez
175 Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de
484 Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G
175 I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de
167 Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied
484 as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors
[162] of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G
114 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things
175 in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time
167 nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several
484 decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries.
174 Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the
C G Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the
175 Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion.
167 The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route
648 Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not
484 succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/315 cont./

E
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/315 cont./

C G 175 648 Ce 175 648 567

/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

C G 175 129 114 167

This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

/316 cont./

E decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
E course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

E In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
E (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
E of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

/321 cont./

In 1550 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guarani Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops mutinied when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1948 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 142).

The Guarayú and the Pamerna are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (1), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 18th century. The Guarayú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guarani who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliquely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guarayú.

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guarayú and Pamerna, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1):

> 1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1563, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vargas, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

Gy 175 642

/322 cont./

Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

G 175 648 167

In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapîi, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

Ce [101]

Ce 101 241 323 199

The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

A 181 174

A [114]

1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

A 181 172

/327 cont./

C G 175 567 72 [266] [439] they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

C G 175 556 721 927 C G 175 648 721

C Ce 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] Ce [131] "The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 927 266 648 567 Ce 648 175 [161]

/4 cont./

175
[113]

1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

175
648

175
648
726

[728]

[Text Continues on P. 10]

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[927] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

/5 cont./

174 It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the
175 Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of
167 the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after
●648 García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II, p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

[113] 7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

/6 cont./

M4
175
167
●648

place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

[113]

8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
641
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ca
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

Chane, SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Ee
Gi
175
648
567

/7 cont./
they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

Ee
Gi
113

19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

Gi
C
175
648

Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

C
Gi
175
648

/8 cont./

this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbaguazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

Gi
C
175
648

/8 cont./

In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Poxo or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

C
Gi
175
648

/9 cont./ While
Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

C
G1
175
648

/9 cont./

The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648

/10 cont./

some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Annua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera. According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

8: Schmidt--22 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

G1
E
175
648

/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

C.
G1
[113]

40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARAN
S14

A 431 555 622 crowds of soldiers in their service, because they were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity in depredation; the same men, when decrepit with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking excursions, and consequently poor, found none but relations continue in their hordes.

A 562 622 I must not omit to mention that the Abipones do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth; for at the time that I resided in Paraguay, there was a high-born matron, to whom the Abipones gave the title of *Nelaheycatè*, and who numbered some families in her horde. Her origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured her the veneration of others. The Catholic kings themselves, and their governours, acknowledge the rank of the caciques of every nation, and dignify them with the title of nobility, prefixing the word *Don* to their names, according to the Spanish fashion. It is also customary, throughout the whole of Spanish America, for the Indian caciques, after they have received baptism, and sworn allegiance to the Catholic king, to retain, and transmit to their posterity the dominion they possessed when savage, over the savages subject to their power: which is also observed amongst the Guaranies, with this provision, however, that the caciques themselves and the Indians under their authority, are obliged to

A G 622 648

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A
C
622
646

obey the corregidor, and other magistrates of the town. In every Guarany town, there are a number of caciques, who, if men of abilities, are often promoted to the office of magistrates, that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility. There were five caciques in the town of St. Joachim, over which I presided. Their names were Don Ignatius Paranderi, Don Miguel Yeyù, Don Marco Quirakerà, Don Joseph Xavier, and Don Miguel Yazukà; which last performed the office of corregidor for many years. Though a native of the woods, he was both exceedingly attached to Christian discipline, and intrepid in guarding it; indeed he was above all praise; which is certainly very uncommon and wonderful, as, to say the truth, we have often found the caciques more stupid than the common people, and less skilful in the public employments of the town. Who, therefore, can blame the Abipones, if, setting aside the privilege of birth, they elect a cacique, who, though of obscure origin, is distinguished for military valour?

A
622

648
657

Guarani S14

/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

648
• 657 Guarani SM4

[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios - see category 624.]

/218 cont./

101 174 the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caingué, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, gué = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

• 697 361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town: six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycuá. At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[241] [964]

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/11 cont./

101 The Mbiá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114]

10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teíi (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name

[114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination: I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Aviexiripá, but different from the Txiripá (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not

[115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarayhó.

[361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicoá, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions

• [369] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them live, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as

167 far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114

11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Coleman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Coleman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgment are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, Dr. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Tolentino and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and sub-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Cainguá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caiguá, and other similar designations,[6] are a Guarani-speaking
• [657] people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and
131 *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
167 the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's[7] and other ac-
*175 counts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818–1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832–1850.[8] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[9] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present
[161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[10] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.[11]

*174 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians
501 until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[12] Sampaio also gives the impression

[6] Gadal, 1946, refers to a group of "Paiaguá" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paiaguá proper were a Guaicurean tribe of the Rio Paraguay. [7] Rengger, 1835. [8] Von Ihering, 1907, p. 384.

[9] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [10] Sampaio, 1890.

[11] Gadal, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paiaguá" (Cayuá) in the region of Piracicaba, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paiaguá." [12] Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 [464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brasilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] [657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Bauré in São Paulo state (where a "Guaraní" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[10]

[496] [361] [439] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brasilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[10] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1942) equipped with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Ferrovia do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main Ferrovia line south to the Brazilian town of Porto Petri, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174+
175+
648
[494]

grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

THE *SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS*, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brazilian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins. [157]

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brazilian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (0). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.[32] Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brazilians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.[33] Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brazilians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1940's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians. [224]

[32] Godoi, 1908, p. 35. [33] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caiodís"
• 657 who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[9] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indias of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt measures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be
[871] established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our least concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local grouwhere a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is thereby affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor, if either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as direct from Brasilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national law, and some of the children's lore with which Brasilians in general

[9] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "honest creatures," "children" ("*bichos de mato*," "*criaturas*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer showed more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
• 657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechise the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[104] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in
[159] fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the missions.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[299] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[533]

[104] For one thing they initially disposed to grant the ethnographer with open arms, some very successful individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

[121]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brasilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[118] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[119] 648 657 •

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[120] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[121] Such visits entail [871]

---

[118] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a deacon in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[119] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Bilac Vieri. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is sensed by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fueling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region, because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[120] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brasilian children in the ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at Vieira itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[121] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every two months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
• 657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.[113] *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at
464 the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.[114] At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time: than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 73–78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic
191 relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any
562 proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman
*198 in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loanwords, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.[115] Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

---

[113] The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to carry favor with certain individuals by thus favoring them.

[114] Cf. Watson, V. D., 1943, pp. 139–145.

[115] The same acculturational difference between men and women may not comprehend to as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire tradegoods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (sale) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *chaqueo* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production as may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial dwellings that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white others who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least that of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is seen to cause travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as formerly, mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. i.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has accompanied the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokué*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokué*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokué* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokué* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokué* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokué*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokué* are often not all together.**

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapirí, if not of other reserves likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

---

why the lower type of the utilize could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "natural animals."

** In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[170] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on reserves administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the capitão long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[170] Kroeber, 1925, op. cite 2.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
648 *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
721 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*pa'i*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
756 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
622 more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vis.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *vox populi*.

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
.657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for
101 the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162
[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
• 657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBE *

James B. Watson
Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo

Location

101
131
657.

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account [1] indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

131
175

* Between the months of July and November, 1943, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional do Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Cainguá, Caiowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kainguá, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

114
121
122

[1] Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay*, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826 (aus des Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlasse herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Aarau, 1835).

113

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.[2] Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.[3] This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio[4] in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.[5] Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.[6] Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

[2] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

[3] Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuás", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, nº 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

[4] Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográphicas e Econômicas sôbre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográphica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, nº 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

[5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
• [657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain histórical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657 •

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 118-140.

[113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

.657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.[18] The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.[19] The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 648 433 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 178 484 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the [481] century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."[20] And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes . . . in which they make voyages lasting months.

[175]

[18] This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] [19] Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

[20] Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
• [667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult
182 to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão* or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole
624 and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tend-
*177 ency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal
*178 leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the
596 appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all
621 but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley
624 and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá
665 and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara),
[171] and Tupi-Guarani groups farther to the north in Brazil:
[591]

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[166]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

621 While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical
665 of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[114] [166] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[799] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/161 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

175* 648 245 [465]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

174* 175* 167 648 668

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

---

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapirí, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups. [114]

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

167 they would attain "the land of no evil."[98] Beyond the immediate reason of
* 175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
*174 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
648 in their situation to explain the migration impulses. Were these messianic
• 668 movements related to factors of white contact, for example, as they have been in other places?

That Cayuá participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayuá bands, is indicated. Nimuendajú mentions one or two Cayuá in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayuá bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.[99] Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayuá still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.[100] Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayuá vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently recognizing that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayuá habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayuá here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayuá migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayuá into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayuá remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.[101] Baldus discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original desire was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."[102]

No study earlier than that of Nimuendajú is known of the Apapocuva part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayuá. It may safely be assumed that the Cayuá motives were much akin to those of the Apapocuva-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

[98] Unkel, 1914.

[99] Godoi, 1946, p. 15, very unconvincingly maintains that there were already sizeable numbers of long-established "Paingué" (Cayuá) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the *município* of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is poorly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather inconclusive state of pertinent documentary sources.

[100] Sampaio, 1890; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

[101] Watson, J. B., 1945, or Von Ihering, 1911. [102] Baldus, 1929.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[163] 174* 175* 167 648 668

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents. [756]

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[164] 174* 175* 668

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[163] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [164] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12–13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
*175
• 668

the Cayuá has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vailala Madness, the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the account appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial outlines.

1850-1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD (PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865-1870)

*174
*175
648

The present arbitrary division of Cayuá history is particularly evident in this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterized primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began directly to concern the Cayuá of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante* exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750. Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding" operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence. Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established, perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante* families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains. In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers; for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a designation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubtless acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the Cayuá—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of the region.[148]

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

[148] Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

773 776 [171]

In a *Paĩ* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

668 786 178

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178
.668
786
[756]
[792]
[177]

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175
167
786
772

During the last century, three *Guarani* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786
772
756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guarani* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez in J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Tabaré and Guarambaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

A 302 852 been derived from the Peruvian Indians, who [171] used to cut their children's first hair, at two years of age, with a sharp stone for want of a A knife. The ceremony was performed by the [553] relations, one after another, according to the degrees of consanguinity; and at the same time a name was given to the infant.

A 589 765 It is also a custom, amongst the Abipones, to shave the heads of widows, not without much lamentation on the part of the women, and drinking on that of the men; and to cover them with a grey and black hood, made of the threads of the caraquatà, which it is reckoned a crime for her to take off till she marries again. A widower has his hair cropped with many ceremonies, and his head covered with a little net-shaped hat, which is not taken off till the hair grows again. All the men cut off their hair to mourn for the death of a Cacique. Amongst Gu the Christian Guaranies, it is thought a most [68] shameful and ignominious punishment, when any disreputable woman has her hair cut off. I have described the person which liberal nature has bestowed upon the Abipones; it now remains for me to show by what means they disfigure it.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuvo*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[781] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[840] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[796] fledged shamans. By his "vomes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[527] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[683] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses.

684

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).
[184]

11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain
[114] confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

121 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number
171 of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speak-
60 ing the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
22 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
21 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
•684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

•685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
.695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Caingué* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guarani* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pai*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guarani* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [522] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 799 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guarani* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocsi* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as *"Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil"* (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[33]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pafi," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[34] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[35] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[36]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[37] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[33] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [34] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[36] *Ibid.* [37] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and [554] [621] [578] [554] [995] [621]

[9] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Ambr, 1899, 2:67.

/325 cont./

Ce 175 648 [797]

of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648 C [266] Ce [113]

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C G 175 72 567 Ce 175 648

In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/326 cont./

C G 175 567 72 Ce 175 648

go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

C G 175 567 72

"When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

C G [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.[183] In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage. 178* 433

A Change in the Political Organization

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.[184] 177* 178* 624

With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

[183] A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is *less* now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one. [724]

[184] The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian peons for *chaugs* when they were desired. [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
capitão or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with
648 Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened
• 721 importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
182 (*pajé*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province
756 of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time,
622 as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Viz.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayuá was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.[16] He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or *"bugreiros"* (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between agressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayuá were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayuá frontiers toward the south and west.

174 648 721 [167]

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayuá, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycurú, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayuá was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.[17]

174 648

Official Limitation of Cayuá Territories

Within the memory of living Cayuá in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for

657

[16] Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Indios no Brasil, "*Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140.

[113]

[17] It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayuá, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Metraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture. 226 178

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites. 177 241 182 721

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von 175 182 721 175 722 182

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

/303 cont./

on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

177 181 167 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

167 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

G 173 173 175 GU [176] [173] /308 cont./

Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god. Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 173 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 174 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [172] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the desire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the evening around the fire or at the time of the great collective drinking bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

G 174 167 172 [177]

/309/

174 Contingents from several neighboring villages combined,
167 probably in order to face together the perils of the road (1).
●721

1. In the course of the survey he conducted on the Paraguay River by order of Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Martínez Irala had the chance to question some Guarani near Puerto de los Reyes, one of whom gave him the following information, which throws light on the manner in which these migrations took place: "asked if there are some houses of his race ahead of them, he said that, yes, there were five or six principals; asked if they go for the metal to the sierra where they extract it, he said that they are not accustomed to go there because they are few and have enemies nearby, but those of the last houses go sometimes and he went there once; asked how much time it takes from here to where the metal is, he said that it takes five moons; asked with whom he went for the said metal, he said that in the past many principals from paguay and Indians from the port that they call ytatyn came, and, passing through a land called ytapua, which is a four-day trip from the last houses of his race, those of the said house going in search of said metal, they met on the way and went together and came to a house of Indian slaves, enemies of theirs, and that from there they returned with all their men and also some of those from ytatyn, and the others went on, and I have heard it said that they took the said five moons to get to where the said metal was ..." /translated from the Spanish/ (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 349-350).

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

/310 cont./

174 167 72 241 Sometimes too they stayed several months in a spot which appeared fertile in order to sow manioc and corn, waiting for it to grow before continuing the march. García, in thecourse of his long expedition, had left five of his men with a tribe so that they could provide for the feeding of his band on his return (2).

2. Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 348: "asked how many days it seems to him that they might count on to get here by the route of the said Garcia, he said that he does not know, but that it seems to him that he would know the land and that the route is very wide and big; asked if there were food on that route he said yes, and that much of the food that they have is mandioca, and corn, and gourds, and manduuis, and that said Garcia left five of his slaves along the route with a certain race, in order that they might have food for him when he returned;" /translated from the Spanish/.

167 174 72 484 The going was slow, for it was necessary to clear a path in the thicket; and this job, difficult for white men armed with machetes, must have been even more so for the Indians in pre-Hispanic times. With their stone axes, their clubs, and fire, if there was no danger in lighting one, they opened up a path which the rear guard and other expeditions followed. Besides, [142] [481] the Guarani, accustomed from childhood to life in the great woods, certainly had that astonishing litheness which allows their descendants to slip into the thickest copses, avoiding branches and thorns (3).

3. Hernández, p. 300: "He said (a Guarani is speaking) that he went over that route a long time ago, and when those of his race would pass through, they went along opening the route and cutting trees and clearing the land, which was very brambly, and that it seems to him that

/310 cont./

167 174 172 [484] those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guarani, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

167 174 175 127 None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guarani and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guarani before or during the Spanish conquest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala.

484 175 648 22 262 [127] /311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guarani Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

G /311 cont./
175 Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking
484 with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said
648 they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts
[262] where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such
G a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild
[271] thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted
the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

G "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were ac-
[721] companying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire
to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent
of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going
through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that
against the custom and discipline observed by those who make
expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians
themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part
in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he
had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching
the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones
from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower
asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed
that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass
so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what
he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this
trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions
which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them
they stayed in one place three months and that this was why
it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de
Irala, p. 350.)

G Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the
175 Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the
167 insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented
721 difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody
C sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I
167 shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migra-
tion made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí
of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

E /314 cont./
175
167

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E
175
167
721
726
I
726

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E
[729]
I
[712]

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E
175
721
726
I
726
701
E
[291]
[266]

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

Guarani SM4
Inca SE13

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
175
721
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[778]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

Guarani SM14
Inca SE13
Chane SF8

C
G
175
721
726
I
[726]
[701]
E
114
175
721
726
I
[712]
E
G
114
175
167
E
175
167
721
726
Ce
[648]
[567]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecocí recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
G
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/316 cont./

G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
G (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

/319 cont./

000 there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of
G the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he
175 added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but
167 doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked
[172] whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was
G asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes
[172] he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

G Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent
175 character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of
648 Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-
[167] 281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention
G of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the
174
122
175

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

G
175
342

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted 226
that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart 178
from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presum- 177
ably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting
and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only nega- 241
tive in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in 182
agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a 721
more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave 175
little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived 182
in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found 721
to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[25] basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[26] states that at the time of 175
his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a
little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared 722
to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might 182
betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

[25] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.
[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
•722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
648 given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[657] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá, but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
412 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant. It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 797 Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

*174 • 726 There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is *174 lacking.

231 648 726 *[175] By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapái* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

175* 771 797

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

174* 776 [771] [771]

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*794 *175 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 797 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.[84] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the *174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[85]

*175 648 797 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

---

*[174] [131] [648] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[84] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[85] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

E /314 cont./
E 175 167 Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E 175 167 721 726 I 726 Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E [727] I [712] Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E 175 721 726 I 726 701 E [291] [266] The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

/314 cont./

E
G
175
721
726
I
726
701

they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

/314 cont./

E
G
175
72
726
I
726
701

Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

I
[702]
[708]

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

C
G
175
721
726
I
[726]
[701]

/314 cont./

for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

C
E
114
175
721
726
I
[712]
C
G
114
175
167
E
G
175
167
721
726

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

Ce
[648]
[567]

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

/315 cont./

E
167
175
721
726
Ce
648
567

/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

E
175
648
Ce
175
648
567

The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/

/316 cont./

G decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
175 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
167 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
175 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la
Sierra."

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
(Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
175 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
167 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
648 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians
who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani
were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian,
married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race,
had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to
accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani,
originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
[721] villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
[726] father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants
withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land
joined together and marched against his people, put them
to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various
directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their
way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to
escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous
that the fields were covered with them. He himself was
among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees
stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled
there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the
Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them.
He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with
those who decided to continue their march. On the way they
were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed
them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and,
slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country
of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long
time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual,
they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds
must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more,
nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to
him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to con-
tinue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which
could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned
also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these
villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one
could get there in five days and great provisions would be found
There, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/4 cont./

175
[113]

1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear
175 up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father
648 Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them
175 in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the
648 wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears
● 726 of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were
[728] reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

[Text Continues on P. 10]

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
•727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuvo-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [533] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paŭ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [171] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 178 273

E /314 cont./
175
167

Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

E
175
167
721
726
I
726

Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

E
[727]
I
[712]

Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

E
175
721
726
I
726
701
E
[291]
[266]

The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

C
G /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

175 /5 cont./
648 there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of
726 Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their
[727] garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

174 Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it pro-
175 vides us with two important clues about the first immigration
167 of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King
648 Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

Gi /6 cont./
174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
c after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[727] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
Ce were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
[648] peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[81] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
C by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they
Gi
648
175
[567]
[727]

C
G1
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./

continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque, but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
[567]
[727]

/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

Gi
C
Ce
175
648
567

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
162
567

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

C
Ce
Gi
175
648
567

/4 cont./

175
[113]

1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujia, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear
175 up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father
648 Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them
175 in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the
648 wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears
726 of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were
[728] reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here./ /5/ They remained

[Text Continues on P. 10]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 5M4

A 164 disease during the two last centuries, defy all calculation. In the thirty Guarany towns some G [165] thirty thousand persons died of the small-pox in the year 1734.

000 It is not true that the Spaniards and other Europeans in America are exempted from small-pox; but it cannot be doubted that the Indians take it sooner, and more frequently die of it. I am of opinion that their habit of body has less strength to repel or overcome that poison. They generally eat half-raw and unsalted meat; they always go with their heads and feet bare; they drink nothing but water, and that not of the best kind, except at a few festive drinking parties in the course of the year; all which tend to weaken the stomach. The heat of the sun, and the constant use of maize, cause a ferment in their blood which, on the accession of small-pox, very frequently proves fatal. This must be understood of the pedestrian Indians only, for the Abipones, and other equestrian Indians, who do not labour under those A 164 miseries to which the pedestrians are subject, generally have the small-pox in a milder form.

G In the year 1765 this plague carried off great A numbers in the Spanish colonies. Having swept 731 away about twelve thousand persons in the thirty 165 Guarany towns, it spread to the distant hordes 164 of the savages scattered throughout Chaco, and

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

though almost all took the infection, yet few died in proportion to the number of the sick. I speak of the equestrians, who were saved by the strength of their constitutions. In the town which I founded for the Abipones, one woman only escaped the contagion, yet out of the many hundreds that took the disease, twenty alone fell victims to it.

Often no mention is made of the small-pox for many years amongst the Indians; but this calm is the sure forerunner of an approaching storm. We have always found the small pox break out first in the colonies of the Spaniards, and spread from thence to the farthest hordes of the Indians; who, having learnt from the experience of their ancestors, to dread this disease as their death, separate from their hordesmen as soon as ever they have the least suspicion of its approach, and fly, some one way, some another, in precipitate haste. Upon this occasion they travel not in a straight line, but by various meanders and windings. That this method is superstitiously observed by the Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, Homoampas, and Chunipies, I was told by Fathers who had resided long amongst them. Through fear of the contagion, fathers desert their sick sons, and sons their fathers. They leave a pitcher of water, and some roasted maize at the sick

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my ob- [143] servations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [177] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the [192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. [173] But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ũ djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tũpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

[184] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[157] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbbá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbbá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

77 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
177 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
182 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
733 social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[935] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[933] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
[177] Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
[114] achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[162] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[177] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tõldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/20/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos partici-
[433] pate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detri-
621 182 563 177 78 ment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been
[437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost
• [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/180 cont./

181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms, tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverishment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

2: Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the [554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-cabocloized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *change* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
[648] their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
[594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
[476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
[736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching [423] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care
.736 and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
179 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno
[582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the
[182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
[179] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
[155] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

• 75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses
and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [535] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because [751] of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day
881 of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl
301 makes -- for her father, brother, or another
[184] person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each
881 one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-
301 kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva,
184 who already have almost completely abandoned
192 it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmïguá and tetýmïkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians.
881 But they also indicate the magical end of
301 avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the
827 arms and legs, the tetýmïguá therefore being
75 considered indispensable on long walks.

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say [184] [237] [192] [751] they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes [751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have [824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. [352] In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
175 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is poss-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [786]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

Guarani S114

A
*136 the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that
G
[751 these insects are not only driven away but de-
356] stroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs
805] scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered per-
A
vious to frequent winds; these are the best pre-
[515 cautions against the smaller insects. Lice are never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon :

Guarani SM4

CHAPTER XXX.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE POISONOUS BITES OF INSECTS.

OLD books suggest various methods of keeping away serpents: but who that is acquainted with America would not despise the prescriptions of the old writers, adapted to fill pages only, not to be of any real use? In preference to these ancient recipes I recommend the American ones, both because they are more expeditious and readier, and because their utility has been proved by long experience. The Christian Guaranies, whenever they accompanied me to seek the savages in the woods, carried fresh garlick in their girdles, and, notwithstanding the abundance of serpents we met, not one of my companions was ever bitten by one. Following the example of the Indians, I always kept a string of garlick suspended near my bed, after being attacked by a serpent in my sleep. That serpents dislike the smell of garlick is well known both to the ancients and to country people, who rub the milk-pans with the juice of that herb, lest serpents, who are extremely fond of milk, should get into them. My faith, however, in the efficacy of garlick was not a little

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtĩ or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[752] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo
[184] nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 57 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahêi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, [752] pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paã'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

G IN THE TOWN
759 of St. Joachim I knew an Indian named Igna-
752 cio Yaricà, eight years an attendant upon the sick, whose dexterity and success I could not but admire. He would set a broken limb, and entirely heal it in a very short time by means of swathes of reeds and four little herbs. The woods of America also produce a kind of dark green ivy, which twines itself round the branches of trees, and is called by the Spaniards *suelda con suelda*. This plant cut small, boiled in water, and bound with linen on to the limb, soon and happily consolidates it. In the city of Corrientes, a Spanish matron was cured of a sprained foot, by merely wrapping it in the fresh skin of a puppy. The Abipones are to-
A 757 tally ignorant of medicines for purging the bowels, causing perspiration, removing bile, and dispelling noxious humours. They will not even bear the mention of an enema. In the town of St. Jeronymo, a Spanish soldier who professed the art of medicine, being requested by Father Brigniel to attend upon a sick Abipon, declared the necessity of an injection. No sooner did the sick man feel the syringe applied to him, than he started furiously out of bed, snatched up a lance, and would have slain the soldier physician, had he not saved himself by hasty flight. Sudden terror giving way to rage, the old Spaniard, whilst we were laughing,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
• 753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
846 wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
[114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not [753] respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's [823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." [784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple- [184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá:
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
773 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
• 753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the kariguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the [775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non-[755] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./
[825] [126] By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboreodjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex-
795 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive
828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per-
177 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

• 753
[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic re- 753 571 578 sources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of [182] [177] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [177] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(179) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
[155] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

.753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[789] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[841] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[796] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[827] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[683] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/127 cont./

753 Among the South American Indians the most common
•754 opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individ-
171 uals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This
753 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however,
754 it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic re-
753 sources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or
571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences,
578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of
[182] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves
[177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní
157 society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. 754 -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery: in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religions: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, [533] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxỹ for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohã̃ vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/129 cont./

754 755 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried; then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by [115] [825] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] [115] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When 754 755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and 766 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders 825 cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/130 cont./

753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[781] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[241] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[796] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[778] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[827] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
•754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[683] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--147 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the [775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non-[753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- The ayvú and the ayvúporãvé send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

[756] [624] 774 828

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develope with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguéry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguéry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguéry oguatá pytlimbyté

774 775 828 [825] 775

/116 cont./
795 oõ dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./
[825] [126] By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; • [755] Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex-
795 828 177 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. [755] This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go 775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[706] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some
829 way the domain of religions they have a "prayer to do evil,"
[782] called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the
[533] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called ñembóévaí or tehópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbarakâ) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahêi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "beat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahêi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohã vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Posto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/129 cont./

754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery."
[115] The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by
[825] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the
[115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to
754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When
755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into
766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and
825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(177) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
•[755] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any for-
eign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to
health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If
in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic,
the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he
discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the
quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., with-
out there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-
intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the
unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the
manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked
with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either
by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate
medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient him-
self, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses
and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explana-
tion. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die,
treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to
die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/146 cont./

[771] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words: they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is
[553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[975] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 156 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[10] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[11]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

342 596 174*

[10] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[11] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[60] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was [824] probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[60] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[533] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[789] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[424] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[341] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by
[796] fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[178] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[527] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[683] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
776 there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

• 756

Guarani SM4

[For information on the role of the paí or ñanderú in the political structure of the community see also category 622.]

• 756
793
794

/Information on the role of the yvyráídjá (officiants assisting the flanderú or Paí) in the community will be found in category 624./

/For information on the role of the Paí or Ñanderú in the political structure of the community, see also category 622./

/12 cont./

101 186 • [756] hungry. The Kayová cuver really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní cuver is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvypóra, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1948, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [1973] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvy opá, the [1989] end of the world, prophesied by the dector-movement. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the hordes of the Tafligná /Tanygua/ (1850), the Ogwahéva /Oguaxiva/ (1858), the Apapokéva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. [361] Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Rapowaga, near Barcó, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the Ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated: those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóakí) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go. It is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [252] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykí, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apykí, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykí to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykí; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderú who directs the kumumí-pepý, as well as the yvyrúidjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

2: Schaden--120 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name Ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

2: Schaden--121 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

622
•756
192

sorcerers, called pajés or carafbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
[624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

/99 cont./

• 756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may 623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to [624] by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
178 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
114 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
624 munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature, and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater authority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or external politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
• 756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always, however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploitations on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as pun ment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
756 vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
[184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
flanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avãkaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahéi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
724 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
• [756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [796]

without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúytétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúytétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
•756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (gué), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" [756] [624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyrá́ídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyrá́ídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúpoxÃvê send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; 774 775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most 828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
• 756
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pajé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the re-
[976] ligious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/124 cont./

782 869 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A flanderú is created both by inspiration and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the flanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (flandetsý, "our mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become flanderú.

[869] [868] 756 159 [582]

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

[783]

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure malubite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbarakâ and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-153 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytîva ñeyrú; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru pytîva ryvyí," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
786 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple 764 explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet: against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow: against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- 756 tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery: in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

2t Schaden--188 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1982 S144 Guarani S144

142
622
• 756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once: he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

• 756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of Julio Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he sees." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a
[821] thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

[illegible]

[illegible] /[illegible] cases./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
• 756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the General.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the sorcerer became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /[illegible]/ intelligence of the General. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "[illegible] [illegible] (God is the one who gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. Pal Chinchiko, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayowi village of Pesamiki, remarked one, "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]." "The determination of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God came for the purpose of dying. — Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan: it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the General conception of the world.

[illegible]

The General has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the control which are in the repertoire of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/135 cont./

964 General religiously, but also among the Kringáng /Caingang/ of
179 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
178 mediately after the death. It falling to the Kanónó to plant the
171 cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
964 the grave for several days, to the sounds of the nikanikí and the
534 nikanjó. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion
of the death of children.

964 The Kanónó of Kanamá, perhaps the most acculturated
179 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Pereiba and
178 Rodeadeira: they bury them in a box made out of boards covered
with cloth, and above the grave they set a cross: on the other
hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "dress-
ing" (Kanamá, religious ornament) on the body, as indication
(even if there were no others) that these acculturative phenomena
do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they
would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
178 that they transport their dead companion a distance of many
leagues goes along very well with the law of the reality that the
General have.

964 In the south of Mato Grosso the Kanónó remember having
964 had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they aban-
178 doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some
distance away: today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses: but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pilao Indigena Francisco Sales, one of my informants (Jaime) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house declare serious sicknesses.

964 In general, a General interment follows in part traditional
179 ranges, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/188 cont./ Under the
[171] direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
[172] visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[173] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1520,
[174] [175] wanted to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[176] [177] [178] to the south of Mato Grosso. In order to reach the Land without
[179] Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the coun-
try of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-
day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[180] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Mbaendají found
some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not
be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[181] [182] the sea. Mbaendají himself then accompanied them to Praia
[183] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

[184] From all this come highly significant problems, which were
the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the fru-
[185] strating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise con-
tinue to exist among them and what modifications had it undar-
[186] gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by
the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to march for the
Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
[187] look it in the south.

[188] In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in
Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
part of the oldest mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
[189] [190] the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
[191] present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
[192] in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--212 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/184 cont./

The denominations yvý-maã-ẽ ("land without evil") or simply yvýr (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

/185/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

The success of the community that wants to enter the Land without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending": ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuña or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõhã Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuña. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing: meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[248] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has
been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might
happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which
in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be trans-
formed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion,
the primitive aspiration, agurydjé, which includes the desire to
escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the
contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon
as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then,
it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phe-
nomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized
in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former
times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the
honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of ex-
cessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the
body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen
were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known,
yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the
sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to
enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Ítatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'é*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

174* 302 562 854 756 276 562 174*

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[63] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

534 174* [192] [755] [562]

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

174*

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[64]

582 591 596 611

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapéi*. The *tapéi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

342 596 174*

[63] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[64] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
• 756 Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often
797 a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

*174

WARFARE

726 There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is
*174 lacking.

231 By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite
648 words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the
726 Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the
*[175] Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

175* 778 [346]

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

174* 171 534 755 756 778 [353] [562]

174* 171 773

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

174* 177* 776 824 796

SHAMANISM

174* 756

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174 756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

174* 175* 756 786 [197] [167]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[103] 174* 175* 167 648 668

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents. [756]

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[104] 174* 175* 668

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[103] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [104] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12–13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[116] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[118] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[116] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[118] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 622 648 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indigenes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 182 622 721 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hostile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 182 * 756 622 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans (*pajé*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vide.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim.* "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 756 • 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[100] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[100] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *ñe'ẽ-pyahu*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué*: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native taquari reed (*Merostachys angyrenses*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuvo-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[9] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Amaro, 1938, 2:60.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guarani* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
-756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
692 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guarani*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 training from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
766 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his supe-
785 rnatural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
851 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine sanctuaries. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
847 302-303).

981 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[275] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist performs each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize meals. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "a, e" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was seen in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to lounge most and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingud* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and sees only a few feeds, which must be laborious. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also learn to adorn concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law.

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingud*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Unions with a mother and her daughter and several polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the *Jesuitic* literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 20 wives. The levirate is stated by Rulo de Montoya (1892, p. 40) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal.

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apyterewa* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 39) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, dashing their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Rulo de Montoya, 1892, p. 32).

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large clinkin jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Rulo de Montoya, 1892, p. 32).[1] Modern *Caingud* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingud* of Paraguay later the

[1] Rulo de Montoya, 1892, p. 32: " . . . another ceremonies are reserved to some principal chiefs, cadavers are given up to four men who go upside successively carrying one remainder of other occupy some distance for remembrance from of cruelty."

S: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 Ehrt Guarani Ehrt

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 [176]

Today the *Cainguá* play with a rubber-ball shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and [illegible] the *ñembo* and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apyterewa-Guarani* tribe, [illegible] are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking [illegible] according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. [173] [174]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [172]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*. The *Pai'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Kiyé* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Cainguá* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [272]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiripawa* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [276] [277] [512]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (*kagüi*) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was oriented by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of *caa-tay* (*Phyllanthus* sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare maté, which may be quite strong. 175 527 [171] 176 273

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and seem years to live
[775] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñandecuarají,
775 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Velhard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahúra, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Velhard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[776] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[782] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[782] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[782] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
[782] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
[797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 Animism.—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, south, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[775] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
•[756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 Sm4 Guarani Sm4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the *ayvurá* generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the *ayvurá* away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 [756]

The *Coingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 535 [146]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Coingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 535 789

St Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Sh4 Guarani Sh4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who
•756 owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of
[535] his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of
[534] playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the
[537] rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered
[540] by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-
[779] fledged shamans. By his "volites" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to
[781] make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they
give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

753 The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to
[778] the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the
source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after
[755] he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that
substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

756 Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige
785 enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After
[554] receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness,
where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-*
[774] *Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening
their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly
Land-Without-Evil.

178 Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their
756 chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough
[537] to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control
[765] of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones,
[778] kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped
[789] and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by
sleight of hand.

756 Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also inter-
692 fere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfor-
754 tunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is
[689] savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from
[554] their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft
is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practic-
ing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-*
Guarani mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions
of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

773 The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning
there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great
776 Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the
Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-
Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 756 794 777 and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772 During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 774 756 This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kinert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Lizárd, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1939; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez in J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Streinikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
BRAZILIAN INDIANS SL4
GUARANI SM4

A
811
G
B
756
811

which are every-day sights amongst Europeans, amazed at what would be so novel to their eyes, they would indeed swear them to be absolute proofs of magical art. This is confirmed by the circumstance of the Brazilians calling their conjurors *Payè*, and the art of working miracles *Caraybà*, which name they afterwards gave to the European strangers, because they saw them perform things by art which, being formerly unknown to them, they imagined above the powers of nature. Hence also the Guaranies, whose language bears much resemblance to that of Brazil, at this day call all the Spaniards and Europeans *Caray*.

A
756

This simplicity of an ignorant people, the crafty jugglers know well how to turn to their own advantage, openly boasting themselves vicegerents and interpreters of the devil, their grandfather; diviners of future events; priests of the mysteries; creators, or, as they please, healers of diseases; necromancers, and governours of all the elements; easily persuading these credulous creatures any thing that comes into their heads. They are furnished with a thousand arts of deceiving. Suppose they have heard from some savage visitant that an enemy is coming to attack the horde; this knowledge they will boast of to their hordesmen as if it had been revealed to them by their

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A 756

could never bring myself to credit it, always remaining of opinion that they neither know, nor are capable of performing any thing above human powers. Being firmly persuaded that they would do me all the evil in their power, I often accosted them in a friendly manner, and by all sorts of good offices endeavoured to prevail upon them to alter their manner of life, and embrace religion; for by their example almost all the rest would regulate their conduct. But this was like washing the blackamoor white: for these wickedest of mortals, unwilling to part with their authority and lucrative office, left no stone unturned, no frauds unattempted to deter and intimidate their countrymen from going to church, attending to the instructions of the priests, and receiving baptism, daily denouncing death, and destruction on the whole nation, unless they obeyed. Nor is this either new or surprizing. In all the American nations the teachers of the holy religion have found the jugglers upholders of ancient superstition, and rocks in the way of the desired progress of the Christian law. Good heavens! what contests, and what trouble did they not cause to Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the famous Guarany missionary! It was not till he had repressed the authority of the remaining jugglers, and commanded the bones of

A 756 797
G 756 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

the dead ones, which were universally worshipped with great honours, to be burnt in the presence of the people, that he converted an infinite number of savages to the Christian religion, and induced them to enter colonies. Till these knavish *holophants*, and sycophants to speak with Plautus, are abolished, nothing can be done with the savages; this I affirm on experience. The town of St. Joachim not only merited the praise of religion, but produced many fruits of genuine piety. But as snakes often lurk in the grass, and tares in the most abundant harvest, an old Indian secretly performed the office of juggler there, and suffered himself to be adored as a divine person by some foolish women, whom he served in the double capacity of physician, and prophet, at the same time carrying on a criminal intercourse with them. These things were disclosed to me by Ignatius Paranderi, chief Cacique of the town; so that judging it advisable immediately to reprove this mischievous old man in public, since private admonitions were of no avail, I repaired to his house attended by all the chief people of the place; and imitating, in this important business, the thundering tongue of Cicero when he fulminated against Catiline, addressed him in the following manner. "How long, accursed old man, will you

G 756 797
A 756 797

/146 cont./

[771] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is
[553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A
757

Though sucking is the chief and almost only cure in use amongst the Abipones, yet they have some dream-like ideas of our remedies. At times, when oppressed by the heat of the sun, or inflamed with a feverish burning, they will draw blood by piercing their arm or leg with a knife. Medicinal herbs, of which their country produces so great a variety, they scarce know by name, yet are desirous of being thought well skilled in the mysteries of nature. Hence, not so much in the desire of restoring the sick person, as of increasing their own reputation, they would sometimes prescribe the leaves of a tree, or the roots of some little known plant, on which the druggist might safely write *quid pro quo*, these remedies being generally of such a nature, that they are more likely to miss than be of any service. At the end of a fatiguing journey, I fell ill in the town of Concepcion. A woman, of high repute for skill in the healing art, comes and gives me a large dark root, promising me the complete restoration of my health, if I would drink it well boiled in water. I shuddered at the medicine, but still more at the old hag that prescribed it.

G
757
278

The Guarany tongue is as rich as the Abiponian is poor in the names of wholesome plants, and not a few of the Guaranies are well acquainted with the use of them. In the town

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca.1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A 757

poured forth a volley of curses on his ungrateful patient. "You had better call up a devil from hell, Fathers," said he, "to cure this beast. When I offered him medicine, the savage tried to kill me: he opposes a lance to a syringe. Who could contend with such unequal arms?" The Guaranies have the same repugnance to the use of the syringe. The Indians use snuff as a medicine, stuffing it into their ears, when they find them badly affected by the rain or wind. The jugglers vauntingly affirm, that they have it in their power to perform cures by words alone. Sitting on the sick man's bed they sing extemporary verses, as magical charms, either to reconcile the evil spirit, or to call up the shades of the dead by whose assistance they hope to remove all diseases. But away with this superstitious nonsense. The Abiponian physicians show how little they confide in their own arts, when, on being seized with a disorder, they neglect to consult their colleagues, and prefer the aid of any European who will prescribe for them. At the time that I dwelt amongst the Abipones, the most famous in the art of medicine was Pariekaikin, the chief of the jugglers, who, on being seized with pleurisy, called on me to heal him in preference to any of his colleagues. Calcined hartshorn, boiled in barley-water, re-

G [757] [276]

A 755

A 756 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SM4 Abipon SM4
GUARANI SM4

sons of a cheerful disposition, fair complexion, and less advanced period of life, underwent little trouble and danger from this disease. The burning of the throat, occasioned by the small-pox breaking out there, together with the cough and sort of quinsy it produces, are highly dangerous, and frequently fatal to the Indians. Water, mixed with sugar and citron-juice, is very refreshing to persons afflicted in this manner; a decoction of plantane leaves is also of use to rinse the throat, and sometimes for the purpose of washing the eyes. The old physicians advised persons in the small-pox to stay within doors, and keep themselves well covered, lest the spots which are ready to come out should be repressed to the inward parts. The Abipones, on the contrary, after taking the small-pox, passed days and nights in the open air, or in huts half closed, and admitting the air on every side. Whilst flying to the recesses of the woods they received the cold air into their whole bodies: might not this be the reason why, out of so great a number of sick persons, so very few died of the small-pox? For I have since learnt that modern physicians think the open air wholesomer for persons in the small-pox than the heat of a room; therefore I now no longer wonder at this disease proving fatal to so many

164
758
A
G
758

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

GUARANI 814

A G 758 A 758

thousands of Guaranies, who, after being seized with it, always lie near the fire in a close room, almost smothered with blankets, and would have thought it fatally dangerous to breathe the fresh air even for a moment. The habits of the Abipones, in time of small-pox, were totally opposite, and it seldomer proved fatal to them. To corroborate this assertion I will relate an event worthy the consideration and wonder of physicians.

[273] One of my Abipones, who was burning with feverish heat, the forerunner of small-pox, secretly procured a horn full of brandy which he drank to the last drop. Mounting his horse, in a state of complete intoxication, he swam across a river in the night, and arrived in safety at a plain, three miles and a half distant, where his fellow-hordesmen were dwelling, for fear of the contagion. When informed of these things, I was in great apprehension of the immediate death of the imprudent savage, and flew to succour both his soul and body. Unexpectedly good news were announced: that same night the small-pox broke out upon him, neither thick nor malignant. In a very few days he recovered, and was at liberty to ride where he liked. He was about thirty years old, of a lively temper, strong constitution, and high fame amongst his countrymen, for the number OF SPANIARDS HE HAD SLAIN,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A
756
797
A
123

stored him to health, and gained me the reputation of a physician amongst the Abipones. Nothing will procure you the good-will of the savages so soon as skill in the healing art. They think that he who understands the natures and remedies of diseases can be ignorant of nothing. They will believe him in matters of religion, and be tractable and obedient to him. Our Saviour himself inspired mortals with wonder, by healing bodies as well as souls. In imitation of him, when we were employed in the instruction of the savages, we endeavoured to supply the want of physicians, surgeons, and druggists, by easily obtained remedies, by reading medical books, and by other means, in order to wean that miserable people from their jugglers, whom we accounted the chief obstacles to the propagation of the holy religion.

G
758
797

It is incredible how well the sick are taken care of in the Guarany towns. Indians are appointed to attend upon them, more or fewer, according to the number of inhabitants. These men have some knowledge of herbs and common remedies, though they are not allowed to use any medicine without consulting the missionary. They carry in their hands a staff marked with a cross, and are hence called cross-bearers. It is their business to go about dawn to visit the sick in the district appointed to

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon:

Guaaani SM4

each, and to enquire whether any one has fallen ill lately. In the evening they make their report to the missionary in the presence of all, before he performs divine service, and are informed by him what remedies are to be used and what sacraments administered to each. At mid-day boiled meat with the best wheat bread is sent from his kitchen to the houses of all the sick, which are sometimes thirty, more or less, in number. All the sick are visited once every day, and sometimes oftener, by the missionary, accompanied by two boys. In short we never suffered any thing of use to the minds or bodies of the sick to be wanting. Moreover there resided amongst the Guaranies two or three lay-brothers of our order, European surgeons, tolerably skilled in the art of medicine; but on account of the great distance of the towns from one another, they were not always at hand to offer their assistance when it was needed.

Upon us, therefore, whose proper business it was to attend upon the minds of the sick, devolved the care of healing their bodies. We always ascribed it to the mercy of God when trifling remedies banished great diseases, for we had but a very scanty store of drugs. How useful to the sick in various ways were sulphur, alum, salt, tobacco, sugar, pepper, the fat of hens, tigers, oxen, sheep, &c. and gun-powder! scarce

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
*177 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
657 he may exert are, therefore, most intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[116] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
[159] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

*177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
[294] missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [116] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

LaPotitheque M-8 (ca. 1760) 1222
Abipon 254

of St. Joachim I knew an Indian named Ignacio Yarich, eight years an attendant upon the sick, whose dexterity and success I could not but admire. He would set a broken limb, and entirely heal it in a very short time by means of swathes of reeds and four little backs. The woods of America also produce a kind of dark green ivy, which twines itself round the branches of trees, and is called by the Spaniards *suckis cos suckis*. This plant cut small, boiled in water, and bound with linen on to the limb, soon and happily consolidates it. In the city of Corrientes, a Spanish matron was cured of a sprained foot, by merely wrapping it in the fresh skin of a puppy. The Abipones are totally ignorant of medicines for purging the bowels, causing perspiration, removing bile, and dispelling noxious humours. They will not even bear the mention of an enema. In the town of St. Jeronymo, a Spanish soldier who professed the art of medicine, being requested by Father Brigniel to attend upon a sick Abipon, declared the necessity of an injection. No sooner did the sick man feel the syringe applied to him, than he started furiously out of bed, snatched up a lance, and would have slain the soldier physician, had he not saved himself by hasty flight. Sudden terror giving way to rage, the old Spaniard, whilst we were laughing,

R. Schaden--96 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

/94/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has already also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbiá of western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements, saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the funeral of a Kayová chiléi before the grave was opened, the father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will make black magic against the individual. Men and women not infrequently become so terrified during the process that their sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá, where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation, incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbiá, 17 men and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some, especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongaloid that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--149 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

[775] oó dyvý yvýnárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguéry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguéry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguéry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguéry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguéry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguéry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguéry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguéry does harm; it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguéry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- [775] ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive [828] at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per- [177] haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñaẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñaẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving [761] freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. [755] This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go 776 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple ex- 754 planation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
[179] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
[155] the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
753 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
159 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/132 cont./

761 756 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 828 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Ñanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there [177 797] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

2: Schaden--174 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofleĕgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéŷ, or [776] of the solar god Paí Kuarãry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéŷ once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned,
[114] it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [776] of the solar god Paí Knaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad enterrasse sus acostumbrado al alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--167 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

796
585
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

764

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Ñananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perulbe and
178 Itanhaém: they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross: on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away: today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses: but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died": perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

2: Schaden--177 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/135 cont./

775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
• 764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
372 the grave is lighted -- Mbiá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small
fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová
say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
[114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an
originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the
contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning
other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the
case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or
two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave
[115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told
me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether
it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽguẽ of the deceased,
carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels
the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does
it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same
informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased some-
times "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weep-
ing, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽguẽ is in need of
light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire
[774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to
this explanation, it is the ñeẽguẽ (originally only the sublime part
of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

2: Schaden--178 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/138 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find: on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mbogué, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mbogué would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrojaí confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

• 764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in [171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the [775] [171] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an op-
•764 [114] portunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to the what V. D. Watson states (19) --

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying
764 178 out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the chil-
[782] dren they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã ey, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's ex-
[773] planation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sicl*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*174 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night [illegible] the houses of the Cayuá
[764] (and are still) with the thought that this would [illegible]ep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
[609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[70] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other
346 similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
*175 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[70] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE GUARANÍ AREA

Many archeological finds have been made in the area formerly inhabited by the *Guaraní*, but only a few systematic investigations have ever been undertaken of ancient sites or cemeteries. The attribution of some of the remains unearthed in former *Guaraní* territory is often uncertain because the *Guaraní* seem to have been late comers in the regions where we find them in the 16th century. They were preceded by people of different prehistoric cultures, some of which, such as the *Caingang*, have survived up to the present. The main problems center around classification of stone implements, which cannot always be easily distinguished from those produced by the early non-*Guaraní* population. Pottery, however, leaves little or no margin for doubt. The aboriginal occupants of Paraguay or southern Brazil had either no ceramics or else only a very crude ware. *Guaraní* ware presents the following features: A corrugated decoration produced by thumb impressions on the soft clay, linear designs in red and black on a whitish background, and the use of large conical chicha jars as funeral urns (pls. 11, 12). 172

There is a striking resemblance between the pottery of the ancient *Tupinamba* of the coast (Netto, 1885; Ihering, 1904) and that of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. The modern *Chiriguano*, descendants of *Guaraní* invaders from Paraguay, still make chicha jars almost identical in shape and decoration to those which are so often unearthed in their home country. Moreover, typical *Guaraní* vases have been found associated with rosin labrets, a lip ornament still worn by modern *Caingué*. [323] [171] [301]

Direct, or primary, urn burial was the usual form of interment among the *Guaraní* and persists among the *Chiriguano* of Bolivia. Archeology has amply confirmed the statements of early writers. The corpse was forced with the limbs flexed into a jar and covered with another vessel. [764] [171]

Ihering (1895, 1904), Mayntzhusen (1912), Ullrich (1906), Kunert (1890, 1891, 1892), Kunike (1911), Meyer (1896), Ambrosetti (1895 b), Vellard (1934), and Linné (1936) have described isolated finds. Max Schmidt (1932) has given a list of recent discoveries and has attempted to make a classification of the rich archeological material in the Museum of Asunción. Pottery of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin has been collected on the islands of the Paraná Delta (pl. 11, *top, center*). They have been published and discussed by L. M. Torres (1913) and Outes (1917, 1918). Lothrop (1932, pp. 122-146) has given us a careful description of the results of his investigation in a *Guaraní* cemetery at Arroyo Malo, a small tributary of the Luján River, east of El Tigre, in the Province of Buenos Aires. Serrano (1936) has dealt with *Guaraní* archeology in connection with his study of the ancient native cultures of Uruguay.

The ware found in areas historically occupied by *Guaraní* tribes consists mainly of funeral urns, large plates or vessels used as lids for these urns, and some pots which formed part of the funerary equipment.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Unions with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 53: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad enterrase sus sentimientos el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

Guarani 514
Brazilian Indians 514

G The Brazilians and Guaranies formerly disliked the
206 trouble of digging pits for sepulchres. These
764 hungry anthropophagi buried within their own bowels the flesh of those that yielded to fate.
G It must be confessed however that the Gua-
764 ranies of after-times, more humane than their ancestors, placed dead bodies in clay pitchers. Seeking the savages in Mbaeverà in the midst of the woods, I met with a plain artificially made, the trees being cut down for the purpose, and there I found three pitchers of this kind, each of which would contain a man, but all empty. The bottoms of the pitchers were placed toward the sky, the mouth towards the ground. But from sepulchres, let us hasten to funeral obsequies.

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

768 continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason
775 that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrojhá confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

• 765 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
177 innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
[171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
[775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
[171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [782]

Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

764 775 [773]

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one
586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is
587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new
581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no
761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of
765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the
764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after intervals. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
[551] is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Añy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[265] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/129 cont./

754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by
[115] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair
[825] from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the
[115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to
754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When
755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into
• 766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and
825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/137 cont./

768 continue to be the property of his mbogua, which is the reason
775 that nobody can inherit them. The mbogua would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrcyá confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
177 innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
[171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
[775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
[171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Taffiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis- [166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo [563] for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. 621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--176 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the flanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perufbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764 The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

[775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

2: Schaden--179 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

768 continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason
775 that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yrofuã confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
177 innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
[171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
[775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
[171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*174 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[762] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá
[764] (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
[609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[76] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from
*175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[76] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

2: Schaden--178 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/136 cont./

775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
768 children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
764 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person
[114] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
775
428

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

727 cessive days with mourning and drinking, and
766 thence transported to their graves.

A Should there be any European who makes
764 little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,
727 *Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam,*

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We
G have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their
769 migrations, carried with them little boxes con-
778 taining the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at
G length taken away by the missionaries, and
797 burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after
600 I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,

2: Schaden--130 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/107/

Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Conception of the World

77
121

1. General characterization of the Guaraní religion confronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the sociocultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts; it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique"; the religious attitude and life,

77 /108 cont./
121 on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

77 Why is there always a close relationship between the re-
121 ligious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions --
577 good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual: they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guaraní distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
Ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

• 77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down." [776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

• 77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

• 77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterẽ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétẽ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétẽ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

794 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

794 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
794 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy." he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

• 77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952.

2: Schaden--152 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

•77 114 115 What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

774 [826] For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12). [184] [114]

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

774 828 [191] The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [437] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

2: Schaden--210 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773
771
184

The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77
177

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77
181

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

• 77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[77] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yvây, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

2: Schaden--218 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

• 77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá, as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[184] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrádjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/173 cont./

77 182 829 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 177 182 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 182 829 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

2: Schaden--224 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has
been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might
happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which
in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be trans-
formed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion,
the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to
escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the
contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon
as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then,
it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phe-
nomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized
in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former
times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the
honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of ex-
cessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the
body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen
were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known,
yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the
sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to
enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[1756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

2: Schaden--225 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
183 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep
[177] religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
183 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[622] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[952] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[621] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservatism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

2: Schaden--226 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/175 cont./
to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Ikariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Ratos, who came from Paraguay in 1948 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most acculturated, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of medicine. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least reservation: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273
182
177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77
177
178
182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/ Conclusion

777
182
128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177
182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

/182 cont./

177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

• 77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
[79] (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandecáes ceremonial, auxiliary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[183] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature
[184] of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[178] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestiaos. Because of the cultural disintegration stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestiso Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestiaos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/183 cont./

The frustration of the Guaraní in the effort to be looked at and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration.

/Page 184 is blank; pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
766 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
785 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
677 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine ancestor. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
851 302–303).

861 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat acculturated with beer,
(876) a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-bone
(812) awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
(839) For the three following days the initiates eat only maize meals. After
(893) their initiation they drop the infantile "a, e" (you) for the adult ceremo-
(895) nial "ta."

/45 cont./

178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
181 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
156 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of
433 production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[496] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
184 calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
244 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the
221 beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

2: Schaden--57 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú flandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 flandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá flandé avatí jýgué); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kívira angá or djahá djaporabéi kívira angáre.

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of
• 791 corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the myaahú, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the pai, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calendar, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nevertheless it is considered indispensable, especialy in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give the tacuy social, or at least ceremonial,
[177] rhythm. In the villages of the Paraná coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact within alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ as perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago opened maize in importance in
[191] native cookery. One should note: /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in south America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the eastern Cordillera.

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.
881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[171] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation [illegible]. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination [illegible], generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

2: Schaden--132 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguéry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

577 828 775

• 771 775 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earthly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 177 777 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable, that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contain many elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní 181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his 797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2). 177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Miller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Missions kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life: it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echoe 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us: this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

• 771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omnipotent, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the element would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outweighing though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or a protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations this person [illegible]

771 781 184

/110 cont./

•771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbiá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

[177 62] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the females preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

[191]

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Téréna, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple ex- 754 planation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp. 754 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- 756 tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon [115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die [761] only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be [628] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

2: Schaden--181 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771
177

There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771
177
178
184

It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbhá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Ikariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771
177
178

/139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

[797]

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moátendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
85 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
• 171 father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbiá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
178 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[159] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[441] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
• 771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
170 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvuasú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjê, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little steps being taken by its adepts as an

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer: he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [780] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days i the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," [775] which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/146 cont./

• 771 159 184 [574] A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group. On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual behavior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot participate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however, /147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists [571] [608] on the importance attributed to the social relationship established outside the family ties between compadre and the godson, he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová, among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices, as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by [178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of his ancestors: the yvyráídjá, protector spirit, is identified with the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 177 178 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with disintegrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjý, tũpã ray: djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahú songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

[772] [128]

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171]

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

2: Schaden--205 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Presillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

/161 cont./

771 772

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

[177] [997]

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

[668] [171]

771 772 181

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

/162 cont./ Under the
771 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
772 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
187 the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[756] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[787] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
[175] Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/163 cont./

773
771
184

The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77
179

What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77
181

If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykeý, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

2: Schaden--212 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[118] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[624] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

792 771 [128] It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining [62] [177] their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

539 792 For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/167 cont./

772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúgui odjidjóú oký ráivi): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance: one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying: but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief—prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro
• 771 Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of
167 the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous
173 generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý
772 would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morn-
771 ing they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,
173

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go: the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[77] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eỹ or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderykeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

• 771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which [182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
•771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapái* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776 [771] [771]

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult •771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

2: Schaden--204 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/160/

539 533 8. Éguedjý, tũpã ray; djadjapó piẽta porã, djadjapó piẽta, overá. (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahũ songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

/161/

Chapter X

772 771

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

[171] 1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

2: Schaden--205 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./

existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Newe Zeytung auss Prestillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karaíb /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future. -- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

2: Schaden--206 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/161 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

771 /162 cont./ Under the
• 772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[787] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

Prom all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the anciem mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
179 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

/164 cont./

The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykeý, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

/164 cont./

772 The denominations yvý-mará-eỹ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguasú occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
[956] of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
[118] the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
[224] the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

• 772 771 [128] It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining [62] [177] their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

539 772 For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

/166 cont./

539 772 He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

539 772 186 One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
• 772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/167 cont./

772 As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvý ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there: in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutaígui odjidjóú oký ráivi); at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance; one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvý ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvý ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguẽ): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying: but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjẽ odjé óivy yvý ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvý ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief-prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

772 771 167 173 Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatsú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongaraí on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykeý 772 771 173 would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morning they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,

/168 cont./

772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré. The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle." But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Kariri, seems no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time, as we have seen, the Mbüá who came from Paraguay in 1946. Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven." Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we shall go: the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one, the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráídjá Mbaékuaá) and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará ey or yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú, assisted by his yvyráídjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167]

Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114]

With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 [184]

It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184

/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/170 cont./

• 772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, káágüy minĩ, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narĩ (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduĩ (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguerekó (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration. [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less desirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living 772 186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáĩ. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõhẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[762] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá'ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

2: Schaden--228 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273 182 177

substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

177 177 178 182

and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

/179/

Conclusion

177 182 128

Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177 182

All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of 797 help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178
668 and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its
786 territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary
756 accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the
792 Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs
777 performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the
167 *Tanyguá*, and the *Ogwauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world
786 announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-
772 Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these
772 Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the
756 universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Balóna, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

/230 cont./

• 793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Purubora.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, 574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting 576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the [184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving 535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their 534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, [178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest 178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ 574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd 576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the [192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. 796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of 533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the 178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

773

/Information on the myth of paradise (Land Without Evil) in Guarani culture and life will be found in category 772./

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapai* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvypóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a [164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter [132] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the Ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

[262] [273] [433]

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[177] [437] [773]

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

[126] [114]

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.

[193] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 12 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim

[115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle

[192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó rosá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kayguê, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
846 wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
[114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not
[783] respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
• 773 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
• 773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbïa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/126 cont./

78 182 doctrines themselves. As internal dissentions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel [181] the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I [184] never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753 [703] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

2: Schaden--174 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal [763] experiences. This is what happened to the Ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofleÑgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [776] of the solar god Paí Kuarãry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 795 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 793 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--175 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/134 cont./

761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
• 773 the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
178 among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly
178 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 175 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [182]

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã ey, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire. [773]

2: Schaden--199 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
199 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825 787 773

the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

787 177

A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the 177 little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself 824 against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Piret, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ũ, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

2: Schaden--202 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/158 cont./

776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear: it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ñ): it [184] [177] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake: it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence: otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin: there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is 776 177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

• 773 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

2: Schaden--207 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--208 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./

793 797 177 [184] in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbiá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4).

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

2: Schaden--209 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773
171
114

The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txirigũno /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./ "At the end of the world, Karusakaybã will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

773
171

In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyoí, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

2: Schaden--210 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/163 cont./

773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
[784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
[797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

/305 cont./

Tg 174 175 167 773

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

G 773 173 175 127

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.

/306 cont./

173 The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small
193 Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared
175 to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the
[648] bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would learn the days and God would not be offended with them and would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief, Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish./ The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/ /307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paiçuri, and he asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all good things." /Translated from the Spanish./ At first sight one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair" from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there, as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to

[Text Continues on P. 20]

193/307 cont./
193 sing with instruments of true metal, in the form of big reeds,
195 which made a good sound (these are the Guarani rhythm sticks); and they had others they played with the mouth. He had shown him a trumpet; they said that that chief, Candire, took his father's name, because in that land he killed many candires, who killed all the other people who had left with his father." /Translated from the Spanish./

The country of the Candires is the one where God put all the good things of this world; gold abounds there, one finds there fortresses defended by ditches. The Candire warriors are clothed, their battle-axes are of metal and their shields of gold and silver. In the interior is found white and yellow metal, etc. The land of the great Candire is located, geographically, beyond the Guapay River; to go there one crosses the land of the Timbu, of the Baure (Mbaure) who receive golden objects from the Candires. Near the land of the Candire live the Chiriguano and other Candires, Guarani and, moreover, relatives of the Uratuvere, who gave this information to Nufrio de Chaves.

It is obvious that the land of the Candires is none other than Peru (1). In the great Candire we have no trouble recognizing

1. In the commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 288 and 322), it is likewise a matter of the Candires as a people whom we can also identify with some Inca tribe.

the Inca. But why this merging of Candire and a Guarani chief /308/ and then the idealizing of this personage? Finally, what is this migration in search of the great Candire? The key to the problem is furnished us by another text from a slightly later period (1589) which concerns the Guarani of Itati, emigrants into the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, that is, among the ancestors of the present-day Guarayú /Guarayu/ and Pauserna. It is a matter of a Jesuit Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 924), in which much is said about these Indians, designated by the name of Itatines because of their country of origin. The anonymous

G 773 /308 cont./
173 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
175 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
GU gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[776] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[773] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha), Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G 177 There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
773 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

G 167 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
174 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G [721] When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the de-
G 174 sire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
167 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
721 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
[177] ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

2: Schaden--136 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts [621] with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 794 121 According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [171] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--137 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/111 cont./

704 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 [178] [832] [779] According to Poýdjú from Araríba, nowadays many Ñandéva already admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý." But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the 842 787 [774] [776] child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream, tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of 842 846 611 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bilinear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 171 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
• 774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--140 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776]

without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/113 cont./

775
• 774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the Ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the Ñanderú Bastiño of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

R: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

• 774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneã (guã), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
177 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
777 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

2: Schaden--144 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/115 cont./

774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead
822 of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñané Ĩ, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuã-porĩvé) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvây), located above the yvýñomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, atsýyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuã) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okãñã Ĩ vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

2: Schaden--146 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

774 828 825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the fleẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 828 [175] Not only the fleẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If [753] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By [755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- 184 774 828 755 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake 774 828 755 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the [775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombraçío/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non- [753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

774 early one morning (around four o'clock; he
828 told me that this is the hour when the spirits
755 usually come in contact with men), went to
his house and "took away" the prayer from him.
The next morning he already sharpened his hoe
[756] and went to work. In the process of "taking away"
[624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the
yvyrá'ídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the
flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer
away; then the spirits of the yvyrá'ídjá take the
bad spirit and send it where it came from. --
774 The ayvú and the ayvúporã'vê send prayers too,
828 but good ones. More will be said about the
prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary
to note the pure and simple identification of the
"bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable
root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5
/see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced
774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed;
775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most
828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted,
[825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that,
775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although profesing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
• 774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--151 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

704 705 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguéry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofiimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1962.

2: Schaden--152 E-4.5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

113 What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of
115 Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

774 For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the
[826] human being is divided into txereẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute
[184] an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan
[114] also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

774 The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls
828 in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are
[191] manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space: on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go

775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 828 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart,
[537] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; petesn areko txepyáre, petesn areko txeakẽre, mokõi areko okápe, oñẽgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the
[184] Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/121 cont./

774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself: there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváýñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments: the place is also called kañinguéry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandeý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
[828] stial region called yrukítýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguéry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguéry.

782 796

3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
[192] disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahéi, or prayer. The
[533] porahéi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahéi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahéi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/135 cont./

775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
372 the grave is lighted -- Mbiá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
[114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial: when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave
[115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽguẽ of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽguẽ is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire
• [774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽguẽ (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguéry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764 The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguéry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

[775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [754] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of 797 help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
• 775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
097 Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
084 exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a rebom

2: Schaden--83 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
• 775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caragustá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Ikariri, where, as among the Mbiá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--132 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prise or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the [775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní
181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his
797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2).
177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life: it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
Ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream: some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahéi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the Ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the Ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/113 cont./

775
774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poýdjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the flanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the flanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the continual communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
•775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more: when one goes up, another one comes down." [776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children: nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/116 cont./

774 828 825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 828 [175] Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 828 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks nonsense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

[753] [755] 184 774 828 755 774 828 755 [775] [755]

/116 cont./

774 early one morning (around four o'clock; he
828 told me that this is the hour when the spirits
755 usually come in contact with men), went to
his house and "took away" the prayer from him.
The next morning he already sharpened his hoe
[756] and went to work. In the process of "taking away"
[624] the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the
yvyráídjá; the women strike the talmápú; the
flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer
away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the
bad spirit and send it where it came from. --
774 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvẽ send prayers too,
828 but good ones. More will be said about the
prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary
to note the pure and simple identification of the
"bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable
root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5
/see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced
774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed;
775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most
828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguẽry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted,
[825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that,
775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguẽry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguẽry oguatá pỹtũmbyté

2: Schaden--149 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

[795] oó dyvý yvýnuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mberé-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast. [184]

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical. [753] [761] [755]

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

795 828 177

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

The relations that the divine part of the soul of the de-
[776] ceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--151 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuẽ(porãvẽ) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguẽry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/119 cont./

774 828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguéry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations ob-
[184] tained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. Accord-
[539] ing to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko; petein areko txepyáre, petein areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñẽgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽgué or ayvúkué. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguéry

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayyú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
[828] stial region called yrukítýtétã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofleĕgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 • 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--176 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/135 cont./

764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Perufbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/135 cont./

175 764 372 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over the grave is lighted -- Mbüá, Ñandéva, and Kayová -- a small fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage [114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of the three recommendations that the Tupinambá made to the dead, the first was that they should not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167). Other related tribes also believed in the need for illumination for the soul to make the dangerous journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance, Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave [115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told me the Ñandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeẽguẽ of the deceased, carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same informant told me that, for the Ñandéva, the deceased sometimes "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weeping, or some other way; it is because the ñeẽguẽ is in need of light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire [774] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to this explanation, it is the ñeẽguẽ (originally only the sublime part of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

/136 cont./

775 764 372 [774] not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth without rest, becoming transformed into an anguêry. A doctrine which obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it replaces the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian notion of reward and condemnation.

764 178 [769] [768] At the Pôsto Indígena Cunt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the objects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that they still find; on the tombs of adults they place the porunga /water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman -- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

768 764

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos, calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Exposed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed; it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact, must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguêry) of the dead person can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

[775] [114]

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./ No calabash is left on the grave, aside from those that belonged to the dead man or woman, contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944, p. 40.

768 775 428 Among the Mbüá I was told that the material goods of the deceased

/137 cont./

768 continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason
•775 that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yroysã confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
177 innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
[171] Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
[775] grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
[171] ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 178 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [182]

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý mará eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[773]

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestiso children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are seen modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
• 775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkuê, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjê, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

2: Schaden--188 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aňã). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aňã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aňã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little steps being taken by its adepts as an

/146 cont./

[771] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is
[553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

• 775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*774 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the
[764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
[609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[76] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
346 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from
*175 their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'é*, displayed

[76] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

/40 cont./

-775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
•775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Unions with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 600

[4] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: " . . . muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma cuando estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

118 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Caínguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caínguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

/224 cont./

532
• 776

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

[177]
←

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

778 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353
778 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

• [776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/225 cont./

539 His wife is Nhande-Sý (Our Mother). -- In ancient times this
[776] divine couple inhabited the earth. One day, however, the god ascended to heaven, while Nhande-Sý remained behind on earth (9). -- There the earth god, Curussú Nheengarú (the

9. Cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen /Myths/," etc., pp. 317 f.

speaking cross), met her and was inflamed with love for her. He succeeded in winning the heart of the goddess. Soon afterwards, however, he left her. Now she went in search of Nhande-Rú-Vussú, but she /226/ did not know the way. She therefore asked the children in her womb. At first she received accurate information from them. As they became tired, however, they became inattentive, and finally they were mistaken and indicated the wrong way, which led to the house of the jaguar. At that time the jaguars were still human beings, hence "beginning of the jaguar" (10). The jaguar devoured the goddess and pulled

10. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., pp. 121 ff. and p. 122, who reports specifically on the origin of the animals. A comparison with the mythology of the Dêtoana, in which the animals originated as a result of the transformation of human beings, is interesting. Cf. my study, "Creencias /Beliefs/," etc. -- The Purubora likewise speak of the "beginning of the jaguar"; this jaguar, still human, is called Karurá.

the children out of her womb in order to take them to his grandmother, who had scarcely any teeth and thus needed tender meat for her diet. The old one, however, took a fancy to the two boys and did not want to kill them. So they remained with her and were reared by her like grandsons. The two children were Cuarahy, the sun, and Yasý, the moon. -- When they were only

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Marití.

778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

• 776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following ways: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
•776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 ~~/200/~~ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/232/

796 539 782 783 533 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ỹe rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ỹe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body [776] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed [178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that 796 539 533 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:

/232 cont./

796 "Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ŝe resá.
539 Nhanderykeý mbaraká ŝe resá,
533 Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ŝe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
• [776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstrusting girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the kurugua or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

/111 cont./
704 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
[833] belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[779] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/113 cont./

775 without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not re-
774 incarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to
842 various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end,
796 weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú,
787 "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother
756 of God), who then gathers together all the children who are
776 found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./
774 Although the comparative study of the Guaraní
842 culture with those of other tribal populations is
171 not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--142 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down." It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

• [776]

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
184 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguéry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguéry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvaýñemondehẽ,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
[776] an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the cele-
[828] stial region called yrukútýtétã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüa of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115]
[784]
[796]
[829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[776] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofleĕgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or [776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/140 cont./

771 177 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in [441] [273] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [437] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

/141 cont./

• 776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/142 cont./

771 776 177 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 177 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 783 177 178 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least of little importance in the body of the collective representations of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot [829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

775 /143 cont./
776 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aňã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of aňã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
[182] has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aňã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/146 cont./

[771] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs: they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[553] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[787] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles
[851] the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuã í, with a string of pindó ryví (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embireko) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá í has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá í djúretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá í would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [776]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

/158 cont./

• 776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ỹ); it [184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim [177] Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-
776 taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is
177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to
121 collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/164 cont./

577 The fundamental conception from which the belief in Para-
771 dise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness,
772 perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due atten-
tion to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of
view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply
771 magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speak-
772 ing is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider
[776] Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykeý, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sicl*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*174 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were
[768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with
[372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the
[764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone.
[171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been
[609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[70] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other
346 similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
*175 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[70] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3; Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Nandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[504] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Arĩ* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Arĩ*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI S14

narrow limits as to render them incapable of knowing, or at least suspecting the existence of a God, the creator and governour of all things, from the sight of the things created. The nation of the Guaranies, though formerly very ferocious, knew the supreme Deity, whom they call *Tupá*, a word composed of two particles, *tú*, a word of admiration, and *pá*, of interrogation. I said that the Abipones were commendable for their wit and strength of mind; but, ashamed of my too hasty praise, I retract my words, and pronounce them fools, idiots, and madmen. Lo! this is the proof of their insanity! They are unacquainted with God, and with the very name of God, yet affectionately salute the evil spirit, whom they call *Aharaigichi*, or *Quecvèt*, with the title of grandfather, *Groaperikie*. Him they declare to be their grandfather, and that of the Spaniards, but with this difference, that to the latter he gives gold and silver, and fine clothes, but that to them he transmits valour; for they account themselves more courageous and intrepid than any of the Spaniards. Should you ask them what their grandfather formerly was, and of what condition, they will confess themselves utterly ignorant on the subject. If you persist in your interrogations, they will declare this grandfather of theirs to have been an Indian—so barren and absurd is their theology.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognised proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

174* 222 [177]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapái*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapái* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

174* 342 [192] [171] [596]

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapái* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

174* 351

The furniture of the *tapái* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

174* 352 [286]

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brasilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue. [262] [171]

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

/220 cont./

• 778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little; the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/224 cont./

532
776

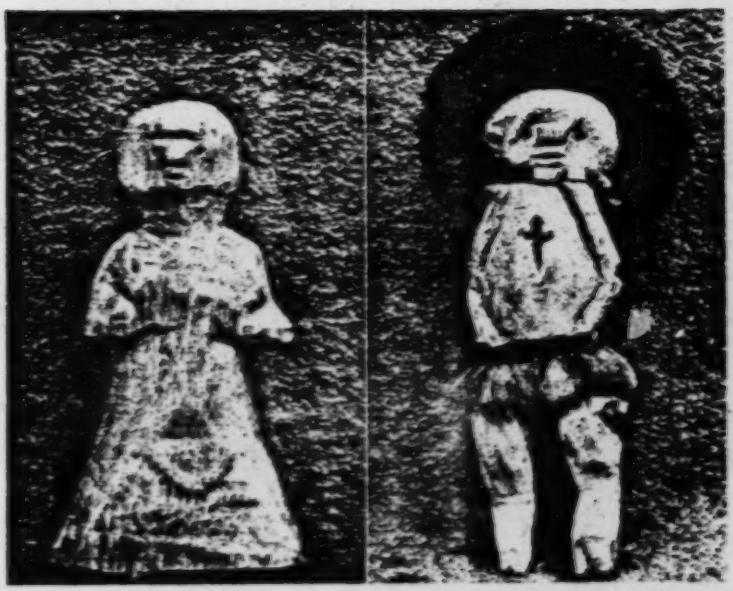


Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

[177]
←

/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

• 778

One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353
778

In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.
539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivoty (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Mazirí.

• 778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Tara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Tara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following ways He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepỹ. Cuarahỹ grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhã. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahỹ found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasỹ. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasỹ awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhã, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites into the radio.

574
576
516
854
142
291
•778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rũ-Vusú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls: the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhã overpowers them and takes them to Anharepỹ.

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Détoana and Purubora.

/231/

V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
184 men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
535 from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
534 tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
798 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs

000

/231 cont./

796
516
291
• 778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe reté moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe curusú moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe yeguaka moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe curusú warópyte moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe curusú warikambý moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe curusú wapétya moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, ĺe curusú warópyta moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey,
Hangatú, ĺe ryhey, se curusú kuĩkuahí moĩtyro, ĺe ryhey."

/232 cont./

796 "Hoẽri yahá, hoẽri yahá, ẽe resá.
539 Nhanderykeý mbaraká ẽe resá,
533 Nhanderykeý ha dẽyroký ẽe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ẽe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ẽe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ẽe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[796] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[798] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[792] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[798] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/36 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large
[192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields
178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/40 cont./

292 Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively
293 ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers
[531] of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton.
[126] In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.
[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,
[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it
291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece
53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four
237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-
[192] low and orange toucan (tũkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called
291 flemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita-
[114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned
292 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism
178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods,
178 leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

/41 cont./

292 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paí Vitaliano,
178 who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest
778 in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old paí dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of Jesuit times?

/41 cont./

292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
• 778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana-
[177] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and
many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the
Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the
idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also
familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytã or puitã of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is
one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for
his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made
from sheep wool (ovetxá tagué), both made by women of the
tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centi-
meters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it
is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two
dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc-
[428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much
smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average
width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having
in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The
Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the
[171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much
[192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles
of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-
maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with
heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
[778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
[302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
[184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
•778 ment developed by it; a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The Ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
756
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní Ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the Ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by Ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

142
622
756
292
302
778

XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
• 708 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/146 cont./

[177] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the
mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do
not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during
the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words;
they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I
cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice
with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And,
changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a
relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is
[553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[851] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles
the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The
baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence
of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather
props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with
great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure
the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the
spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does
not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*774 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 *774 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [768] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the [764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other 346 similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the *175 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *pa'i*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarahá*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarahá* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Nandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 995 621

[8] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:45.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 526

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuvo-Guarani* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 178 534 [562] [778] [756] [573] [562]

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [727]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Pai'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [184]

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [222]

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. 276 [178] [711] [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguini) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong. 178 527 [171] 176 273

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an inviaible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174 797 tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778] Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114] 11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guarani languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranis". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guarani" or "Northern Guarani". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1902) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guarani" are called in Paraguay by the 13 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Caiaguá (= Cayuá).

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
324 Abipon 324

727 cessive days with mourning and drinking, and
766 thence transported to their graves.

A Should there be any European who makes
764 little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,
727 *Cadit ingiter qui non habet urnam,*

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We
G have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their
769 migrations, carried with them little boxes con-
773 taining the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at
G length taken away by the missionaries, and
797 burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day General Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional relations and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day General villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nucleus is subject to constant modification. The smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive basin of the Pacaal. The large villages, with two hundred or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (Kamisa) among the Kaadiwa and Ishki; and among the Kayowili. The whole village or barrio actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

(361)

(361) (554)

621 182 (177) Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relations with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the General.

(363)

(178)

/75/

621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bonsucesso, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Luso-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirão /co-operative work parties: see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

[933]

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of São Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbyá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Guaraní from Bonsucesso have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

[937]
[756]

/30 cont./

563 (621) This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 98 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies. "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestiços cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestiço born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "ryvaíétyá," they say that no ryvaíétyá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 199 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/124 cont./

782 The Ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
424
622
736
[171]

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní Ñanderú and the pajé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Ziai of
[115] Bananal --, the Ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

• 78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by Ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbiá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Ikariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbiá dialect), the re-
[176] ligious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the poshéñ is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/126 cont./

• 78 182 doctrines themselves. As internal dissensions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be [181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahéi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal [184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahéi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753 [773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to
incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in
ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did
not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and
ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid
and well defined whole.

[183] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation
proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them
that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on
this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for
the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul
post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the
actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature
of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural
[184] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not
considered morally responsible for his actions.

• [178] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that
the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little
by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the
presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases
it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always
someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And
furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes
the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less cer-
tain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos.
Because of the cultural disnivellation stemming from that, there
is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together
the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common
position before the white man, the fact that they share with the
Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in
which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos,
not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and
troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/110 cont./

771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
• 781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
184 nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe reté moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe yeguaka moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, ŝe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ŝe rykeý,
Hangatú, ŝe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ŝe rykeý."

/232/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ĩe
539 rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý
• 782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ĩe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body
[176] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly wide-
796 spread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
539 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:
533

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhoaki) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [884] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [756] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakná, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarí (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambé-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyhá; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderá who directs the kunumí-papá, as well as the yvyráidja who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/121 cont./

774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýtarã, celestial
[774] beings or spirits ("ñandejára"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself: these are, by the
way, several categories of tavýtarã, one of them called
775 verándyjú. After death, the ayvúkuã of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapóguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvýtãmondohã,
where it puts on resplendent garments: the place is also called
kañingaíby ropé ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõã,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuã of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrúnvéjú). In order to fly without delay to the presence of
[828] Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes-
tial region called yvukitýtãã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes angaíby, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
angaíby.

782 3. The ñaña, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
[192] disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahéi, or prayer. The
[533] porahéi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápe for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djóuby), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahéi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
7% of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guerzé culture, the *perabit* is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[426] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable *perabit*, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Kendéve and the Mébé. The Kayové, [184] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by [424] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also [787] being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the *pel*.

Each *perabit* consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religion, and therefore affective experiences. During the *perabit* the religious sentiment is intensified, even to [796] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 *perabit*, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guerzé teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Aceché one day an adviser of so-called folkloric music appeared: he made use of the Guerzé prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, as it appears, were

/122 cont./

782 424 114 [123] then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to put them on the radio" (12).

12. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Kaiowá, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacaré confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Nandejára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Nandejára ceuijuká," said Miércio. Among the bibliá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [114] [116] [129]

782 775 779 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the *pawáhi* is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /122/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated *ñañ* or *ayvú*, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

[192]

782 775 621

/133 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Arechi, on the religious behavior of the fellow villagers. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reverting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "rationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 formed in the village. The *yuwáki* is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayowá, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[175] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the *yuwáki*,
[167] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual *yuwáki*, as the Ñandéva and Mbiá know it,
781 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The *Ñandesi* Fernando of Jacuí volunteered to me that
[176] *Ñandesi* reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of *Kuaráy* (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. These prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious hours directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual cases, they are sometimes received already as puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[498] the Mbiá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[164] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayers. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dreams," he rises, takes the /134/ *mbaraká*, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the *mbaraká*

/Cont cont./

• 712 The Sandoré is distinguished from the other principally
778 by the quantity of powers of which he is the heirs or owner (14).
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
(91)

14. /From p. 101 of the original source./ There is an interesting contrast between the General Sandoré and the [illegible] of the Tumbaldos. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of powers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being increased or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective — "in order not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Ziel of Brownie —, the Sandoré should nourish himself exclusively with "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

(865)
115
(756)

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
766 directed by Sandoré Miguel, who brought a group of Mbbá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Xavier, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the [illegible] (name of the prayer in the Mbbá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
(976) direct understanding with Sandoré Tumbá, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rain that had continued for some time would end.

/[illegible] cases./

• 782 Prayers that are sung as collective communion may be
869 passed on by inspiration. A Ñaañ is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction. Besides receiving so many prayers by
the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with
a spiritualist. An Guasuvi Vicente Jacquinton (who was not a ñaañ
and did not even have an "altar" near his house), animal by a
mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would
gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with
them -- "instructing them." In the words of Ideogal. He would
appear with his "pupils," praying, at the ñaañ (dancing ground)
of Pol Tomás and next to the house of the cacique Pascual. At
Arasatbai, Pol José taught his nephew, who called himself a
very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayuvá and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guasuvi can become one who prays -- the
Ñaañ Fernando of Mbiru Linda told me -- as long as he does
not marry and is reserved: It is necessary, he explained, to have
no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers
to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supra-
natural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[189] holds for women who wish to become curers (Ñaañ), "see
[188] mother"; they start to learn /[illegible]/ from the time they are chil-
dren and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the
abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they
are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñaañ does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in
order to be able to become Ñaañ.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married,
claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[913] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little re-
ligious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification
ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to
take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/120 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
756 of the pajelaí. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
188 sect of "nativistas" was necessary clearly shows that there is
[illegible] of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayowá also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure malebiha and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kerumé. The
cycle of prayers relating to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayowá: when the plants are ready to hoe,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"bororo" /bora beetle, bizy bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (must?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /Pages pp. 181-182 of the original source./
The same is true, by the way, about the chicha
songs (guahú and guahóvaí). In the guahóvaí
text there is sung, for example, Takuri pyîva
ñeyrîi: in modern Kayowá one would say, "Takuri
pyîva ryrî," which means red ants /Port.
cupim, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
124 Jerónimo, Kayowá of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
122 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as
[788] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
78 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
182 doctrines themselves.
177

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /128/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbiá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil,"
829 called ñeẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound
[182] of the maraca, according to Marçal): in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs,
[588] called ñembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[182] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[182] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohẽ vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the Ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araríná, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also 782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ohelgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [187] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéy, or [176] of the solar god Paí Kuráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéy once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces- 775 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of 773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--180. E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829]

religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [182]

764 775

Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[773]

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
708 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahéi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piéta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators:
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

[171] [159] [826] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the [782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized [755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb [757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future [776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put [778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words: they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs: they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with [608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is [553] a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is [787] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles [851] the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle [237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive [782] nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the [851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the [553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/153 cont./
534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, [322] a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root [824] of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with [782] any exactness the purpose for which it is intended: they only told [789] me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he •782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [184] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

A

Nekótétàk, a goose	Neketéteri, geese	192x
Oachígranigà, a stag	Oachigranigal, stags	193x
Iñiehà, the flower of the alfaroba, or a year	Iñiegari, flowers, or years	
Neogà, a day	Neogotà, days	
Eergfaik, a star	Eèrgfaiò, stars	
Aápafaik, linen or woollen cloth	Aapafaikà, pieces of cloth	
Yapòt, a brave man	Yapochì, brave men	
Lachaogè, a river	Lachaokè, rivers	
Letòk, the leaf of a tree	Leteghè, leaves	
Ketélk, a mule	Ketelfa, mules	
Panà, a root	Panarì, roots	
Ìibichigì, angry, *sing.*	Ìibichigeri, angry, *plur.*	

From these few examples it appears that nouns ending in the same letter have different plurals. Moreover, as the Greeks, beside a plural number, have also a dual by which they express two things, so the Abipones have two plurals, of which the one signifies more than one, the other many: thus *Joalé*, a man. *Joalcè*, or *Joaleèna*, some men. *Joaliripì*, many men. *Ahëpegak*, a horse. *Ahëpega*, some horses. *Ahëpegeripì*, many horses.

I wonder that the Abipones have not two words for the first person plural, *we*, like many other American nations. The Guaranies express it in two ways: they sometimes say, *ñandè*, sometimes *ore*. The first they call the inclusive, the second the exclusive. In their prayers, addressing God, they say, We sinners,

G 193

G [782]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1750) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 504

G 193 [782] *ere angaypabiyà*; because God is excluded from the number of sinners. Speaking with men, they say, *ñandè angaypabiyà*, because those whom they address are sinners likewise, and they accordingly use the inclusive *ñandè*.

A *193 601 *792 As they have no possessive pronouns, mine, thine, his, the want of them is supplied in every noun, by the addition or alteration of various letters. Amongst the Abipones a great difficulty is occasioned by the various changes of the letters, especially in the second person. Take these examples. *Netà*, a father indeterminately. *Yità*, my father. *Gretay*, thine. *Letà*, his. *Gretà*, our father. *Gretayi*, yours. *Letai*, theirs.

Naetaŕat, a son, without expressing whose. *Yaetŕat*, my son. *Graetŕachi*, thy son. *Laetŕat*, his son.

Nepèp, a maternal grandfather. *Yepèp*, mine. *Grepepè*, thine. *Lepèp*, his.

Naàl, a grandson. *Yaàl*, mine. *Graall*, thine. *Laàl*, his.

Nenàk, a younger brother. *Yenàk*, mine. *Grenarè*, thine. *Lenàk*, his.

Nakirèk, a cousin german. *Ñakirèk*, mine. *Gnakiregi*, thine. *Nakirek*, his.

Noheletè, the point of a spear. *Yoheletè*, mine. *Grohelichi*, thine. *Loheletè*, his.

Natatŕa, life. *Yatatŕa*, my life. *Gratatŕe*, thine. *Latatŕa*, his.

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe reté moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe curusú moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe yeguaka moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe curusú warópyte moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe curusú warákambý moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe curusú wapétya moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, ñe curusú warópyta moñtyro, ñe rykeý,
Hangatú, ñe rykeý, se curusú kuákuahá moñtyro, ñe rykeý."

/796/

796 539 782 783 533

In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ła ryłaŕ is used instead of Nhandaryłaŕ. Although Nhandaryłaŕ is the name of the god formerly called Cuaxłý, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhanda means "we," "our"; ryłaŕ is the elder brother; hence, nhandaŕ-ryłaŕ means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ła = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhandaryłaŕ, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuaxłý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that speaks even more clearly for this interpretation: it runs

[796] [778] 796 539 533

/75/

Chapter VI

Rates of Crisis in Ganaul Life

121
571
929
192

The social rhythm of Ganaul life moves not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less harmless appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illness, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

• 763
765
768
808

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of Ojaki or ojikiaki, being subject to the danger of moral enchantment, which is called ojikiaki; the Mbbá also speak of kerogá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "ungaoda" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese: in Ganaul one simply says that he-and-he is ahí. Ahí is the state of the father (and among the Mbbá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is ahí, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term ungaoda /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "ungaoda do ouvidor" /the caution of the ouvidor/.

/[illegible] cont./

[183] heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a ghost. Thus we notice that "ne" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the bibbi call *ninagni* (Francisco also uses the word *nagalin*, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery: "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

[184] From all this it is seen that, in spite of the injunctions of the soul — originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity — it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the locality of orientation of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the bibbi, into social and antisocial inclinations. Indeed or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel, the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the bibbi (and the Kayové) psychology from that of the Kaingáng is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

[184] The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the bibbi of the village of Ele Bonno. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the bibbi of Iranti /[illegible]/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of his informant: [537] *Tuni kunde hallinin ambiri, ramdi ambi tuyrrim, ramdi ambi tuwallim, ramdi ambi ainim, ollipambiro tuwallim.*

[184] Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayové are too desparate and incongruent for one to be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayové, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Kaingáng sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the *hal* or *ayvá*, respectively *halgal* or *ayvikali*. For the less good part, they gave me the terms *nagalin*,

/134 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Visconte Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Mingal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the ohó (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayoví and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our
[869] mother"): they start to learn /135/ from the time they are chil-
[868] dren and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Olé Fernando told me: ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Nanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

Schaden--187 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1963 S344 Guarani S344

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the anguéry, into which the atsýyguá is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, represented by the ayvúkué, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjé, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbbá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [784] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[78] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disnivellation stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/219 cont./

301 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is
314 regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different
[192] trees furnish the suitable resin; in the language of the Caiuás they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun-
[184] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their
186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[525]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[778] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from
[784] Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/88 cont./

846 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for
178 the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound
[184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, par-
784 ticularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépoá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list
846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drink: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
846 wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
[114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva: it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
[183] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá:
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá: in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
773 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékóakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"): and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./ As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

• [784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [252] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should main- [834] tain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/96 cont./

881 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one
784 who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those
782 being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant,
[115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] The first refers to the flemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý
[386] tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the
[624] labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the flanderú or paí.

881 The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instru-
782 ment for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of
304 piercer -- the flanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the
721 apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another
[192] apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or
[622] huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivõdjá), who wait their
[156] turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The
[273] piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):
782

[301] 5. /From p. 98 of the original source./
[824] The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15
[314] centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115]
[784]
[776]
[829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

Zi Schaden--188 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aňã). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aňã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aňã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/182 cont./

77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[183] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [184] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[178] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural dimivellation stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[784]
[843]

/38 cont./
881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[843] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[824] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[304] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[262] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
[753] ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
178 kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the ohá (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "volter" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

786

786 ORGIES--practices reflecting hysterical tendencies or release from normal inhibitions; frenzied singing and dancing; ceremonial license (e.g., phallic rites, temporary lifting of sex restraints, ceremonial intoxication); bacchanalian revels; religious prostitution; induced hysteria, hallucination, and swoon; religious revivalism; etc. See also:

Sex taboo . . . . . 33 Temple prostitute 765
Drunkenness . . . . . 370 Conception of abnormal mental state . . . 650

2: Schaden--156 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/122 cont./

782 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 182 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same [796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, [424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in- [787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector [184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbyá. The Kayová, [424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by [787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to • [786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 424 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 [562] secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was [824] probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

174* 175* 756 786 • [197] [167]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Paü'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paü'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 [756] [792] [177] and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772 During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauíva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756 This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kunert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the [787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1830), the Apapokíva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
• [787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[199] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
756
787
192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

/99 cont./

622
756
192

sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar divinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"), a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

[624]
[184]

/111 cont./
774 many other regions of the globe (3).
842
171

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who co ceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Ararîba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[778] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kuié) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

2: Schaden--138 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

842
159
• 787

Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
• 787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream: some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--140 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to
[786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 fc med in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
778 among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[775] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (Remboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
78 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
182 doctrines themselves.
177

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [763] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ołeñgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [184] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéy, or [187] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that [176] someone have the favor of seeing Kéy once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayowá Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, moreover others assume a very dif-
ferent attitude. Poyétjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1922 the Indians of Azarthá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Poyétjú, Poyétjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbiá: during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Kariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Sermoogaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayowá that they formerly

/146 cont./

[171] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
[159] following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
[829] from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
[782] "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
[755] doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
[757] tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
[776] when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put
[778] it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
[844] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
[608] takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
[553] the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
[787] He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles
[851] the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
[237] of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
[782] nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the
[851] four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
[553] name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
[775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/153 cont./

534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 [322] [824] The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] [787] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

2: Schaden--199 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

• 787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

825 787 793 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

787 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ũ, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[156] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[187] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[196] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[189] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [154] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, •[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

/225 cont./

353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
• 789

142
291
301
534
778
304
←
291
534
576
→

Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me [189] about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is [301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus [192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious [554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and [147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks [482] [164]

2: Schaden--80 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the func-
[114] tions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbiá consider her (odjéko)aku; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[189] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation: in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbiá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[826]

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /128/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
• 789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani Sh34

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Dr. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
179 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825
787
773

the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789
177

A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

789
177
824

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ũ, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

2: Schaden--201 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength: the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so: I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 179 [776]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [171] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it: nobody sees it,

/182 cont./ Under the
771 direction of doctor-sorcerer, who, on the basis of dreams and
772 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
167 the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[786] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[787] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
[175] Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1917, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

[121] From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
[184] continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
777 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guarani* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Coingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guarani*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
799 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
559 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

861 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Coingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
(874) a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
(412) a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-bone
(239) awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
(293) For the three following days the initiates eat only maize meal. After
their initiation they drop the infantile "u, o" (you) for the adult exam-
(195) ple "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [146]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession renders a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 535 759

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their enemies.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tings it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same myths collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Cainguá tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Cainás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical: I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

713 Of great importance even today are the objects used in 292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembetá attach no special [124] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

301 /219 con./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far moe highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scrathes a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sundown. The man who does it must fast after midday and the [184] following afternoon: drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá: it is their 186 tribal mar. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," a older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore • 793 with chain of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /[illegible]/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
291
516
• 793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Sorórô, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ismeo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cutaxiy wanted to kill the wood hen, called Jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen wanted to speak, for it is Guyrá Mbaengué, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguar.

/227 cont./

• 793
291
237
292
301
142
304

Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /[illegible]/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Mbaxa-ñi. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl:

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

• 793
292
142
304
301
302

Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and zig-zag compose his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/232 cont./

796
539
533

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ŝe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ŝe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[176] [178] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] sapeó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[793] [792] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[539] [794] tacumbó. Two masts are erected in front of the houses. Against one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other mast rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[131] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with beads and feather

/233 cont./

796 disks. In this there are sapoó maize kernels. Over the large
(237) bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
(533)

(342)
(291)
(535)
(574)
(576)

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the standand sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forwardwith his request and in connection with it also speaks of old an new customs.

• 993 Thereupon the priest acts officiating. His followers place
996 a white cloth on the ground,upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacatré, who makes the sapoó maize grow.

(778) At the last meeting ofthis kind, which I attended, he
(784) spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacatré because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for wearing the fawns. The sapoó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest said a few old an spoke in the same vein.

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
• [793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[539] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[193] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[198] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderyhey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

198 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
199 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

756
793
794

/Information on the role of the yvyráídjá (officiants assisting the ñanderú or Paí) in the community will be found in category 624./

2: Schaden SM4 Guarani SM4

756
793
794

/Information on the role of the yvyráídjá (officiants assisting tie flanderú or Paí) in the community will be found in category 624./

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/230 cont./

793 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
[535] from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
[534] tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
178 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/231 cont./

796
516
291
778
534

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

796
533
539
782
783

The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe reté moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe yeguaka moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĺe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĺe rykeý, ĺe curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ĺe rykeý."

/232/

796 539 782 783 533 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ĩe rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ĩe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body [176] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed [178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that 796 539 533 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:

/232 cont./

796 "Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ĭe resá.
539 Nhanderykeý mbaraká ĭe resá,
533 Nhanderykeý ha dźyroký ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ĭe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ĭe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the
[776] god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably for-
[178] gotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called
[622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the fore-
[793] most chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office,
[292] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their
[534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against
[778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside
[237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/233 cont./

• 796 disks. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large
[237] bowl lies a cover made out of feather disks. The men form a
[533]

[342]
[291]
[535]
[574]
[576]

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

793 Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place
796 a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

[778] At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he
[784] spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/233 cont./

796 urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[793] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[533] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridzui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykey and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
177 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges
[114] in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
771
796

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (mandúí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means [434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-

243 221 [191] mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/49 cont./

243 824 too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears.

[193] Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Vírgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 12 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim

[115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle

[192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roçá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguã, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú ñandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 ñandé avatí ñahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá ñandé avatí djýguê); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakí, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the mouths in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
[170] rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/121 cont./

774 828 [776] (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called

775 [776] verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvaŷñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of

[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --

[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes-

[828] tial region called yrukitýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 • 796

3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The

[533] [534] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djíroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to
[786] the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

2: Schaden--167 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

796
585
142
534
291

X. Religious dance of the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

964

XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
• 796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
798 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
179 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóydjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer: he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
• 796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piêta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Índian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

517 533 797 177 534

The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbarakâ, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious [184] ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbarakâ, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a 534 723 Mbüá flanderú who replaced the gourd mbarakâ (or also 796 mbarakâ i) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbarakâ or 177 simply mbarakâ), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The flanderú referred to only struck the strings [533] to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the 534 men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many 171 signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534 As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth: one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also ex- [171] isting in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[156] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[187] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the coun-
try of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-
day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found
some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not
be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[186] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[189] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the fru-
trating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise con-
tinue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
[184] gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by
the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in
Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
799 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
197 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/171 cont./

771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Ñanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestiso individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started [179] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
• [796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñandeṙú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapéṙá, as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the ỹỹ́ỹ́ỹ́. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women; but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *tapaora* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, I: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, I: 384.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary translated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the native pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokué* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground. 221 241

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokué*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear. 221 224 [291]

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown. 221 224 [796] [244]

The Relative Importance of Agriculture, Fishing, and Hunting

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cauí*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic. 177* 24

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aíuti tapi'*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.[38] Nevertheless, Cayuá usages 177* 243

[38] Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[784]
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuvo-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional [792] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of 797 help betrays Christian influences.

• [796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuvo* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[818] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 54[illegible] Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[36] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[36] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the
[433] former, in large [illegible], from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/18 cont./

000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
• [177] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[177] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
• 797 Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan
Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on. Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn •

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
•777 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the
[775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned --
[184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní
181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his
797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2).
177

2. /Prom p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/109 cont./

181
177
797

to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

771
121
797
177

Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

/110 cont./

771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

771 781 184

2: Schaden--143 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúitytétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúitytétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
• 797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/115 cont./

774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 822 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñané Ñ, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuẽ-porãvẽ) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvãy), located above the yvýñomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, atsýyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuẽ) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okãña Ñ vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

2: Schaden--173 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Ñanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there
[177] [797] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan: it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771 177 There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of cabocios or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771 177 178 184 It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbiá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Ararí, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771 177 178 /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin [797] mission that existed in the large settlement of Rapossanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

/138 cont./

Nowadays the General rarely comes in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the countryside the wealthy women for their part may have the function of converting to a Christianity in reality sometimes.

These conversions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, duke their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the *nangarai*, or *mulamaji*, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the *Bandari*. "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old *Pajiji of Aracilé*. At the Pilos at Aracilé I have not met one child that had not gone through the *nangarai* and then, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. In Pajiji's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the General as opposed to the attitude of the civilizeds. "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized men" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Aracilé it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the Bandeira, as well as among the Idiéé of Ele Bonne, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Iracilé I have several Bandeira who had been baptized repeatedly: Coutinho, daughter of Capitão Silvino Xaiba, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in the Pedro, another time in Bonne, and another time in Ele Vicente.

It is clear that the religious socialization is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the *caiqara*, not only usually demands /139/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/195/ Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

519 The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechising. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm machines, is surprising.

534 The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or *ñaembé*, and the rhythm sticks, or *tabakipú*, used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the *ñaembé*, while the women accompany them with the *tabakipú*. In only one village, in Ivatá, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a *tabbá* Guaraní who replaced the gourd *ñaembé* (or also *ñaembé-ú*) with a gutter of industrial origin (*yvyrá ñaembé* or simply *ñaembé*), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The Guaraní referred to only mark the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maracas by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and further west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 189 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 184 to 185, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1937 and 1950a, pp. 215-216.

534 As an instrument characteristic of the *tabbá*, the *ñaembé-ú*, a membranophone that consists of a low resonating cylinder a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of lion, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The buccal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

/181 cont./

"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní mark, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (7)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /181/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians guided by him. Under the

/183 cont./ Under the
direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, wanted to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the south.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

2: Schaden--208 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/162 cont./

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbiá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[184] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4),

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which [182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land 772 never ending": ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [176] Ketxuña or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Kxeí Rõhã Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuña. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re- [197] membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many 167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves 18 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres- [184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [529] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

/182 cont./

177 18 596 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption, [594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 18 177 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 18 177 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up • 197 with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 19-2 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brasil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

131 lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of
161 Guaranya.[17]

There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

101 Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ka'á*) and "man" or "men" (*aBá*), that is, "men of the forest."[18] If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced."
+[171] The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in
• [797] fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of peonage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."[19] This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

[17] *Exposição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios*, 1913. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

[18] Watson, J. B., 1945, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

[19] In the English translation of Dobrizhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrizhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[66] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[67]

301 237 286 *174

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[68]

[386] [462] *174

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

283 227 [177] *174

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayuá,[69] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[70] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

411 *174 412 [178] [171]

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

301 881 *174 304 000

[66] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [67] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[68] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[797] [439]

[69] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [70] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756
797

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

*174
726

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

*174
231
648
726
*[175]

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[72] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[73] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[74] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

174* 231 648 726

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

175* 771 797

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

174* 776 [771] [771]

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[75]

---

[72] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[74] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [75] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied [562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great [622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could [128] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[60] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. [797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the [786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was [171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups [276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true [824] of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been [755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[60] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

174* 175* 756 786 [197] • [167]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 *175 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-[726] Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1768

*175 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything • 797 that had preceded it.[64] It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the *174 Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.[65]

*175 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with head-648 quarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or 797 *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

*[174] [131] [648] Still another point favoring Cayuá seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865–1870.

[64] The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

[65] The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[36]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[36] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

174* 175* 177* 648 797

Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.[87]

174* 175* 177* 797

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.[88] In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.[89] Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri- [241]

[87] It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission exodus. The criteria Müller (1934-35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of acculturation of these groups.

[88] Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

[89] Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the indigenes of the region.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change
797 the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[30] Little
241 more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

*175 The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties
648 in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in
797 the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

*175 The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the
245 fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the
648 missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[31] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[32] and Rengger,[33] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[30] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[31] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[32] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[33] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 Sh4 Guarani Sh4

*175 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caiuás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The biased assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[88] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt meas-
[871] ures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

[88] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

648 or indifferent. This is ordinarily no more than the more Indians might learn
999 from the settler for whom they work. The encomienda is among some of the
241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influence
687 he may exert are, therefore, much intensive and frequent than those of most
other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionaries is
657 neutral. They do not, [illegible] translate the Indians as a part of the policy
999 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from per-
sonal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the
Serviço personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field
ethnographers.[illegible] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members
of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the
Serviço in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that
direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where
in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as
making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Caywá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic
countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly
established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the
Caywá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of them, Dourados,
there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the
other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-
[159] established establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in
fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this
respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Bra-
zilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the
missions.)

177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
999 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at Ñaña. There the
[299] (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conver-
sion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At Ñaña the mission house is a
center for a sizable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand
sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
[582] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is
notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group.
(There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
[533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan
area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening,
and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] [illegible] For are they latitudy disposed to grant the ethnographer with open arms; some very
[illegible] individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not [177]
markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. [197]
(This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like
that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and
rarely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal ad-
herence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its
material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing,
and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art
are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services,
and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[16] Summing up the
mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called
profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely
absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do SPI* which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá [648]
area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be
established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, [657]
the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were
secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin
Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some
twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut cart road, also passable
in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[16]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even
know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the [871]
post are at least aware of schools.[17] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited
by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[18] Such visits entail

---

[16] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men [756]
from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the [533]
post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns
with General words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with General
words—as spiritual interest.

[16] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, [648]
on their way to Alto Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the [494]
trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as
two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers
that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fueling places, that the
writer knows of, in the entire region, because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it.
Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in one
or more of the larger towns.

[17] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this [871]
ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no
formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and [648]
only a poor elementary one at União Itaoll, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[18] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

/31/

101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of
241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today,
361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations
657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for
101 the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-
-797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil
361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came
[162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
175 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162
[113]

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113]

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom: they
178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand *Guaraní* accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Nufrio de Chaves in 1558. 175 648

The *Guaraní* later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Taharé and Guaramberé), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later *Guaraní* rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men. [669]

From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the *Guaraní* women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by harems (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of encomiendas, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "mancebos de la tierra," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and *Guaraní* form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their *Guaraní* ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the *Guaraní* under the Spanish encomiendas, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608–1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the missions. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguassú 175 648 797

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175
648
.797

River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas. Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, Ciudad real del Guairá (1554) and Villarica. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing children and moribunds, but they did not establish any permanent mission. In 1609, the King of Spain, at the request of Hernandarias de Saavedra, Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the 150,000 *Guaraní* Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guazú, founded north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá (Nuestra Señora de Loreto and San Ignacio-mirí on the Pirapo River), which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José Cataldino and Simon Maceta. The apostle of the *Guairá* was the famous Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629 and author of the great classic of *Guaraní* language, the "Arte, vocabulario, tesoro de la lengua Guaraní" (1876). In another book, "Conquista espiritual . . . del Paraguay" (1892), he reports his adventures and successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo, the dreaded mamelucos, who attacked the missions and captured all whom they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or enslaved 300,000 *Guaraní* Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El Guairá, and took the people in a heroic anabasis from El Guairá to the Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the *Guaraní*, between the Paraguay, Mbotetey (Miranda), and Jejui-guazú Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was called the Province of Itatin after one of its local *Guaraní* subtribes. The Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all destroyed by the mamelucos from São Paulo. Later, two new missions were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the basins of the Uruguay and the Jacui Rivers. This was formerly called Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martín and Cuchilla Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "reducciones" here. The renewed assaults of the mamelucos in 1638 forced the Jesuits to evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal. After these last inroads, the *Guaraní* Indians received guns and, on two occasions—at Caazapá-guazú and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they defeated the mamelucos. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

founded which, together with the others, formed the 30 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

175
648
797

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially messiahs, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the encomenderos, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yapeyú and La Cruz were often molested by the incursions of the *Yaré*, *Mbohane*, *Minuane*, and *Charrua* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Nicolas, San Luís, San Lorenzo, Santo Angel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expulsion. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the Tratado de Límites was abrogated and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 30,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased. [161]

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fateful date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursua drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communistic feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were baleful. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and maté plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [362] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for [262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 824 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 [412] [415] [171] [145] Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 178 [361] [824] [712] A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paw*. Other *Cainguá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). [413] Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 [178] [532] [353] [237] **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 178 179 •179 184 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Pañ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Pañ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 668 786 [756] [792] [177]

and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 167 786 772

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 772 756

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Ambrosetti, 1895 a, 1895 b, 1896; Azara, 1809, 1904; Baldus, 1929; Bertoni, 1920, 1922; Blanco, 1931; Bode, 1918; Borba, 1904; Cardiel, 1900; Cartas Anuas, 1927–29; Charlevoix, 1757; Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Pedro Hernández, 1852); Dobrizhoffer, 1784; Fishbach, 1929; Hernández, Pedro, 1852; Hernández, Pablo, 1913; Ihering, 1895, 1904, 1906; Jarque, 1900; Koenigswald, Von, 1908; Kuwert, 1890, 1891, 1892; Kunike, 1911; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37; Linné, 1936; Lothrop, 1932; Loukotka, 1929; Lozano, 1873–75; Mayntzhusen, 1912; Medina, J. T., 1908; Métraux, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1932; Meyer, 1896; Moreno, 1926; Müller, 1934–35; Muratori, 1754; Netto, 1885; Nimuendajú, 1914 a; Outes, 1917, 1918; Ramírez *in* J. T. Medina, 1908 (*also* Ramírez, Luis, 1888); Rengger, 1835; Ruiz de Montoya, 1876 (1640), 1892; Schmidel, 1903; Schmidt, M., 1932; Serrano, 1936; Strelnikov, 1928; Techo, 1673, 1897; Torres, L. M., 1913; Ullrich, 1906; Vellard, 1934, 1937, 1939 a; Vogt, 1904.

[full bibliography not processed - Analyst]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women. 462 [241]

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable. 273 462 [476] [241]

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations. 177 [412] [648] [657]

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 174 797

[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is ca' wi'.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174
.797

tlements. A preliminary perusal of the existing literature has produced nothing very definite as to whether or not the Cayuá may have come directly within the orbit of Jesuit influence. Von Koenigswald,[10] it is true, affirms that the Jesuits made several attempts to "civilize" the Cayuá, none of which was successful. No evidence to this effect has been encountered by the writer. Occasionally, in the documents of the Jesuits, one comes upon the mention of Cayuá or of groups which may have been Cayuá.[11]

We might expect contact of some sort to have been established between the missionaries and these Indians. Jesuit missions lay close to what must have been the east and northeast frontiers of the Cayuá territory of that day. More recent reports of the Cayuá, as we have seen, indicate that their 19th century movements, at least, took them well within what had been the Jesuit "sphere of influence."

[778]

Indirect influence of the Jesuits upon the Cayuá may possibly be indicated in the possession by the latter of certain religious paraphernalia among which the cross figures prominently. A closer study of Cayuá religion and of Jesuit missions may turn up other more convincing evidence. But the cross or even such other evidence as may later turn up may not necessarily argue for immediate contact, either in time or space, between missionaries and Cayuá. Such elements of possible Jesuit origin could quite conceivably have been transferred to the Cayuá by other Indian groups, Guarani-speaking or not, who had come directly under the influence of the Jesuits. And this transmission of cultural elements could have occured at more or less the same period as that of the Jesuit missions or at some later time. It is also more than probable, even if the Cayuá came into contact with Jesuit missionaries, that only some groups were thus influenced.

10 *Op. cit.*

[114]

11 No doubt a great deal of difficulty arises from the variety of names attached to the tribes by different writers or with reference to different places, as well as from the fact that different peoples speaking Guaraní languages were often (as by the Brazilian layman today) lumped together as "Guaranís". Thus, possibly, Cayuá relations with the Jesuits may have been obscured by their having been called in various instances simply "Guaraní" or "Northern Guaraní". Gay (Cônego João Pedro, *História da República Jesuítica do Paraguay*, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1942) says in a footnote, p. 7 of the appendix, that the "Guaraní" are called in Paraguay by the 19 different names which he lists, as well as by many others. Among the listed names is Caiaguá (= Cayuá).

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire. 174 197 797.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174 797 177 [241] [361] [433] 174 797

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

174
.797

affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174
648

If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the Cayuá may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit expulsion, the Cayuá could have come under no other such consistent influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241
174
648

In agricultural matters the Cayuá are reported to have been very slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way of life for their people."[14] Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking of the Cayuá from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian settlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with regard to Cayuá agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayuá of that region and make them into agriculturists.[15]

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened. The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no mention of the Brazilian Cayuá of this period. The great expansion of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive industry of *herva mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, precisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayuá domain.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[15] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

/303 cont./

177 181 169 there two or three times with their children and wives, through here in front of this city, by a river which would be two leagues from here, which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.

"Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

167 177 799 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity. It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions, which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 167 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

8: Schmidt--22 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

C
Gi
175
648
797

/10 cont./

At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River. Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 514

A
153
797

to the divine law. Although the Americans are but slow of understanding, yet when the good sense of the teacher compensates for the stupidity of his pupils, they are successfully converted to civilization and piety, and even instructed in arts of all kinds. If you wish to see, with your own eyes, to what a degree instruction sharpens the wits of the Indians, and enlarges their comprehensions, go and visit the Guarany towns; in all of which you will find Indians well skilled in the making and handling of musical instruments, in painting, sculpture, cabinet-making, working metals of every kind, weaving, architecture, and writing; and some who can construct clocks, bells, gold clasps, &c. according to all the rules of art. Moreover, there were many who printed books, even of a large size, not only in their native tongue, but in the Latin language, with brass types, which they made themselves. They also write books with a pen so artfully, that the most discerning European would swear they were printed. The Bishops, Governours, and other visitants, were astonished at the workmanship of the Indians, which they saw or heard of in the Guarany towns. The Guaranies were instructed in music, and other arts, by the Jesuit Missionaries, Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who found the Indians docile beyond their expectation.

G
177
797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 17?0) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 814

A 756

could never bring myself to credit it, always remaining of opinion that they neither know, nor are capable of performing any thing above human powers. Being firmly persuaded that they would do me all the evil in their power, I often accosted them in a friendly manner, and by all sorts of good offices endeavoured to prevail upon them to alter their manner of life, and embrace religion; for by their example almost all the rest would regulate their conduct. But this was like washing the blackamoor white: for these wickedest of mortals, unwilling to part with their authority and lucrative office, left no stone unturned, no frauds unattempted to deter and intimidate their countrymen from going to church, attending to the instructions of the priests, and receiving baptism, daily denouncing death, and destruction on the whole nation, unless they obeyed. Nor is this either new or surprizing. In all the American nations the teachers of the holy religion have found the jugglers upholders of ancient superstition, and rocks in the way of the desired progress of the Christian law. Good heavens! what contests, and what trouble did they not cause to Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the famous Guarany missionary! It was not till he had repressed the authority of the remaining jugglers, and commanded the bones of

A 756 797
G 756 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

the dead ones, which were universally worshipped with great honours, to be burnt in the presence of the people, that he converted an infinite number of savages to the Christian religion, and induced them to enter colonies. Till these knavish *holophants*, and sycophants to speak with Plautus, are abolished, nothing can be done with the savages; this I affirm on experience. The town of St. Joachim not only merited the praise of religion, but produced many fruits of genuine piety. But as snakes often lurk in the grass, and tares in the most abundant harvest, an old Indian secretly performed the office of juggler there, and suffered himself to be adored as a divine person by some foolish women, whom he served in the double capacity of physician, and prophet, at the same time carrying on a criminal intercourse with them. These things were disclosed to me by Ignatius Paranderi, chief Cacique of the town; so that judging it advisable immediately to reprove this mischievous old man in public, since private admonitions were of no avail, I repaired to his house attended by all the chief people of the place; and imitating, in this important business, the thundering tongue of Cicero when he fulminated against Catiline, addressed him in the following manner. "How long, accursed old man, will you

G 756 797
A 756 797

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1750) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI

A 114 797

something of more value. If we denied him what he asked, he would never visit us again; if we gave it, he was daily emboldened to ask things of still more value. Great is the misery of the scholar when masters are either scarce or too dear. I do not deny that, by daily conversation with the Indians, I learnt the names of those things which are present to the eyes; but *invisible things, which relate to God and* the soul, can only be learnt by conjecture and very long use. When horses, tigers, or arms, are talked of, you will find any of the Abipones a Demosthenes or a Tully: if the question turn on the affections and functions of the mind, and the practice of virtue, they will either give you answers darker than night, or remain silent.

G 797

When we were studying the Guarany tongue, grammars and three dictionaries were published by Fathers Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, and Paulo Restivo, a Sicilian, which saved us a great deal of time and labour. By their assistance our progress was so much accelerated that, at the end of three months, we were permitted to confess the Guaranies by order of four of the older Jesuits, who, at the command of the superiors, closely examined our knowledge in the language. But as the assistance of books was wanting amongst the Abipones, Joseph Brigniel made up for the deficiency by

A 114 797

1.Dobrizhoffer M-S (pa. 1750) 1822
S34 A Mpm 234
SM4

A
756
747
A
123

stored him to health, and gained me the reputation of a physician amongst the Abipones. Nothing will procure you the good-will of the savages so soon as skill in the healing art. They think that he who understands the natures and remedies of diseases can be ignorant of nothing. They will believe him in matters of religion, and be tractable and obedient to him. Our Saviour himself inspired mortals with wonder, by healing bodies as well as souls. In imitation of him, when we were employed in the instruction of the savages, we endeavoured to supply the want of physicians, surgeons, and druggists, by easily obtained remedies, by reading medical books, and by other means, in order to wean that miserable people from their jugglers, whom we accounted the chief obstacles to the propagation of the holy religion.

G
758
747

It is incredible how well the sick are taken care of in the Guarany towns. Indians are appointed to attend upon them, more or fewer, according to the number of inhabitants. These men have some knowledge of herbs and common remedies, though they are not allowed to use any medicine without consulting the missionary. They carry in their hands a staff marked with a cross, and are hence called crossbearers. It is their business to go about dawn to visit the sick in the district appointed to

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1780) 1822
S24 Abipon:

GUARANI SM4

each, and to enquire whether any one has fallen ill lately. In the evening they make their report to the missionary in the presence of all, before he performs divine service, and are informed by him what remedies are to be used and what sacraments administered to each. At mid-day boiled meat with the best wheat bread is sent from his kitchen to the houses of all the sick, which are sometimes thirty, more or less, in number. All the sick are visited once every day, and sometimes oftener, by the missionary, accompanied by two boys. In short we never suffered any thing of use to the minds or bodies of the sick to be wanting. Moreover there resided amongst the Guaranies two or three lay-brothers of our order, European surgeons, tolerably skilled in the art of medicine; but on account of the great distance of the towns from one another, they were not always at hand to offer their assistance when it was needed.

758
747
797

Upon us, therefore, whose proper business it was to attend upon the minds of the sick, devolved the care of healing their bodies. We always ascribed it to the mercy of God when trifling remedies banished great diseases, for we had but a very scanty store of drugs. How useful to the sick in various ways were sulphur, alum, salt, tobacco, sugar, pepper, the fat of hens, tigers, oxen, sheep, &c. and gun-powder! scarce

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
574

cessive days with mourning and drinking, and thence transported to their graves.

Should there be any European who makes little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,

Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam,

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their migrations, carried with them little boxes containing the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at length taken away by the missionaries, and burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

cht; but as they are unable to express *second, third, fourth*, in their language, instead of these numbers, they place before the commandments, *and another, and another*, &c. *Cat laháua, cat laháua*, &c. They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Endm cahèk*, that which goes before, and *Iñagehèk*, that which comes last. A 192* 802

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè*, and *Iñóakatapè*, which answers to the Latin, *bini*. *Liñoaka yahat*, means twice. *Ekátarapek*, and sometimes *Haûc ken*, once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, who cannot go beyond the number four. They call One, *Peteÿ*. Two, *Mokoÿ*. Three, *Mbohapĭ*. Four, *Irundÿ*. First, *Iyipĭbac*. Second, *Imomokoyndaba*. Third, *Imombohapĭhaba*. Fourth, *Imoimrundÿhaba*. *Singuli, Peteÿteÿ*. *Bini, Mokoÿmokoÿ*. *Terni, Mbohápĭhapĭ*. *Quaterni, Irundÿ rundÿ*. Once, *Peteÿ yebĭ*. Twice, *Mokoÿ yebi*, &c. G 192 802

The Guaranies, like the Abipones, when questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi*, or *Ndipupahai*, innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi- G 802 177

* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

G 802 177

lized life, and above all, in confession, the Guaranies were daily taught at church to count in the Spanish language, in the public explanation, or recitation of the catechism. On Sunday, the whole people used to count from one to a thousand, in the Spanish tongue, in the church. But it was all in vain. Generally speaking, we found the art of music, painting, and sculpture, easier learnt than numbers. They can all pronounce the numbers in Spanish, but are so easily and frequently confused in counting, that you must be very cautious how you credit what they say in this matter.

G [153]

A *192 *193

For the conjugation of verbs, no paradigm can be given; as the singular number of the present tense of the indicative mood differs in almost all words, and is more difficult to learn than the augments of the Greek verbs. The second person particularly takes new letters, not only in the beginning, but also in the middle, and the end, as will appear from the examples which I shall lay before you.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
I love	Rikapit	*We love*	Grkapitàk
Thou lovest	Grkàpichì	*Ye love*	Grkápichil
He loves	Nkàpit	*They love*	Nkapitò
I know	Riáraige	Gruáraigò	Yaraige
I remember	Hakalecènt	Hakalecènchì	Yakalecènt

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
96 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Ararumbai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

table (agricultural) diet. Agriculture takes so much time that hunting has become literally somewhat of a "weekend" activity for most Cayuá men.[188] 224

Most of the aboriginal game animals are still taken, and southern Mato Grosso can certainly still be described as quite "wild," but game is no longer to be had in such numbers as formerly. Cayuá fishing is even less practicable than hunting, though this is not entirely a recent development. We have already seen that fishing was for a long time somewhat less important among the Cayuá than among some of the better known Tupi-Guarani. Nevertheless, it appears that modern fishing has continued to decline in importance, even from its former limited role. Fishing with poison has been given up by the Cayuá of Taquapiri, although the tradition of this practice is still alive, and even younger men said they could identify the proper poisonous plant. During our stay only a handful of men (or families) went fishing, in contrast to a majority of men who went hunting at least several times. 226 433

Many Cayuá still regularly spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number is not as large as that of *kokwé* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. There are only one or two men in the entire village who spend more time—or even as much—in hunting and fishing than in farming. Trapping and snaring, related both to hunting and agriculture, in the sense of keeping crop pests under control, are carried on today on the whole, probably, little diminished. It may be, however, that the more elaborate and time-consuming kinds of trapping, such as making deadfalls and pitfalls for large animals, have decreased. Trapping activities continue to provide occasional meat, nevertheless, and even the Cayuá who no longer hunts is likely to keep a few traps and snares.

In fine, there can be little doubt that agriculture is relatively more important in the economy of the modern Cayuá than it was at the time of their forefathers. This is evident in at least four ways: (1) the total amount of area under cultivation; (2) the amount of work time spent in agriculture, and consequently the greater care given the *kokwé* than aboriginally; (3) the amount of total goods now produced in agriculture, both directly and indirectly (through trade); and, (4) negatively, the inroads which have been made in the former importance of hunting and fishing, and possibly gathering. 178* 241 433

Division of Labor

The most notable feature about the present sex division of labor is the 241 462

[188] The Cayuá at Taquapiri are conscious of the Christian week and calendar and have a tendency to arrange their activities according to such a schedule. For instance, drinking fests with their attendant dancing always tend to be on Saturday nights—except for the more limited spontaneous fests. Although the Cayuá are not by any means practicing Christians, we were surprised one day, finding the men at home and not in their fields, to be told that it was a "*dia santo*." [177]* [805]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
BRAZILIAN INDIANS SL4
GUARANI SM4

A
811
G
B
756
811

which are every-day sights amongst Europeans, amazed at what would be so novel to their eyes, they would indeed swear them to be absolute proofs of magical art. This is confirmed by the circumstance of the Brazilians calling their conjurors *Payè*, and the art of working miracles *Caraybà*, which name they afterwards gave to the European strangers, because they saw them perform things by art which, being formerly unknown to them, they imagined above the powers of nature. Hence also the Guaranies, whose language bears much resemblance to that of Brazil, at this day call all the Spaniards and Europeans *Caray*.

A
756

This simplicity of an ignorant people, the crafty jugglers know well how to turn to their own advantage, openly boasting themselves vicegerents and interpreters of the devil, their grandfather; diviners of future events; priests of the mysteries; creators, or, as they please, healers of diseases; necromancers, and governours of all the elements; easily persuading these credulous creatures any thing that comes into their heads. They are furnished with a thousand arts of deceiving. Suppose they have heard from some savage visitant that an enemy is coming to attack the horde; this knowledge they will boast of to their hordesmen as if it had been revealed to them by their

2: Schaden--81 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/69 cont./

828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
856 pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting; it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrũã ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing; this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kýrẽỹvadjá). Kýrẽỹ mombyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony; at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them; they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá flanderü, told me: "We do
828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
[115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

2: Schaden--112 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
• 82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the karugua or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses: then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[MC] order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /Prom p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

bird, no more than 6 or 8 inches long. He has a ringing cry for all the world like a sharp hammer blow on a piece of steel pipe, followed by sounds incredibly like a large file being applied to the same material.[22] The emu and a number of smaller field birds are common. Snakes, lizards, and frogs abound. Alligators are to be found along the larger water courses. Fish of large size are encountered only where the streams broaden out into rivers and are relatively scarce in much of the southern Mato Grosso Cayuá region. One should not forget to mention the insects. They include, besides a large-sized component of the mosquito and fly-like biting insects, fleas, foot-burrowers (*bicho de pé*), *carrapatos*, a clinging, bloodsucking bug, and numerous other representatives of the phylum Arthropoda, not by any means restricted to this part of Brazil. 136

It would not be in contrast to our knowledge of other primitive peoples to point out that the Cayuá know their physical environment in great and minute detail, its flora, its fauna, its weather, its water courses and topography. An indirect testimony of the extent of Cayuá nature lore is the enormous contribution of the Tupi-Guarani languages to the general Brazilian vocabulary, not only of place names, but also of the vulgar names of Brazilian plants and animals. The Cayuá have apparently lost little or none of their store of this knowledge since aboriginal times. 82

[22] This relatively lengthy note on the *araponga* does not reflect his importance to the Cayuá nearly so much as the amazement of the writer.

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once: he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
[821] errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

Ix Schaden--188 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/143 cont./

which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aflĩ). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rede, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of aflĩ. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aflĩ, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 648 797 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 178 [433] [262] [71] The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and [821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul- [412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb [752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamanidium* [824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pañ'* [411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is [262] for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romansoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paã'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [184] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paã'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies. 773 776 [171]

In a *Pañ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother. 821 773 776

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Pañ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37). [184]

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule 668 786 178

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíf or urucú, a plant that is not native in these lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on • 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick [778] (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of [302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the [184] description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the [221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/115 cont./

774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
777 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his antisocial inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

774 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead
822 of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñané Ñ, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kuã-porÃvé) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yváy), located above the yvýñomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, atsýyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(kuã) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okãña Ñ vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

2: Schaden--145 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/115 cont./

774
822

admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Nanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774
[192]

Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.

[191]
774
824
156

The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part

774

of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what

[828]
[825]

has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
846 wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
[114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva: it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
[253] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
773 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305). 775 775 789 756

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful. 776

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347). 796 535 [756]

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia. 796 823 [346]

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã. 796 241 [788] [782]

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who 756 533 789

/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Caiuás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Cainguá tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Cainguá /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caiuás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (boná) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical; I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

Of great importance even today are the objects used in 793 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the 292 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the 237 down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe. [301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears [304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of [301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special [824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caiuás regard this as essential.

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
482 burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
164 hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [178] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle- [824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields 178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/, [192] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus [824] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a [317] partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or [192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoía), which rests on small beams [824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo [184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering [413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
574 the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
[352] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[192] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a frame-
work of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instancé, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá • 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

[262] [273] [433]

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[437] [177] [437] [773]

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queiróz, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

[126] [114]

/48 cont./

243 824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avatí mñã, sometimes avatí karapé, sometimes avatí mirí. Since in the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison with those of the hard maize, the designation avatí pukú is also used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating the color: morõtí (white), djú (yellow) or pỹtã (red), or pará (spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological interest is the avatí djakairá morõtí or avatí pukú morõtí, with a high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha. The Kayová in particular refer /Ills. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear in just any ground"; it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to "bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very delicate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the Kayová, more importance is given to the avatí djakairá morõtí.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At
[114] the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of
[115] Ñandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject. It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avatí pukú, morõtí and pỹtã, the white and the red. The ancients said that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would not degenerate and would always give full-kerneled ears. The red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56]

/49 cont./

243 824 [193] too. The red maize avatí pakú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakaká was a Kayová Indian who received the white sabeté maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caázapá, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 824 12

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pitoo Indígena Benjamin Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence [115] (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: [192] [824] before the clearing is burned (djadjapó ruá rorãangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñandeyuá kaígué, let us go to baptise the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hã a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandí avatí rã arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

2: Schaden--57 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/50 cont./

243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú fiandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 fiandé avatí fiahangá); after the first food is prepared with green maize (djahá hovasá fiandé avatí djýguĩ); and, finally, when the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kĩvira angá or djahá djaporahêi kĩvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
791 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants -- mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakũ, before the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomachaches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is considered indispensable, especially in the months in which maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial, rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
[177] a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
[171] always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

262 It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Ñandéva of the coast that we find one of
[178] the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Incidentally, Thevet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caiçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the bucal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

276 "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers")
[101] was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6);

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./ See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eaters." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pẽtỹ gúí (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pẽtỹ ñamõi" (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of rappee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.
[324] Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
• [824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ; furthermore, kỹ ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions
[415] that the Caingná (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

416 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukíf or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, [178] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of [302] ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient: the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un- [184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the [221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[172] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestiso midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/91 cont./

881
301

considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184]
[237]
[192]
[751]

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have
[824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go
[171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Bra-
[352] zilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). [278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 527 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 24 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the ñanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/115 cont./

774
822

admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774
[192]

Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say Ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.

[191]
774
824
156

The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

774

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

[828]
[825]

/153 cont./

534 171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý, [322] a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root [824] of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with [782] any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told [787] me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
• [824] yvyrá rãkuã ĩ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ĩ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ĩ djéretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[1076] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ĩ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarãnias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

/157 cont./

825 787 793 the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. 789 177 824 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

175* with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idola- 778 trously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. [346] A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided 174* with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá 171 were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used 534 in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was 755 conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the 756 rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which 778 had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapui* of the *pa'i*. (Per- [353] haps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these [562] women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate. 174*

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture 171 heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many 773 of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were 174* largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of 177* the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in 776 which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of 824 the sky pantheon of *ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the 796 first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

174* Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political 756 organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174
756 secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied
[562] considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great
[622] shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could
[628] often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[80] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel.
[797] These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the
[786] priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was
[171] probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups
[276] tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was
• [824] probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been
[755] generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

---

[80] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Taquara* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tapui*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84–85). 177* 342 412

The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or astream), using their villages as bases. 177* 178* 501

The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mbaraká*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178* 323 178* 415 [276] [824] [534]

Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbokói* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482] [562]

Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177* 291

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
• 824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

/38 cont./

881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
178 kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

175 dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of
648 the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
797 Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucareli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps
178 superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingué*, who are said to be
[403] unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
[362] *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
[71] fruits, and with game and fish.

[476] **Farming.**—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and
[821] sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricul-
[412] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingué* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingué* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangara (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called carahu (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminosea called mbacucu, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
[752] (*Nissolia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium*
[824] sp., and *Coix lacryma-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Paiá*
[411] and *Chiripá* raise tacuapi reeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
[262] their arrow shafts. The *Caingué* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

222 **Gathering wild foods.**—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

[178] The modern *Caingué* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a bahareque. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piraraú).

263 *Caingwá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
824 of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingwá* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve
[145] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with
[712] half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pai'*. Other *Caingwá* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
[413] needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingwá* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 30 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

354 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[332] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
179 (the tipoy), a sackline garment covering the body from the breasts to
799 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrúa* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on tip of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinambá*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of groups seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [194] [554]

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or with minerals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 325 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The oldest literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Pail'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuaremblo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[524] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia total*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[523] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[286] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[524] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, crosses, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("trompetera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

Weapons.—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guapoiboi (*Piptogonia americana*), or ibaira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*).
411 They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section,
524 and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron sp.*)

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuti reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuvo-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. [178 629 756 775]

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some younger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a mayoral, and

[illegible]

[8] For a good description of the Guaraní pellet-bow, see Guevara, 1908, p. 40.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 178 [648] Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayuá of today are those which do not interest the whites because they are not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry, 226 178 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism. The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which, although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is necessary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two [224] [241] alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a roça since it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moderate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the Cayuá man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, timbó-fishing is not practiced today at Taquapiry.[24] No reason could be given by informants

[648] this reason have been diverted from their preferred courses, to the regions which were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the timbó.

[824] [24] The timbó formerly used by the Cayuá is said to be a large, jointed liana. The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required timbó from the forest and go to the bank of a bluffy stream or bank water. The timbó had to be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down to the water, or the crushed vines themselves put in the water to poison it. The catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayuá to have been large enough, generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit: palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one:
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base: they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824
[139]

1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

1:Dobrizhofer M-5 (ca. 1750) 1822
S14 Abipon :

Guarani SM4

CHAPTER XXX.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE POISONOUS BITES OF INSECTS.

OLD books suggest various methods of keeping away serpents: but who that is acquainted with America would not despise the prescriptions of the old writers, adapted to fill pages only, not to be of any real use? In preference to these ancient recipes I recommend the American ones, both because they are more expeditious and reader, and because their utility has been proved by long experience. The Christian Guaranis, whenever they accompanied me to seek the savages in the woods, carried fresh garlick in their girdles, and, notwithstanding the abundance of serpents we met, not one of my companions was ever bitten by one. Following the example of the Indians, I always kept a string of garlick suspended near my bed, after being attacked by a serpent in my sleep. That serpents dislike the smell of garlick is well known both to the ancients and to country people, who rub the milk-pans with the juice of that herb; lest serpents, who are extremely fond of milk, should get into them. My faith, however, in the efficacy of garlick was not a little

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With [648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indian of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general deprecatory; a neutral one is yvýpóra, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have [825] a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1948, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, 167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [1973] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvy opé, the [1969] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú draws the lands of the Tañígua /Tanygua/ (1880), the Ñandéva /Ñandeva/ (1880), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a [361] large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itariri, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbiá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of mares and sticks /Port. Ecara/ in the forest. With mares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The mares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small mares, Ro I, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mbokí) has become known -- which, by the
411 way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the gyrá pié (an
177 arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees),
[192] is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural
[178] contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbiá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter, [825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of Indential origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the civilizative process has fully struck the most genuinely native economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals [192] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them. [822]

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Nandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbiá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Nandéva of Bananal told me about the cold meas-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbiá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot: I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the analogy with the "muqira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
852 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guarani of Dourados (both Kaiowá and Nandéva, according to the information of Mengal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, mariage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbyá the initative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a set of trial marriages: many men have a "companion" (tsaiñ kuñ vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boys mother. If there is a child [584] from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl fr his permission, while the asks the mother of the boy. Amongthe Mbyá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the fandango officiates at th marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /715/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic ties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to live in own house, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to see that the boy obtains his liberty [693] early, while the girl practicallyremains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

584 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbyá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at abt 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid parental relations, while the Mbyá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová ever that 836 legitimate preferably use the children of consanguinal women and 584 584 584

2: Schaden--106 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbïá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva: it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Azarïbá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbïá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the oljípotá: that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the oljípotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals to which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Oljípotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes oljípotá: in the words of an informant from Benevol, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the oljípotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disregarding the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tajipotá (peccinda /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the peccaries. He remains living amidst the peccaries, taking

2: Schaden--107 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani S344

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the aita, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]

The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years: she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayuvá maintain such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[609] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[178] kibíha do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.
[184]

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of animals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn [868] the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbyá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 384 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-[178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the Ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjihéshá, [152] and the wound is only treated with pesout /Port. cuié/ oil (ytaúba). [278] /96/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Tuqué. In Rio Branco the Indian Kaxé or Maxeline 882 882 882 [115] have explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

2: Schaden--119 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

/97 cont./

881 Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told
825 me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a
[582] woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having
[624] the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars,
snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars.
881 Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case,
156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Matçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to
621 constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-
[596] [623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority
624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence
621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, or
[649]

/115 cont./

774
822

admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of Nanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774
[192]

Ayvú properly means language: sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it share the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.

[191]
774
524
156

The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language: thus the designation. It is an interesting fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

774

The ayvyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the heroic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal: it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament rather than come to correspond to it in modern times. Good amiable fellow-villagers have the ayvyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

[128]
[125]

2: Schaden--146 E-4,5 (1946-1956) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

724
828
.825

or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Poxá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Poxá was little, an old doctor-sorceress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyiguá" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 308). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

724
828
[195]

Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñandeví and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the Ñandeví Sobarrão, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poirétó, although he supports the theory of the

2: Schaden--148 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the flanderú is helped by the yvyrá́ídjá; the women strike the takmápú; the flanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyrá́ídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- The ayvú and the ayvúporîvê send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjá's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

[756] [624]

774 828

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develope with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into angaéry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião instead, is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth: "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, to wander over the ground." It is thus the angaéry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It means along the roads and other places at certain hours more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Angaéry ygwá ybítindyá

794 795 828

[825]

795

/116 cont./
795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast. [184]

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

[753] [961] [755]

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

795 828 177

/129 cont./

754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it, casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same village, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery." The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by
[115] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair
[825] from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the
[115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to
754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When
755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into
766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and
825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the victims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions, they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess" to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
793 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825 787 793

the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

789 177

A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

789 177 824

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *lipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[124] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[124] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

178* 463

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

178* 463

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

178* 464 465 476 648

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puŝirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puŝirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cãwi'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

---

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cãwi'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served. [252]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba, A. totai, Cocos yatay, Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica, Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc. 222

The *Cainguá* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. [231] When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and [262] Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Cainguá* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the [231] larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Cainguá* prefer meat to any other food, their 224 main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with [262] abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Cainguá* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have [231] dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts. [825]

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the 226 ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast 178 used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided [433] with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. 231 Today they have dogs, chickens, and 178 many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a 262 heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with 252 maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, [178] abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Cainguá* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Cainguá* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, 252 dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Cainguá* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Cainguá* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin [178] grater—and washing the mass in water.

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnikov.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Cainguá* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men. 291 178 [177] [101]

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[3a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. 301 178 [314] [321] [175] [172] [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects. 301 [532] [237]

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable. 301 237 [554] [177] [184] [824]

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks. 302 178

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps. 302 [386] [184] [531]

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 825 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing 501

[3a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

/309 cont./

174 If they were under the authority of a powerful chief, the expedition
167 gained in cohesion and numbers. In no case must one see in
721 these migrations a national movement carried out according to
619 a pre-established plan and involving the whole group of Guarani tribes simultaneously. These Indians, like all in tropical America, have never had a very clear consciousness of their unity, and, even in the face of a common danger, the idea never occurred to them that similarity of language and culture might create a bond of solidarity among them. All the more reason why this individualism of the group or tribe was to manifest itself with particular acuity when a simple pillaging expedition was afoot.

174 The columns of Guarani warriors who penetrated into
721 the Chaco bush doubtless included only a few women. The
167 men advanced, walking in single file, bows and arrows in hand,
22 while several girls followed behind with baskets full of pro-
262 visions on their backs. If these ran out, the men hunted along
[411] the way or fished in the rivers, such as the Pilcomayo if they
[482] were following its course. When game or fish were lacking, they gathered fruit; palm cabbage, algarroba pods, and chañar fruit were there, which provided a substantial diet, but it was still necessary to choose the season when they were
[825] ripe, in order to travel. They watched the flight of bees in order to find honey, and they did not scorn certain insects or
167 their larvae. The problem of water was the only serious one;
721 it was solved by collecting what the caraguatá leaves held at
174 the base; they sucked the root of certain tubers (the /310/
271 sipóy (1) of the northern Chaco) and quenched their thirst at
824

[139] 1. This is a Bignoniaceae or Begoniaceae (?). This plant has the appearance of a liana whose bulb is full of fresh water. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, p. 192).

the small ponds encountered on the way.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514

Guarani 514

A
*136 the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that
G
[751 these insects are not only driven away but de-
356] stroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs
805] scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered pervious to frequent winds; these are the best pre-
A
cautions against the smaller insects. Lice are
[515] never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Maritĩ.

778 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the
• 826 cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their
[778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý.
776 She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things).
539 Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also
829 called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations.
191 He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[164] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[80] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/25 cont./

142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbüá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they [144] actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common among the Ñandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

142 826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a redish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be pytã, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Ñandéva; the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Ñandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I obtained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that [144] the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- in Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbüá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians them- [551] selves are conscious of this; in the Mbüá village of Rio Branco I met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Nã-ã," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations.[9] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
• [827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbyá consider her (odjéko)alú; the others do not have a special designation for the
[115] state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day
881 of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl
301 makes -- for her father, brother, or another
[184] person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each
881 one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-
301 kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva,
184 who already have almost completely abandoned
192 it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmãguá and tetýmãkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians.
881 But they also indicate the magical end of
301 avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the
827 arms and legs, the tetýmãguá therefore being
75 considered indispensable on long walks.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guarani* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guarani* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guarani* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

spirits of wine. Some prick the gum of the tooth with the spine of the fish raya, and by eliciting blood, allay the pain. Others again reduce tigers' claws and alum first into a calx, and then into a powder, by laying them on hot coals, and after they are well mixed up together, apply them to the hollow of the tooth. By the adoption of this method, many, beside myself, have found not only the pain, but the cause of the pain so entirely removed, that it never returned afterwards. Tooth-ache is a frequent and dreadful affliction to Europeans in Paraguay, on account of the scarcity or unskilfulness of surgeons. In extracting the diseased tooth, they pierce and lacerate the whole gum near it, which causes extreme pain, together with much effusion of blood. That the Abipones never need the aid of these torturers, is a truly enviable part of their felicity. I never saw a toothless person amongst them. The teeth, which they have made strenuous use of all their lives, generally go with them to the grave.

A 145

Whenever they feel themselves unwell, although the complaint be in the foot or the elbow, they always say that their heart pains them. The same is the case with the Guaranies. If you say to the sick man, what ails you, what is the matter with you? he immediately

A 827 G [827]

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because [751] of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of 524 Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 177 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual 155 will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative 157 process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing [828] more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[170] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/69 cont./

828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
856 pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãtã fleỹ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kýréỹvadjá). Kýréỹ mombyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony: at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them: they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá flanderú, told me: "We do
828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
[115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[997] Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/85/

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121 571 829 182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[752] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo
[184] nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/108 cont./

577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has; but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
•828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

/115 cont./

774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 824 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/116 cont./

774 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous make;
828 violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar
825 (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

774 Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and
828 which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come
[175] already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all
828 are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If
[758] someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By/
[755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. --
184 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will
774 immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva
828 most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as
755 it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake
774 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken
828 away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul,
755 which after death remains wandering over the
[775] ground (anguéry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non-
[753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

774 early one morning (around four o'clock; he
•828 told me that this is the hour when the spirits
755 usually come in contact with men), went to
his house and "took away" the prayer from him.
The next morning he already sharpened his hoe
[756] and went to work. In the process of "taking away"
[624] the bad prayer, the ñanderú is helped by the
yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the
ñanderú only gives the order to take the prayer
away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the
bad spirit and send it where it came from. --
774 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvê send prayers too,
828 but good ones. More will be said about the
prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary
to note the pure and simple identification of the
"bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable
root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5
/see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced
774 by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed;
775 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most
828 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted,
[825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that,
775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

/116 cont./

795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast. [184]

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm: it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical. [753] [761] [755]

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

795 828 177

/117 cont./

775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
•828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

The relations that the divine part of the soul of the de-
[776] ceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofiimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txefleẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txefleẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called fleẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/119 cont./

774 •828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go 775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery: "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
• 828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief
[184] of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. Accord-
[537] ing to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko: petein areko txepyáre, petein areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñãgareköva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the
[184] Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/121 cont./

774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
• 828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjara"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Ñandesý ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celes-
[828] tial region called yrukítýtétã. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (djiroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
782 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
184 The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takurú pỹtãva ñesyrũ; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú pỹtãva rysýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
• 828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
• 828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Ñanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there
[179] is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the
[797] seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[182] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá́djá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

77 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
177 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
182 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
733 social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
• 828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/176 cont./

273 /footnote 10 cont./
•828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados,
[648] in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official
[797] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts,
[527] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to
[855] serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism
182 reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a
177

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small [423] areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Pañ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Pañ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

/228 cont./

539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Maritĩ.

778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 • 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

/229 cont./

342
291
574
516
576
534

Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

539 Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he be-
776 gan to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argen-
• 829 tinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his
191 sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

539 /230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance
776 festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

/30 cont./

563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to se[illegible] in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní
829 have an interesting attitude toward money (pirã, peráta; pirápirã,
177 paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú,
[192] big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign
436 to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no
829 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture
177 corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once
454 told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/,
423 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs
171 /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/57 cont./

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõomoõõta as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/71 cont./

853 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--84 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/72 cont./

829 87 177 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in order that their son could keep company with the scholastic group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. [171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause [171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 [596] The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 8[illegible] of the original source./ Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an 15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station: they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases [178] it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the [593] marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due [585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near [593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons [574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
601 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified
593 with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the new generation already "does not know the language straight" [829] and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifices: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced.

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the flanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 273 574 [177] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community: it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial

584 [585] [114] [115] techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý,"
[551] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

2: Schaden--95 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbiá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

2: Schaden--101 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

121 571 829 182

The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

783 828

Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the ñanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the ñanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the ñanderú lets them go, it is the ñanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [252] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should main- [884] tain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission from the mburuvitxá (or flanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the flanderú are made up of one, two, or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example, who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco; it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [776] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
621

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
• 829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some
• 829 way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil,"
[782] called fieẽgaraí, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the
[533] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called fiembóévaí or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbarakã) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[782] The Kayová also use the name fieẽgaraí referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxỹ for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohã vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

/137 cont./

765 177 [775] [171] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

764 [114]

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 178 [782]

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

[773]

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moátendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/142 cont./

771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

2: Schaden--189 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
[669] in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
• 829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahéi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] [775] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rikuí ſ, with a string of pindó ryvſ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ſ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ſ djáretá
• 829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ſ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranías" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

2: Schaden--198 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

539 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and,
177 when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in
167 part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that
182 the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components
•[829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá potxý.

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
771 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
• 829 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
177 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural
182 elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
771 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderyhey,
772 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The
178 present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/172 cont./

183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/173 cont./

77 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or
182 less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the
829 impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colo-
177 nists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the
182 Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast
182 and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies
829 designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

2: Schaden--224 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

2: Schaden--137 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/111 cont./
774 many other regions of the globe (3).
842
171

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poydjú from Araribá, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[776] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream: some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
• [833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
177 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/95 cont./

881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjékóaku) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. • 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

2: Schaden--92 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [324] [648]

I have not found the marriage performed by the Ñanderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595

Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581]

An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

837 [586]

/78 cont./

• 837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after re-
sisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, per-
haps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in
the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situa-
tion is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separa-
tion of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female,
usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clear-
ing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in
which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mis-
treat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch
as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of
someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass
the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between
spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic
incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently
decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman,
it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the re-
586 lations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family.
And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no
longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the
elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the
great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise,
there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly
since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among
the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family,
on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal
authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds
591 to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
• 841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarahá. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[147] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[164] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
[165] life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood: this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá: they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled: at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/110 cont./

771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be [177 62] interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

771 774 121 According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [171] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

2: Schaden--137 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/111 cont./
704
842
171
many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
[833] belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý."
[776] But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611
171
4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

/112 cont./

611
171

reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

842
159
787

Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
Ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [796] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

775 774 842 171

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/113 cont./

775
774
842
171

of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a paradoxical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new facts. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 395-403 of Stefánsson, 1951.

775
774
842

Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls that have never been on the earth (like Poydjú, who also admits the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic, the ñanderú Fernando Tapari of Jacareí, who only recognizes the rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are more radical, who insist (as the ñanderú Bastião of Araribá does) that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another important function is strengthened, that of the co[illegible]al communion between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind constitute one indissoluble whole.

[182]

2: Schaden--142 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

842 775 184 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more: when one goes up, another one comes down." [776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 842 184 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúrýtétã, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúrýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
177 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya: /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[275] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[752] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo
[184] nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/34 cont./

114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
175 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Birth: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[784]
[843]

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

•843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuvs*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

/86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
843 subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The
[184] former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [726] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- [775] When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be
412 overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than
formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer
241 necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture
412 and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most
[426] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually
[313] possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with
[241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and
[342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache-
[222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and
[241] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting
[224] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today
[563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwá*. Corn, especially, is always planted
*178 with the *sarakwá*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in
412 the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwá* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though
[241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example
[844] of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-
*177 building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board"
342 made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-
412

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
064 hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
• 845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
•[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[179] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

2: Schaden--103 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/86 cont./

• 846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the func-
[114] tions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbiá consider her (odjéko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
[115] woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/88 cont./

846 178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound [184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 784 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list 846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the [184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

2: Schaden--106 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

846 /89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
[513] wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[114] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva: it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
[183] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
[823] benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."
[184] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá;
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
773 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 825 773 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is menstruating.

[881] 846 178 The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals, brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to [881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation. 846 178 825 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who, instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. [826] A man-beast would attract her and would not leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to [609] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these [304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower lip. [178] The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the [184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the fianderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/111 cont./

704 842 171 many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 [178] [833] [778] According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý." But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the 842 787 [774] [776] child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream, tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of 842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure 846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi- 611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 171 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
118 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

/28 cont./

142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

• 847 Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
732 tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[828] Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpã rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men have a "companion" (txeirü kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later: among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraỹ," [851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive [551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality: the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

/87 cont./

846 that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of
[789] precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn
[114] baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out
851 as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation: in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with ref-
842 erence to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the
[827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One
846 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the
753 necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to ob-
178 tain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At
[626]

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moátendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the Ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Posto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the
• 851 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," [775] which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

2: Schaden--54 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Ñandéva
Kayová

142
302
291
463
114
142
853
302
291

I. Marçal de Souza, Ñandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

142
302

III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambaí, southern Mato Grosso.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

142
271
291
302

FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembetá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857

/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

142
302
291
516
793
854

Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

/230 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

574
576
516
• 854
142
291
778
534
177
178

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/29 cont./

854 In part the not very rational methods of raising the children
855 are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the oc-
165 casion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open,
[164] exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia.
[536] During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest pre-
[828] occupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat
[147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent
[146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical
[733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by
[751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups; of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[31] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapái*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapái* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[32] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cāwĭ'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapái*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cāwĭ'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cāwĭ'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakū'* (or *adjakā*), worn across the

[31] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[32] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *pa'i*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[a] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takwapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarahá* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takwapá* and *mbarahá* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[b]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[a] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[b] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paĩ'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
[824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[178] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martin García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

/29 cont./

854 In part the not very rational methods of raising the children
855 are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the oc-
165 casion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open,
[164] exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia.
[535] During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night: only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest pre-
[828] occupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat
[147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent
[146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical
[733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by
[751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

2: Schaden--77 E-4,5 (1946-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 157 [858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. [855] Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[197] Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a rebom

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/176 cont./

273 828 /footnote 10 cont./

wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [136] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small [423] areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the
development of the child, his interference is directed almost
exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before
that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its
neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and prob-
ably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each
leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the
original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to
learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was
a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira"
used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are con-
stantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treat-
ment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already
finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak,
embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force
the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical
remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the forma-
tion of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní
of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the in-
formation of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/69 cont./

828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
856 pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãtã ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kýréỹvadjá). Kýréỹ mombyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony; at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them: they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá ñanderú, told me: "We do
828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
[115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 157 [858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. [855] Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

/68 cont./

857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411

1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

[524]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

• 857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
883 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

252
291
354
415
516

291
302
853

FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

142
271
291
302

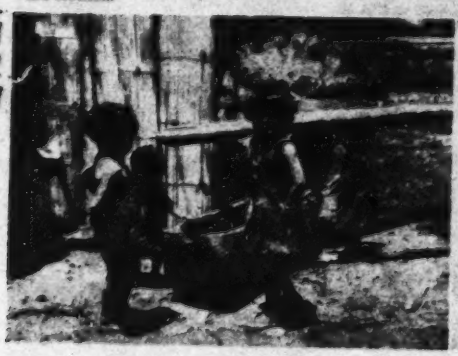
FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

142
291
301
304

FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *tembetá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

291
302
857



or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Cainguá:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds. 411 [824]

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones. [237]

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*). [824]

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Cainguá* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets. [857]

Cainguá clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century. 175 714 [237]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions. 62 178 756 [596] [614] [175]

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people. 178 622 [756] [778]

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Cainguá* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and 554 621 578 554 293 621

[8] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Cainguá of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

2: Schaden--77 E-4,5 (1946-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/67/

Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 157 [858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and [855] less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[097] Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan
Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the pai to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a rebom

2: Schaden--83 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string: the only denomination they
gave the object was tompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita: since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. viciło/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[179] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuía /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/68 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of 524 Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 197 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual 155 will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative 157 process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In [828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./

861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

2: Schaden--84 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Cúrt Nimuendaju at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed.
[171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children
[171] were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
• 861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Añy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
•[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
[553] duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The
[524] toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played
526

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[177] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--97 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the [752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsã. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns
462 other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small [423] areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
867 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

857 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
[114] manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[593] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[866] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/93 cont./

They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones. (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, although with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however, the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome. Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and so forth.

The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home economics. Although some say that the girls are given training only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing, to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ naturally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother, paternal or maternal.

With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and supernatural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial ornament), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is probble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise it would not be understandable that in their mythology they represent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of animals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim). /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of Pablo Vera of Troyaí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of [177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through [178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child • 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
•868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/42 cont./

603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate
[868] and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.

[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.

/69 cont./

828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
856 pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãtã ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kýrẽỹvadjá). Kýrẽỹ moembyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

• 869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony: at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them: they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá ñanderú, told me: "We do
828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
[115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[797] Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Ikariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our
[868] mother"); they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (aff). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
• 869 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of aff. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to bread in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
776 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
177 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by aff, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

/37 cont./

000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, besides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
• 87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--84 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S 4 Guarani SM4

/72 cont./

829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
• 87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed. It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made [171] with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause [171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable, in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude. Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri had a very ugly fight at the local station: they tore out the poles

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caioás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems
[797] of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[119] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt meas-
• [871] ures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

[119] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization. 648 871 • 657 [177]*

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers. 648 657

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed. 648

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless 648 177* 241 657

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[116] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[118] 648 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail [871]

---

[116] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

[118] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.

[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbíla do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.
881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
562 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[171] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiã. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóakú, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881 301 [184]

881 301 184 192

881 301 827 75

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

[751] [824]

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

[171] [352]

/92/

• 881 [364] [237] In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 184 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 212 [263] The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish herself only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared [184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with 881 262 753 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poydjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

2: Schaden--112 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbïá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the kuruguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbïá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbïá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
[171] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not 304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. [184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor- [178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn [824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the [752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim).

/95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yrofsí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 57 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the unconsciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the flanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

• 881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahêi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"): and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [252] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should main- [834] tain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý [386] ný (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that [624] is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 621 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

/97 cont./

881
782
301
314
824

the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

881
782

the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

881
784
[846]
[756]
[622]
[624]

One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Matçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest [596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great- [623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

301 237 286 *174

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

[386] [462] *174

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

283 227 [177] *174

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

411 *174 412 [178] [171]

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

301 *881 *174 304 000

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[797] [439]

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[136] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
• 881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú'*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[136] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
•881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
[431] during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

• 881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
178 kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingua* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingua* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881. [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178. 152. 764.

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[6] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[6] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad enterrasse una remendado el alma cuando estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."

/32 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The
one who gives the odjépotá /32/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the kurugua or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[MC] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
• 882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstrua-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
•882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/41 cont./

593 This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger [882] sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less [736] intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between [592] the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

[601] These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance [602] influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

603 Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The

2: Schaden--97 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[868] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
• 889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away: the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.